UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
3 1761 07097435 7

HAEL'S COLLEGE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
ST. SIL'S SEMINARY
TRANSFERRED

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/catholicuniversi15washuoft

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *January, 1909.* *No. 1.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

Published by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Washington, D. C.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

OCT 20 1931

WITHDRAWN

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS
BALTIMORE

AUG 30 1960

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *January, 1909.* *No. 1.*

THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The University of Louvain, founded by John IV, duke of Brabant, was the first university established in the Low Countries. The letter permitting its erection was obtained from Pope Martin V., in 1425. The University opened its doors the following year. Already in the 15th century the new University attained a most prominent position among the centers of higher learning in Europe. All other universities that came into existence in Belgium during the 15th and 16th centuries are tributaries to Louvain, and it maintained its superiority up to the second half of the 18th century.

The teaching of Philosophy at Louvain will form the subject matter of this paper. Let us make clear from the beginning that, according to the custom of the times, various branches of Philosophy were, to a great extent, interwoven with other studies such as Theology, Medicine, Arts. This plan adopted by the mother University at Paris was later on followed by other universities of Europe. If, therefore, from the beginning we find no separate faculty of Philosophy at the University, we should not from this conclude that the "scientia scientiarum" had no place in the curriculum of studies. In reality the ancilla Theologiae played a much more important rôle in the development of the University, than its humble name would indicate. Philosophy was made the basis of the teaching of Theology.

whilst the method of supplementing the study of natural sciences, of Medicine and of Arts by metaphysical research, gave broadness and thoroughness to the University education.

The Scholastic system of Philosophy was taught in this University, as in all other schools of that period. In the 15th century, the philosophy of the Schoolmen was rapidly approaching the period of its complete dissolution. Its Golden Age was a matter of the past. Louvain could not develop men who would be able to infuse new life and vigor into the rapidly declining system of thought. The causes which created this deplorable condition of Scholastic learning at other places, operated strongly at Louvain with the same fatal results. Humanism—the revival of the study of classic literature dealt Scholasticism the first, but by no means the fatal blow. The work of the humanists was destructive, negative; they tore down the ancient structure of Scholasticism, but had nothing to offer in its place. The revival of classic antiquity was concerned primarily with the beauty of the Greek and Latin languages; the adoption of pagan philosophy was rather feared than desired by most influential defenders of the new movement. Thus Erasmus, in a letter to his friend Wolfgang, of Basel, gave expression to misgivings as to the effect of Humanism, which might restore paganism in its entirety: "One doubt still possesses my mind"—he wrote, "I am afraid that under cover of a revival of ancient literature, paganism may attempt to rear its head."[1] Nevertheless, the revival of the study of ancient literature exerted a most vital influence on the history of Scholasticism. The Latinity of the Scholastic authors of that age was barbarous, uncouth, non-classical. Representatives of the humanistic movement, attacking the terminology and language of these writers, fail to distinguish between ideas and the mode of expressing the same, between form and content; they condemn Scholasticism in toto, including in the condemnation even the master-works of the 13th century. In a letter to Thomas Grey, written in Paris in the year 1497, Erasmus gives vent to his feelings against the Paris Theolo-

[1] *Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. II, 507; tr. of F. M. Nichols.

gians; he refers to them as men making many discoveries about instances, and quiddities and formalities. "If you have touched literature, you must in their school unlearn what you have learnt. I do my best to speak nothing in fine Latin, nothing elegant or witty." [2] He referred to these instructors as pseudo-theologians whose language is barbarous, their intellects dull. In another epistle to Ammonius, dated December 29th, 1516, he accused members of the Theological faculty of Louvain of being deficient in their knowledge of Latin and Greek.[3] Writing to Wolfgang, of Basel, the "most learned Doctor" Erasmus described the condition of classical learning in the great schools of Europe: "This science" (Theology), he writes, "has been hitherto mainly professed by those who are most pertinacious in their abhorrence of the better literature." [4]

The text-book in Philosophy at Louvain, following the usage of the time, were the Sentences of Peter Lombard, replaced in 1596 by the Summa of St. Thomas. Unfortunately the works of the great Schoolmen were not read in the original. A large number of indifferent commentaries on Aristotle and on the writings of the Angelic Doctor, appeared during the 15th and 16th centuries. These authors were preferred to the masterpieces of Scholastic thought. Dialectic was given a prominence much above its merits. From this period of the decline of Scholastic thought there are handed down to us many useless, frivolous problems or rather subtleties of Logic, not found in the writings of the 13th century. Some notable exceptions to this general mediocrity must be recorded in Louvain. During the 15th century the University counted among its teachers men whose names are held in high honor by adherents of Scholastic Philosophy. John Wiggers, William Mercier, Henry de Loe did noble work in the service of traditional philosophy. Other representatives of Scholastic thought failed to comprehend the true spirit of Scholasticism. Thus Van de Velde opposed the philosophy of Albertus Magnus to Thomism; Henry

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 144.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 450.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 507.

Someren defended the "subtlest of subtleties" of Scotism. Philosophical learning at Louvain was at an extremely low ebb at the end of the 15th century.

The humanistic movement at Louvain received its impulse from Utrecht through Adrian Boyens, later on Pope Adrian VI., who, in the year 1488, was offered a professorship in Theology. The acquaintance which he made with Erasmus, while still in Holland, soon ripened into intimate friendship. Boyens professed the Scholastic system of philosophy but his sympathies were entirely with Humanism. More influential than Boyens, was the great classical scholar of the age, Erasmus, of Rotterdam. Adrian, then dean of Louvain, invited his friend to take part in the teaching at the University. Erasmus' love of independence, and his desire to spend all his leisure time in the study of classical authors, were probably among the principal reasons of his refusal. The same offer was renewed to Erasmus by Martin Dorpius a few years later, but again without avail.

During his sojourn at Louvain, Erasmus made many intimate friends among men who worked for the same end, strove after the same ideal: to know and to make known Latin and Greek classics. Joannes Paludanus and Martin Dorpius were his most faithful associates in the spreading of new ideas. Thus the influence of Erasmus on the University was considerable. It was largely through his efforts that the College of Three Languages was established there. Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages were given special attention in this institution; the study of Rhetoric and Philosophy was obligatory. Louvain was in fact gradually developing into a home of the Renaissance movement. The hatred of Scholastic terminology and of the Philosophy of the Schools grew in the same proportion in which Humanism gained a foothold at the University. The University authorities did not look with disfavor upon the new order of things as we may conclude from the fact that Martin Dorpius, a most enthusiastic humanist, was in 1523, elevated to the rectorship of the University; the Spaniard, Ludovic Vivés, imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance, but finding an unfruitful field for his labors in his own country, came to Louvain—now the great

centre of the new learning. He was made professor at the University in 1512. His chief title to distinction is his hatred of Scholasticism which he combatted with all the venom of his sarcasm.

The first effects of the Humanistic onslaught were beneficial to traditional philosophy. Representatives of Scholasticism were compelled to defend their position with renewed vigor, with greater skill, with more carefully selected weapons. More attention was given to the language of Philosophy; the proper place was again assigned to Dialectic; philosophy was liberated from many useless adjuncts which had crept into it during the preceding two centuries. Hunnaeus of Mechlin (1522-1577) issued commentaries on the writings of Aristotle and St. Thomas whose correct terminology and classical language was such as to satisfy the most exacting scholar of ancient classics. The same may be said of Valerius, the successor of Hunnaeus, whose work on Dialectic was so highly valued that it was prescribed as a text-book at he University, by Charles V, June 30, 1546. Still in this same edict the weight of royal authority was placed on the side of Humanism, to the great detriment of Scholastic thought. In the catalogue of authors, recommended by Charles, are found names that have become classic in the history of Renaissance movement, names of men distinguished for their opposition to Scholasticism. The place of honor is given to John Cesarius, Augustine Rivius, and Titelmans.

The Renaissance brought the philosophy of Schoolmen into discredit at Louvain, but Cartesianism had the honor of supplanting it in the lecture halls. The system of thought inaugurated by the French philosopher, in a short time brought about a complete revolution in the teaching of philosophy at Louvain. "Discours de la Méthode" saw the light of day in 1637. Three copies of the work were at once sent by the author to Plempius who at that time occupied a chair in the faculty of Medicine at the University. The Louvain professor severely criticised the innovator's philosophy; his attacks were directed mainly against that portion of the innovator's Psychology in which the problem of the union of soul and body is

discussed.[5] Plempius contends that the author's solution of the problem, a revival of Platonism, stands in evident contradiction to numerous well established facts of experience. At this period Plempius and his colleagues, P. Fournet and L. Froidmont, prove themselves champions of Aristotelianism. Plempius in his work "Fundamenta seu Institutiones Medicinae," proves against Descartes that the human soul is the active principle, not only in man's intellectual activity, but in vital functions of the body. In the second edition of the same work (1644) he upholds, with the greatest determination, the Scholastic teaching on the substantial union of soul and body. But in combatting the animal automaton theory of Descartes he goes too far in attributing the power of universal cognition to the brute soul. Still these representatives of Scholasticism, though most determined in their efforts, were unable to stem the tide of Cartesianism, which was rapidly gaining ground among the professors, as well as in the student body. In the 17th century the discoveries of Galileo and Copernicus met with a general acceptance among the scientists at Louvain. The rejection of the Scholastic Astronomy was the natural result of the scientific revival of the age. The representatives of the old mode of thought made the most unjustifiable and most un-Scholastic mistake of antagonizing this scientific movement. In their hands the Scholastic philosophy had in fact become so unwieldly, so lifeless that it could not adapt itself to new conditions, to the changed environment in which it was placed, and, in consequence, it had to leave the field hopelessly vanquished.

An appeal was made to ecclesiastical, as well as civil authorities, to put a stop to the Cartesian innovation at Louvain. Jerome de'Vecchi, papal nuncio at Brussels, took steps to prevent the further propagation of Cartesian philosophy. But the new system had already taken deep root at the University; it had already come into such favor that in response to the first condemnatory communication on the part of de Vecchi, the Uni-

[5] *Renati Descartes Epistolae*, vol. I, p. 264 *et seq.*; vol. II, p. 21 *et seq.*

versity authorities contented themselves by giving evasive answers, in no way satisfactory to the nuncio. A second brief, couched in severer terms, brought forth the reply that, whilst portions of Cartesian philosophy were untenable, in many points the teaching of the innovator was more conformable to experience, than the mediaeval system of thought.

Gerhard von Gutshoven (1615-1668) was the first to attempt the teaching of Cartesian philosophy at the University. In his capacity as professor of Mathematics little opportunity was offered him to propagate the new system of thought; but in the faculty of Medicine, with which he became affiliated in 1648, he labored with the greatest zeal in the cause of Cartesianism. William Phillipi, instructor in the college of Lyons, was Gerard's most faithful and most successful ally in this undertaking.

The opponents of Cartesianism did not as yet lay down their arms. In 1662 a number of theses taken from Descartes' Psychology and Cosmology were condemned; but these same theses had only a few months previously been publicly defended by a student of Phillipi's course of Medicine.

Towards the end of the 17th and the first part of the 18th century the University was the scene of endless, and useless controversies regarding matters philosophical, Theological and scientific. New discoveries in the field of science frequently constituted the subject matter of heated debates.[6] Ecclesiastical and civil authorities often interfered in the administration of University affairs; but the University regents asserted their prescriptive right of settling their own differences; when new discoveries arose civil authorities were often called upon to adjust the difficulty. At another time religious orders clashed with the University rulers, who were always ready to guard with jealous care the traditional rights and prerogatives of their institution.

This continuous wrangling, the unceasing disputes had a most disastrous effect on the University. The great centre of learning was rapidly losing its prestige; it was approaching its period of disorganization. Cartesianism won a complete victory over

[6] See the case of Martin van Velden. De Wulf, *La Philosophie Scolastique dans les Pays Bas*, p. 385 *et seq.*

Aristotelianism. Among the sixteen professors, who in their diverse faculties taught philosophy in 1671, only two remained faithful to Scholasticism. Attempts were made from time to time, to revive the now obsolete philosophy of the Schools, but the efforts were half-hearted and remained fruitless. Scholastic philosophy at Louvain was a thing of the past.

The interference in the University discipline and in the programme of studies, on the part of Joseph II. of Austria, was the cause of complete disorganization of this institution.[7] The University was entirely removed from the jurisdiction of the Belgian episcopate and of the Holy See. An independent general Seminary for the Low Countries, subject to Austria, was established at Louvain in 1786; all the bishops were commanded to close their diocesan seminaries and to send all their seminarists to that city. The Holy Ghost College was enlarged to accommodate the large number of the students. The administration, as well as the teaching, was almost entirely in the hands of strangers, sent there for that purpose by Joseph II. The Revolution, finally, suppressed the University, which for centuries had been a distinguished centre of higher education in Europe.

The University of Louvain was reopened in 1814 by the Dutch government. In 1834 it passed into the hands of the Belgian episcopate, with the understanding that its degrees would be recognized by the state, whilst the bishops took upon themselves the burden of securing funds for its support. Cartesianism was, under the new administration, the recognized system of philosophy at the University. Louvain, at this period, was made the home of Ontologism, as taught there by Ubagh, Tits and others.

The Encyclical "Aeterni Patris" issued by Leo XIII. Aug. 4th, 1879, marks a new epoch in the history of Modern Philosophy; beginning with this date the University of Louvain was destined to play a more important rôle in the development of thought, then it had ever done before. By a happy com-

[7] A. Theiner, *Jean Henri, Comte de Frankenberg et sa lutte pour la liberté de l'Église*, edition of 1852.

bination of circumstances Louvain has come to occupy in recent times the foremost rank among Catholic schools in the effort to revive the philosophy of the Schoolmen. It has the wish of the Holy Father that Thomistic philosophy should be taught in all Seminaries and in all Catholic universities. In a special brief of Dec. 25th, 1880, addressed to the Cardinal Deschamps of Mechlin, the Belgian bishops were urged to establish a chair of Thomistic Philosophy at the University. It was suggested by Roman authorities to engage a Dominican Father for this task, as the order of preachers had preserved in all its purity the teaching of the Angelic Doctor. But the episcopate and the University authorities, determined to guard the secular independence of the institution, proposed Abbé Mercier, a professor in the Seminary of Mechlin, as their choice for the new undertaking. Rome willingly complied with their wish. Before entering upon his new field of labor, Mercier undertook a journey to Rome to receive a plan of studies from the Holy Father himself.

The opening lecture on Neo-Scholastic Philosophy was delivered by Mercier in October, 1882. The discourse was published, in pamphlet form, the same year. He dwells in the lecture on the conditions of the philosophic thought of the age [8] and points out the distinctive traits of Thomism: the reconciliation of faith and reason; the demonstration that natural and supernatural truth, have the same source, cannot contradict each other; there exists a distinction but no opposition between the two orders. He shows further how St. Thomas was always bent on unifying the data of experience in intellectual speculation. His aim ever was to establish the true relation between natural sciences and philosophy. He elaborated the great Scholastic synthesis, in which facts of science are reduced to harmony and unity, in the higher sphere of Metaphysical principles. As the scientist synthesizes the result of his patient research by formulating laws, so all true philosophy aims at a coördination of all sciences, in the field of principles possess-

[8] *Discours d' Ouverture du Cours de Philosophie de S. Thomas*, pp. 12 *et seq.*

ing the character of universality. Mercier made these leading thoughts of Thomistic Philosophy his own, and faithfully adhered to them during the twenty-four years of his labor at Louvain.

The project of teaching Thomism at Louvain was in the beginning looked upon by many with apprehension and diffidence. So deeply rooted was the anti-Scholastic feeling, that those in authority considered it necessary to caution the young professor to exercise extreme prudence and the greatest circumspection in the enterprise. Bulky, antiquated tomes of Scholastic Philosophy should not be brought into the lecture rooms; old stereotyped Scholastic formulas should be avoided as much as possible as their use would undoubtedly expose him to ridicule.

Mercier soon succeeded in dispelling from the minds of his hearers all prejudices which they might have entertained against the Schoolmen. His pupils were in a short time convinced that even Scholasticism may be made reasonable and acceptable when presented by a skillful exponent. The proof of Mercier's success was the daily increasing number of hearers, both lay and ecclesiastical.

In his first year Mercier taught Psychology in the faculty of Philosophy and Letters. In this period of his University career Mercier published a lithographed edition of a work on the Freedom of the Will, entitled "Le Determinisme Mechanique et le Libre Arbitre." Then there appeared successively several pamphlets on various philosophical subjects, *e. g.,* La Parole; La Pensée et la Loi de la Conversation de l'Energie, etc.

From the beginning Mercier entertained the hope of establishing a complete, separate school of Neo-Scholasticism within the University. The founding of the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie in 1891, was in large measure, due to Mercier's success at Louvain and to his influence in Rome. The suggestion of establishing the School of St. Thomas was made by Leo XIII. in a brief to the Primate of Belgium, July 15th, 1888.[9] A determined effort was made at this time to place the

[9] Mercier, *Rapport sur les Études Supérieures,* p. 22.

Institute in the hands of a religious community. But the Belgian bishops and the University Senate unanimously decided to place Mercier at the head of the School. The appointment was confirmed by Leo in a letter to Cardinal Goosens, Nov. 8th, 1889.[10] The selection of competent instructors was left entirely to Mercier.

To work with success in the restoration of the Philosophy of the Schoolmen, its exponent must be conversant with the Scholasticism exemplified in the writings of the great Masters of the Middle Ages. But of representatives of the Neo-Scholastic movement is also required a complete acquaintance with modern thought and a thorough familiarity with the scientific achievements of the present day. "Nova et Vetera," the motto chosen by Mercier, expresses the general tendency of the new school. The mediaeval mode of thought is to be adapted to modern conditions; traditional philosophy is to be expressed in language intelligible to contemporary minds; metaphysical principles of the Schoolmen are to be brought into harmony with modern science. Mercier repeats time and again that this is the guiding principle, the object of this Institute. "Analysis is the initial step of all true Philosophy," he says, "synthesis is its natural complement." "Philosophy is by definition the science of things in their universality; in order to arrive at ultimate causes it is necessary to pass through more immediate causes, those that constitute the object of scientific research." Philosophy is the bond of union among sciences; its scope is to synthesize results of scientific investigation and thus to construct a symmetrical edifice of human knowledge. Mercier learned well the lesson so clearly taught in the history of Scholasticism. One of the principal causes of the downfall of the traditional Philosophy was the refusal on the part of its defenders to accept the new scientific discoveries, their reluctance to incorporate them into their system of Philosophy. Mercier made no such mistake. He called to the professorship in the new faculty men, whose scientific training gave them the right

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

to speak with authority on matters of science and who have also mastered the spirit of Scholasticism in its Golden Age.

All branches of natural science do not stand in the same immediate relationship to every branch of Philosophy. Whilst the knowledge of some is indispensable, others are only remotely connected with a isolated line of philosophic speculation. Chemistry, Mineralogy, Crystallography are essential for the study of Cosmology, which deals with the essence of matter. A knowledge of Biology, Physiology, Neurology is at present indispensable to the study of Psychology, the philosophical treatise on human nature. These branches of science are taught at the Institute. The courses of Biology, Physiology, Anatomy, Histology, Neurology are intrusted to the care of the respective specialists in the Medical faculty. Furthermore, two ecclesiastics were sent to Germany to perfect themselves in natural sciences. Professor Thiéry, Doctor in Physics and Mathematics, pursued the study of Physiological Psychology under William Wundt at Leipzig, the birthplace of this science. D. Nys, Doctor in Thomistic Philosophy, followed the course of Chemistry under Professor Oswald at the same University.

Professor Thiéry, in his course of Experimental Psychology at the Institute, follows closely William Wundt's valuable work "Die Physiologische Psychologie." He acquired in Germany not only a most comprehensive knowledge of this subject; there are even in his lectures unmistakable remnants of the proverbial Teutonic heaviness of style. The laboratory of Experimental Psychology, furnished largely through Thiéry's private funds, is well equipped with apparatus. Experiments are performed by students under the professor's personal direction. Private instructions in the use of instruments are given to students who desire to make a specialty of Experimental Psychology. Several articles and monographs have already appeared, based directly on experiments in this laboratory. A work of considerable value was the result of Mr. Michotte's work in the laboratory, it bears the title "Les Signes Régionaux." [11]

[11] Mr. Michotte, a layman, an *agregé* of the School of St. Thomas, is at the present Prof. Thiéry's assistant in the laboratory.

Canon Nys's course is a fair sample of Neo-Scholastic work. He has a thorough comprehension of the spirit of the new movement, is eminently qualified to bring the Nova et Vetera into harmonious adjustment. His exhaustive course of Chemistry is made subservient to the study of Cosmology. Laws formulated in Chemistry constitute the basis of cosmological research. Laboratory work, which he superintends in person, is an integral part of the course of Chemistry. Private instructions in special departments of this science are given at the request of students.

A brief course entitled "Le Problème Cosmologique," written partly in Latin, was issued by him in a lithographed form; this publication is made the basis of his larger work "Cosmologie," which appeared in 1903. This is without doubt, the most comprehensive and the most scientific work that has so far been written on the subject from a Neo-Scholastic point of view.

In the first part of the work the mechanical theory of matter is subjected to a critical examination. Nys establishes a distinction between chemical and philosophical atomism; the former remains within the limits of natural science; the latter claims to solve the problem of the ultimate essence of matter. This philosophical theory—called also Modern Mechanism—is on close examination found to be untenable, because it stands in evident contradiction to well established facts of Chemistry, Physics, Stereo-Chemistry, Crystallography. The ultimate test and the basis of the criticism of a philosophical theory are in this work invariably facts revealed through scientific research; thus science is made the starting point of philosophical investigation. Dr. Nys finds that Aristotelian hylomorphism is not opposed to the latest discoveries in science; in fact, no other philosophical theory on the essence of matter receives such confirmation from science as the oft ridiculed system of "matter and form." The proof of the theses is elaborated with extreme care, revealing the author's complete knowledge of science and his keen comprehension of metaphysical principles. This is the feature of the treatment of all the problems comprised in

his course of Cosmology. Nys's lectures embrace the study of time and space—subjects not embodied in his "Cosmologie;" but two smaller works appeared on these subjects at an earlier date.

Cardinal Mercier's achievements as teacher and author are too well known to need a lengthy exposition. Not only his own country, but all Europe, England, Ireland, North and South America pay homage to his scholarship. Belgium honored itself by making Mercier a member of the Royal Academy; Rome has bestowed upon him the highest dignity within her power by electing him to the college of Cardinals; his appointment on the commission of studies, within the same body, puts the seal of approval on his work at Louvain and offers a wider field for his scholarly influence.

During fifteen years Mercier labored unceasingly, with untiring zeal in the cause of Neo-Scholasticism at the Institute. Despite misrepresentation, contradiction, opposition frequently on the part of those from whom he expected encouragement, he persevered in the good work and achieved remarkable success. His writings are translated into many languages; the number of his pupils is increasing every year; the Neo-Scholastic movement is spreading, is gaining adherents and making itself felt, to such an extent, that men like Eucken, Boutroux and Paulsen, consider it a worthy rival of Kantism. Mercier was undoubtedly more influential, than any other individual scholar, in the restoration of Thomism.

Besides numerous articles in various magazines and smaller monographs, Mercier's writings comprise the following works: *La Logique; L'Ontologie; La Psychologie,* 2 vols; *Critériologie Générale; Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine.*[12]

Examining contemporary systems of thought and studying the dominant tendencies in the Philosophy of the present day, Mercier finds that Cartesianism and Kantism have, in the past two centuries, exerted a most detrimental influence on philo-

[12] We hope that among the many and arduous duties of an archbishop, a Primate and a Cardinal, Mercier will find sufficient time to complete his *Critériologie Speciale,* a work promised some years ago.

sophical studies. The intellectual activity, during this period, has been guided and controlled by the Philosophy of Königsberg, and the system of the French innovator. Their thoughts permeate all branches of Philosophy and non-Catholic Theology even at the present time.

Mercier, in his writings and in the lecture hall, combats the fundamental errors of Kantism and Cartesianism. In his work "Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine" he traces the evolution of philosophic thought from the time of the appearance of "Discours de la Méthode" to the end of the 19th century. He believes he finds three distinct traits in Modern Philosophy, directly or indirectly traceable to Descartes.[13] The importance and validity of metaphysical study is minimized and a system of Idealistic criticism is substituted in its place, the result being a tendency to phenomenalism; the alleged antithesis of matter and mind, a remnant of Cartesianism in contemporary thought, leaves the problem of the mutual interaction of soul and body in a state of hopeless confusion; the quantitative aspect of psychic phenomena preoccupies the attention of contemporary psychologists, to a nearly complete exclusion of Rational Psychology. Modern Psychology is purely empirical in its method and in its scope; it is exclusively a branch of natural science and no longer the philosophical study of human nature.

Descartes' system of Philosophy is vitiated by his doctrine of the complete separation of the body and soul in man; the corporeal and the spiritual faculties in man have nothing in common; they constitute two completely separate orders of reality. From this absolute dualism there developed two entirely opposed systems of thought in Modern Philosophy. Idealistic tendencies are already found in Cartesianism, but the system received its complete expression in Berkeley, Hume and Kant. The Mechanistic side of the new Philosophy passed into the Materialism of De la Mettrie and his school. These two movements, so widely divergent, gradually converge and finally coalesce into contemporary Idealism which assumes a

[13] Mercier, *Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, p. 215 *et seq.*

positivistic aspect in modern Philosophy. As a remedy Mercier advises a return to a system of thought which will not misrepresent the nature of man, but will uphold a most intimate, a substantial union of soul and body; a Psychology which will allow a proper sphere of action to the material, as well as spiritual faculties in man. Experimental Psychology has furnished conclusive proof of the untenableness of a system of thought which relegates all conscious phenomena to the region of purely spiritual realities. Whilst "it is impossible to identify psychic life with functions of nerve centres," still "conditions of sense-activity brought out by Weber have their foundation in the fact that the sensitive faculties are bound to nervous organs." [14] "Sensation is an act of the nervous organ; it is therefore bound in its functions to the chemical and physical conditions of nervous activity."

Thomistic Philosophy assigns to the spiritual and intellectual functions of the human mind their proper place and at the same time it stands in complete harmony with results obtained in the Experimental Psychology. "The acts of sensitive life," St. Thomas often repeats, "do not belong to the soul alone, nor to the body alone; their subject is the combination of both." The human intellect apprehends incorporeal realities; through its powers of abstraction and reflection, this faculty forms abstract ideas and universal principles. Nevertheless it is incapable of exercising these transcendent functions without the coöperation of the material senses.

In the Critériologie Générale, Mercier treats Epistomological problems that have arisen in Modern Philosophy since the time of Kant. This work has brought him the highest praise from students of Kantism. Mercier shows in the opening chapter that the human intellect of its own nature tends to the attainment of truth, and that the mind finds its satisfaction and enjoyment in the contemplation of truth. Doubt, uncertainty, hesitation, states in which the mind is kept in suspense and dread,—are not normal conditions of man's cognitive

[14] Mercier, *The Relation of Psychology to Philosophy*, p. 47 (tr. Dr. Wirth), a discourse delivered before the Royal Academy of Belgium.

faculties. The intellect is made for the purpose of knowing truth and of knowing it with certainty. In the exposition of St. Thomas' definition of truth, Mercier brings out more explicitly the content of the definition in paraphrasing it as follows: "Veritas est adæquatio rei jam apprehensæ adeoque intellectui objectæ et intellectus rem prius apprehensam representantis." Certitude is that state in which the mind knows that it is in possession of truth. Now truth can exist only between two terms apprehended by the intellect. The problem of certitude has, then, a twofold aspect: the inquiry into the value of the relation between the subject and the predicate of a judgment, and, secondly, the problem of the objective reality of the two terms of comparison. The criterion of truth, to be worthy of a rational being, must be internal, objective and immediate.

Kant's transcendental criticism is first examined in connection with the first epistemological problem, the objectivity of the relation between the two terms of comparison. The philosopher of Königsberg gives a too restrictive signification to the term analytic judgments, his synthetic *a priori* judgments are, in reality, analytical in the scientific acceptation of the term. There are two classes of analytic propositions: those in which the predicate is a complete or partial definition of the subject: or where the predicate is an *accidens proprium* of the subject. Kant's teaching on categories gives synthetic *a priori* judgments a purely subjective signification. Mercier then proceeds to examine Kant's contention that principles, on which all true knowledge is based, are synthetic *a priori*. He shows that mathematical propositions, laws empirically established, and principles of metaphysics are either the result of direct observation, as laws of science—or else they are accepted by the mind as true because of their objective evidence.

In solving the second epistemological problem, Mercier gives a lucid exposition of the Scholastic theory of abstraction; Kant's teaching on the forms *a priori* is not only obscure and unintelligible, it is self-contradictory. The "Critériologie" further deals with Positivism, the system of "Social Interest,"

the pragmatic movement; Neo-Criticism and Voluntarism are discussed in this comprehensive work. Even problems of Metageometry are treated in this interesting volume.

Mercier's "Psychologie" was written to serve as a text-book in the faculty of Philosophy and Letters. His lectures at the Institute are independent of the published work, the treatment of psychological subjects being more comprehensive and more exhaustive and given partly, at least, in Latin. His method of teaching includes a special treatment of some important psychological problem each year. The topic of more detailed study varies annually—actual problems being generally selected for this purpose. His "Psychologie" is published in two volumes; the subject matter of the first part includes the study of organic and sensitive life; the second volume contains a treatise on the nature of the human soul. The feature of the work is the author's familiarity with the immense literature of the subject; he is acquainted with the latest works published on recent psychological problems in English, German, French, Russian and Spanish. Some leading chapters of the work deserve special mention. His study on the nature and origin of life leaves no doubt as to his first-hand knowledge of biological and psychological subjects. The freedom of the will constitutes the subject of a most beautiful chapter of his work; his arguments against various forms of determinism are forcible and convincing. The relation between sense knowledge and intellectual cognition are handled in a masterly manner. In connection with this subject abnormal states of consciousness are described and explained on principles of Thomistic psychology, hallucination, somnambulism, hysteria, hypnotism, telepathy, spiritualism are some of the subjects dealt with in a most interesting manner.[15]

History of Philosophy is not neglected at the Institute. Professor de Wulf, of Louvain, has already won for himself

[15] Since Mercier's elevation to the archbishopric of Mechlin in 1906, Prof. Leon Noël teaches his subjects at Louvain. Noël was especially prepared for this work under Mercier's private tutorship. Mercier's successor on the faculty is a Doctor and an *agregé* of the School of St. Thomas.

an international reputation; he is considered an authority on the history of Scholastic Philosophy. His course at the Institute comprises the entire history of Philosophy, with a detailed study of the origin, development, decline of Scholastic Philosophy and the subsequent attempt at its restoration under the form of Neo-Scholasticism. The Seminar of History of Philosophy, under the direction of de Wulf, offers opportunity for private, original work. This method of giving students encouragement for personal investigation exists in connection with all the principal subjects of philosophy. Suggestions on the selection of subjects, the material to be employed in the preparation of papers, are offered by teachers—but the work is prepared without their assistance. Papers are then read and discussed at the conference, at which all members of the Seminar assemble. The philosophical society of the Institute holds its meetings bi-monthly. A lecture is given frequently by former students of the School, bearing on matters connected with the specialty pursued by the respective graduates. The Alumni gather at the Alma Mater once a year—to keep in close touch with the Institute—and to discuss problems of philosophy. Three original essays are annually offered for discussion at the meeting. The educational value of these societies can hardly be overestimated. Graduates are kept informed of the work done at the Institute, and the students reap the benefit of the practical experience of former students in their chosen professions. A solidarity of action is thus established among the Alumni, lay and ecclesiastical, and the students of the Institute. It is largely owing to this unity of purpose among men of diverse professions, that the Institute is rapidly becoming a powerful factor in the intellectual movement of Belgium.

The School of St. Thomas offers to its students a complete course of Philosophy, an entire synthetic system of thought. In addition to the study of natural sciences referred to above, Philosophical subjects are taught in the following order: Logic, Ontology, Psychology (Experimental and Rational), Criteriology (General and Special), Cosmology, Ethics, Natural Theology, History of Philosophy, Sociology.

In the brief analysis of the work done at the Institut Supérieur, I have endeavored to point out the general tendency, the scope and aim of this School of Philosophy, and the method of arriving at the Ideal held up to Catholic Scholars by the immortal Leo XIII. Mercier clearly understood Leo's plan and possessed the power of infusing this spirit into his associates; he concentrated all the forces at his disposal towards the realization of that one end— to adapt what is true in Scholasticism to modern intellectual needs and conditions, to improve, complete, and correct the old Scholasticism in the light of recent intellectual achievements. Mercier is furthermore a vigorous champion of what Cardinal Newman calls Liberal Education, expressing thereby the principle that the cultivation of the intellect is an end to be pursued for its own sake. Mercier has no sympathy with men who insist merely on the commercial value of education. "Knowledge is worth possessing for what it is, and not only for what it does." The aim of the University education in philosophy should no longer be exclusively apologetic: Catholic Schools should give us "Men who will devote themselves to science for itself, without any aim that is professional or directly apologetic, men who will work at first hand in fashioning the materials of the edifice of science, and who will contribute to its gradual construction." But if original research is desired, the philosophical synthesis of its results is still more necessary. "Particular sciences do not give us a complete representation of reality; they demand and give rise to 'science of sciences,' to a general synthesis—to philosophy." But at the present day when sciences have become so vast and numerous, how are we to achieve the double task of keeping *au courant* with all of them, and of synthesizing their results. Associations must make up for the insufficiency of the isolated individual; men of analysis and men of synthesis must come together and form, by their daily intercourse an united action, an atmosphere suited to the harmonious and equal development both of science and philosophy.[16]

JOHN SELISKAR.

THE ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

[16] Mercier, *Rapport sur les Études*, tr. Dr. Coffey, in De Wulf's *Scholasticism, Old and New.*

THE PROMULGATION OF PONTIFICAL LAW.

The New Commentarium.

On the 29th of September, 1908, Pope Pius X. published a constitution, *Promulgandi,* in which after a brief indication of the nature and forms of the promulgation of papal enactments, he formulated the first general law ever entered in the code of the Church prescribing one exclusive method for the promulgation of the decrees of the Holy See. Beginning with the first of January of the present year, publication in an official journal, to be known as *Commentarium Officiale de Apostolicæ Sedis Actis,* will be so essential a part of every legislative act that no ordinance, apart from occasional exceptions which the Pope may deem necessary, can have the force of law unless it appear in this journal. Promulgation, so necessary a detail in the making of an article of canon law, must take this specific form. All other methods pass into history.

This Commentarium, which, by the way, is to be not an explanation but a list or record, will also contain other matter than laws. In it will be found all such acts and documents, emanating from the Pope or from the Congregations or Offices of the Roman Curia, as may be of universal interest; and in the set of rules which appeared as an appendix to the *Sapienti Consilio,*[1] the secretaries of the various Congregations are instructed to communicate to the editors of the Commentarium those acts whose promulgation is necessary or whose publication is desirable or useful.

There is no need to emphasize the benefit which such an authentic compilation of present law will be to priests and particularly to those whose pursuits require of them an acquaintance with the most recent pontifical or congregational acts. What a vast amount of time and labor, and, it may be said also, of error, might have been saved if such a publication

[1] Normae peculiares, cap. 6, n 1.

had been available during the past few centuries. There has never been anything like it; not surely, the old Giornale di Roma; nor the many canonical magazines published by private enterprise; nor the Osservatore Romano, which too rarely furnished to its readers the text of laws or of decrees; not even the Acta Sanctae Sedis, which, though declared authentic and official since 1904, lacked that completeness which will characterize the new publication. The Commentarium meets a general want, and, considered merely as an official compilation of important acts, will occupy a unique place among the sources of canon law.

The Meaning of Promulgation.

But an immeasurably greater importance will attach to this new journal as a channel of promulgation. In this regard, the constitution *Promulgandi* marks an epoch in legal history, a breaking with the past, the full significance of which can be appreciated only if we go back and trace the doctrine and practice which find, one its complement and the other its term, in Pope Pius' legal innovation.

To the canonist the term promulgation conveys a very specific and technical meaning. It denotes something far more definite and essential than mere publication or notification; it is something different from even the announcement of an enacted law; it is a step in the process of enactment itself. "Leges," says Gratian,[2] "instituuntur quum promulgantur;" and St. Thomas[3] includes promulgation in his definition of a law,—"quaedam ordinatio rationis ad bonum commune ab eo qui curam communitatis habet promulgata." An unpromulgated law is a contradiction in terms. The ecclesiastical lawgiver must announce his will to the community before that will can take effect, and it is in this announcement that promulgation consists.[4]

[2] c. 3, D. 7.

[3] I, II, q. 90, a. 4.

[4] Meyer, *Institutiones Juris Naturalis*, Vol. II, p. 560. "Promulgatio est solemnis publicatio seu denuntiatio legis nomine legiferae auctoritatis ad communitatem facta."

In the Church, such an announcement is held to be of the essence of law,[5] for the reason that a law is a rule of action imposed, not on one or another individual or even on all individuals as such, but on the community, and therefore should be notified to the community in an authoritative and authentic way.[6] The legislator always takes steps to bring the law to the knowledge of the individual members of the Church, but in so doing he is going beyond the requirements of promulgation which regards the society at large and not its component members.

Secular Practice.

If we turn our attention from the legislation of the Church to that of the states which make up our nation, we are apt to be at a loss to detect in our secular process of lawmaking any equivalent for this promulgation of which the canonist makes so much. The usual course is for a bill to be introduced in the legislature, to be read three times, to be concurred in by both houses, and after approval by the Governor, to become a law. Very often it takes effect from the date of its passage, and, if a period be fixed before which it shall be inoperative, the action of the legislature is not considered to depend for completion or perfection on anything corresponding to promulgation. The people are making the laws through their representatives and are supposed to need no intimation of what is presumed to be their own action.

This at least is the rule, from which there are but few exceptions, the most notable being in the case of Louisiana which has borrowed from the Code Napoléon and through it from the Civil Law the requirement of promulgation.[7] The Con-

[5] St. Thomas, I, II, q. 90, a. 4.

[6] Suarez, *De Legibus*, I, XI, 1, 3.

[7] Constitution of Louisiana, art. 40. "No law passed by the General Assembly, except the general appropriation act or act appropriating money for the expenses of the General Assembly, shall take effect until promulgated. A law shall be considered promulgated at the place where the State journal is published the day after the publication of such laws in the State journal, and in all other parts twenty days after such promulgation."

stitution of Indiana [8] provides that "no act shall take effect until the same shall have been published and circulated in the several counties of the state by authority," and the new Constitution of Michigan [9] requires that "all laws shall be published in book form within sixty days after the final adjournment of the session." But these requirements cannot be said, even in the case of Louisiana, to enunciate a general principle which regards the essence of the legislative act, absolutely speaking, since the Constitutions of Indiana and of Michigan and of Louisiana permit an act to become law, in certain emergencies, without being published and circulated. Louisiana is really the state which in theory and practice adheres most closely to the doctrine held as sacred by both Roman and Canon Law, and it is the only state save Michigan [10] which makes use of the term in its fundamental law. In the decisions of our courts, the word promulgation is used, in a sense far remote from its technical meaning, to denote any kind of intimation or notification, *v. g.*, of the rules enacted by a manufacturing establishment for the government of its employees.[11]

The origin of the American practice can be traced back to an English origin. Before the reign of Henry VII, it was customary, at the end of every session of Parliament, to send the King's writ with a transcript of all acts, to the sheriff of each county, with an order that he should take measures to have these acts publicly proclaimed in his county court and laid open there for inspection.[12] But at the same time the rule held that each statute took effect, strangely enough, not from the close of the session, nor yet from the precise date of its passage, but from the first day of the session at which it had been enacted. It was only in the reign of George III that this unjust fiction was mitigated to the extent that a law should

[8] Art. IV, sect. 28.

[9] Art. V, sect. 39.

[10] Art. 15, sect. 6.—The Constitution of Wisconsin, Art. VII, section 21, provides that "no *general* law shall be in force until published."

[11] See *v. g.*, the case reported in 18 New York, Supp., p. 769.

[12] Coke, *Institutes*, III, 41; IV, 26.

operate only from the time when it received the royal assent.

It was easy in a legal system whose origins lay amid such disregard of promulgation to make light of what would appear to be a requirement of natural justice, and we can readily sympathize with the view of Kent [13] that "it would be more reasonable and just that the statute should not be deemed to operate upon the persons and property of individuals, or impose pains and penalties for acts done in contravention of it, until the law has been duly promulgated."

This remark of Kent confirms the inference drawn above, that the theory which has entrenched itself in our secular law makes the legal vigor of an enactment depend solely on its passage by the legislature, without regard to its formal promulgation. Actually, however, in many of our states, stringent measures have been taken to secure a general knowledge of statutes before they begin to take effect,[14] so that in these states a *de facto* promulgation in addition to that implied in the action of the legislature, may be said to take place; but, I repeat, that any solemn promulgation is not regarded as absolutely essential in the creation of a law is evidenced by the express provisions that a statute may in certain specified cases take effect immediately on passage.

The History of Promulgation.

But, to return to the canonical view of this matter, while promulgation is considered to be essential, the method of promulgating Church laws is left to the discretion of the legislator. And no better proof of the liberty enjoyed by ecclesiastical authorities in this regard could be imagined than the varying forms employed by the Popes of the past to bring the

[13] Kent, *Commentaries*, I, 457.

[14] *E. g.*, No law, except general appropriation act, shall take effect until ninety days after the adjournment of the session at which it was enacted, *unless in case of emergency:* Const. of Texas, III, 39; Michigan, V, 21; South Dakota, III, 22. Until July first after the close of the session, *unless in case of emergency:* Const. of North Dakota, III, 67; Code of Virginia, sect. 4.

Church, the ecclesiastical body-politic, into contact with their decrees. Down to the issuance of the constitution *Promulgandi,* no general law had ever favored one usage rather than another, and any uniformity of practice that obtained was due simply to custom and not to any express regulation.

It is possible, however, to divide the history of promulgation into two great periods, each characterized by a method which prevailed over all others, though not to their utter exclusion. In the collection of examples which Zaccaria [15] searched out from the letters and decretals of Popes from the fourth to the seventeenth century, it is quite evident that for a thousand years the Popes were careful to secure the publication of their decrees not only at Rome but throughout the Church. Whatever may have been the condition of theory at that time, the fact was that sometimes by special messengers sent out from Rome to the provinces, sometimes through the agency of patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, synods, and even of parish priests, extra-Roman promulgation was insisted on and secured. It is not easy in every case to determine whether what was aimed at was really promulgation and not merely a more general knowledge of the law. In fact, while it appears in many instances that the law was not considered to bind until it had been published locally, it is no less certain that in this earlier period the transmission of a papal act to the bishops of one locality was frequently considered sufficient ground for maintaining that all persons in all places were bound by it. Thus a law which Pope Siricius had directed to bishops in Spain and Africa, was held by Pope Innocent I. to govern the life of the Church in Gaul; and similarly Pope Zosimus, in 418, affirms that legislation which he had previously published in Gaul and Spain was in force in the churches of Illyria. In these cases, which are by no means isolated, publication in one place was considered to justify the presumption of subsequent universal knowledge of the law and of its universal force. It is also to be noted that many of the examples cited

[15] *Dissertationes Latinae,* Vol. II, Diss. XI. From him subsequent writers have borrowed freely. See *v. g.,* Bouix, *De Principiis,* pp. 248 ss.

by Zaccaria and others from the documents of the early middle ages relate to regulations which had a local bearing, or to sentences rendered in particular cases. But promulgation in the provinces is so frequent in the case of general laws until the end of the thirteenth century that this earlier period may very properly be called the period of provincial promulgation. The circumstances of the time seem to explain its general adoption. Communication was not so easy between nation and nation or city and city as it became later, and hence it was proper that the transmission of knowledge of a law should be promoted by special methods. And, more important still, this method of promulgation had not been invoked to support schism or heresy or to weaken the authority of the Holy See. In any case, it must be remembered that this method was not inseparably bound up with the legislative authority of the Church, and that if circumstances should prompt the Popes to follow another course, their freedom would not be hampered by the practice of their predecessors, who, after all, had given ample proof, even in practice, of their right to dictate the style of promulgating their own enactments.

The second period in the history of promulgation, the period which includes our own time, dates from the pontificate of Martin IV. (1281-1285) and although, like the first period, it furnishes examples of strikingly diverse procedure, the practice prevails of publishing laws at Rome only and dating their legal value from the time of such publication. The first recorded example is found in the constitution "Michaelem," published by Martin IV. on Nov. 18, 1281, at Orvieto, whither the strife between Guelph and Ghibelline had driven the Pope.[16] The excommunication decreed in this constitution bore on the Emperor Michael Paleologus, and there being therefore no hope of securing its publication at Constantinople, where promulgation might naturally be expected to be made, the Pope ordered that his decree should be affixed to the principal church in Orvieto. It is true that the act so published was a decree of excommunication rather than a law in the

[16] Zaccaria, p. 207; Schulte, *Die Lehre*, p. 80.

strict sense, but it is precisely the kind of act which had usually been carried for publication to the provinces, and one whose nature would seem to prompt such a course. In any event, here was a method of promulgation which, employed several times by Martin IV.[17] and persevered in by later Popes resident at Rome, became the general rule. Moreover, here also was the motive of this change in procedure, a motive which was to grow in strength as time went on,—the legislative power of the Popes could not be made to depend on the consent or refusal of an irreligious or hostile sovereign or of an insubordinate prelate to permit the public announcement of new laws within his realm or his diocese. Sometimes, an additional reason seems to be suggested in pontifical letters, "quia difficile foret praesentes litteras ad singula quaeque loca deferri,[18] but the fundamental difficulty is always found to lie in the danger that otherwise the law and its purpose would be frustrated. Leo X. uses the clause just quoted in his bull "Exsurge Domine"[19] against Luther, which for obvious reasons—the same substantially that held in the case of the Emperor Michael —could not be published at Luther's place of actual residence; which reasons he refers to explicitly in his letter against Luther in 1521,—"propter iis faventium potentiam." The Pope must legislate, and it must not be in the power of those subject to his laws to escape their effects; if promulgation be, as it is, essential in lawmaking, it must be possible for the Pope to promulgate his laws in such a way as to assure his independence as a legislator, in a way completely and exclusively under his control.

It must not be thought, however, that the method inaugurated by Martin IV. began immediately to prevail and be more common than the older usages with which the Church was familiar. We have to pass through a period of over a century and a half before we meet regularly references to those particular churches and other places of promulgation at Rome

[17] Twice in 1281 and once in 1282.

[18] Calixtus III, Oct. 31, 1457; Nicholas V, March 26, 1448.

[19] June 15, 1520.

which have since, up to the first of the present year, been so frequently mentioned in Apostolic decrees. But in the fifteenth century, promulgation at Rome comes ordinarily to mean the reading of a decree in one or more of the principal churches of the city, and the affixing of copies to the doors of the church or churches and in other offices and public places. Probably the fact that laws of immediate interest to the residents of Rome or affecting the temporal dominion of the Holy See had been thus read and affixed at St. Peter's, or the Capitol, or the Chancery,[20] contributed to the adoption of this particular style; or it may be possible to trace an earlier origin in the ancient Roman usage of inscribing laws on tablets of wood or bronze and posting them in some place of public resort.[21]

Regularly the portion of the decree providing for promulgation ran that the full text of the law was to be read [22] by cursores in St. Peter's and St. John Lateran at a time when the people were assembled there, that immediately the texts which had been read should be left affixed to the doors of these churches and later should be replaced by copies. Sometimes it was ordered that additional copies should be posted in the Apostolic Chancery, in the public square known as the Campo di Fiori, and occasionally in the Curia Innocentiana. St. Peter's and St. John Lateran came to be the preferred churches in this connection, but St. Mary Major was sometimes included. The details were not always the same; the *Dominici Gregis* of Pius IV. was affixed only at St. Peter's and St. John Lateran; the *Dum pro communi* of Sixtus V. was posted at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, and the Campo di Fiori; the *Dei miseratione* of Benedict XIV. at St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Chancery, and Campo di Fiori; the *Cum primum* of Pius VI. at St. Peter's, the Chancery, the Curia Generalis and

[20] Eug. IV, *Cum Vectigalia*, and *Divina*.

[21] Krueger, *Geschichte der Quellen des römischen Rechts*, p. 23; Landucci, *Storia del Diritto Romano*, Vol. I, p. 64.

[22] This public reading gradually became unusual.

Campo di Fiori.[23] Recently we have seen more than one law promulgated in a secretariat of the Curia. But this variation in detail was of no importance; the essential fact remained the same in every case that the law, by reason of its publication at Rome, was held to be promulgated, and went into effect immediately if no delay were granted in the decree itself.

Promulgation at Rome became the rule, but the rule itself was still under the control of the legislator, and therefore exceptions were possible. The famous chapter *Tametsi* of the Council of Trent is perhaps the best known example, requiring special promulgation in each parish before it could take effect. But it does not stand alone. The brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* in which Clement XIV. decreed the suppression of the Society of Jesus required not only a local or provincial but a personal promulgation; it was to go into effect for particular houses only after it had been published therein by specially appointed agents; and it is owing to this fact that in some localities suppression was never effected. The *Romanos Pontifices* of Leo XIII., which has been of so much importance for us since its extension to this country in 1885, was promulgated not in Rome but in England; and the *Ne Temere,* which recently gave us new law on the form of marriages and engagements, was promulgated by its mere transmission to the Ordinaries of the various dioceses throughout the Church. These examples are but a few out of many which demonstrate that the validity of promulgation was not considered to be dependent on any one form, no matter how frequently that form might have been employed.

Conflict of Theory.

We search in vain in the writings of modern canonists and theologians for any evidence of a desire to question the sufficiency of Roman promulgation, or to insist on the necessity of a return to the practice of eight hundred years ago. There

[23] In Art. IX of the Law of Guarantees the Italian Government affirmed the liberty of the Pope to publish his acts by affixing them to the basilicas and churches of Rome.

is now but one theory, with no rival probable or even less common opinion to contest its right to supremacy. But this unanimity did not always prevail. In the history of Canon Law some distinguished names are found among the adherents of a by no means contemptible school which long held out for the necessity of provincial promulgation. We can see their influence in Suarez's [24] statement, reflecting the condition of canonical thought in his day, that authors are not of one mind as to the necessity of promulgation in particular dioceses, and also in his unwillingness to say more for what has become the only accepted opinion, than that it is more commonly held. It is this *communis recepta opinio* which he himself adopts and proves at some length, but then and at a later day not a few writers of the rank of Molina, Billuart, Engel and Pichler were no less firm in their adhesion to the view which the author of the great work De Legibus had rejected. Their theory of the necessity of provincial publication long continued to be a probable opinion.

In view of the fact that this opinion, once probable, is no longer regarded as such, two questions naturally suggest themselves,—what were the arguments on which its probability was considered to rest, and why was it that in the course of time what was once held as probable came to be considered by all as absolutely improbable.

If we take up any of the authors mentioned above [25] as champions of provincial publication we shall find them making much, not of a text from the *Corpus Juris Canonici,* but from a Constitution of Justinian. In his sixty-sixth Novella the Emperor introduced a special form of promulgation for enactments relating to wills. Such enactments were to be published not only at Rome, but also in the provinces, and their effects were to date from two months after the time when they were proclaimed locally. This, it is true, was a law of the empire and not of the Church; but the principle had long been accepted, and had even received recognition in papal decrees,[26]

[24] Lib. IV, Cap. 15, n. 1.
[25] *E. g.*, Pichler, Lib. I, Tit. 2.
[26] Cap. I, de novi operis nunciatione.

that recourse might be had to the civil law to meet a case not covered by the canons. Here precisely seemed to be need of such recourse, for no general law of the Church could be found determining the method of promulgation.

The fact that Justinian's Novella had reference only to testamentary matters was overcome by calling attention to the rubric affixed to it which extended the law to all *novae constitutiones,* and to the reasons alleged in the body of the text, which seemed to hold good for all laws. Moreover in a later Novella [27] Justinian applied the rule adopted in Novella 66 to non-testamentary matters, and herein was found a new argument for elevating a particular rule into a general principle of law.

Weak enough this argument appears to us now, but its power was not to be despised at a time when to be a complete canonist meant to be a thorough civilian also, and when men eagerly searched both Corpora to decide a controversy in church law. Here was a matter on which no text of the canon law shed light; but a pertinent decision, framed by a Roman Emperor and inserted in the currently received copies of the imperial collection of law, lay ready at hand. So it was inevitable that many would accept as of necessity the conclusion that when any papal decree made no provision as to the manner of its promulgation, it would have to be promulgated in the provinces as well as in Rome. The Popes had accepted the Roman Law in a general way for such cases, and had therefore subjected the exercise of their authority to this condition.[28] It would be easy enough to prove, so it seems to us now, from the Roman Law itself that no one method of publication had been recognized as of general, absolute necessity. The sixty-sixth Novella is not the sole instance of legislation on this subject. In various parts of the Corpus Juris Civilis different rules had been laid down,[29] the logical inference from which would seem to be that Roman Law furnished no sufficiently definite guid-

[27] Nov. 116.

[28] Pichler. Lib. I, Tit. II, n. 21.

[29] *E. g.*, L. 55, C. de decurionibus; Novella 66, 116.

ance to serve as a supplementary source in this connection. But at the same time, it must be confessed that this absence of a certain clear rule in either Corpus furnished the occasion for controversy and allowed a variance of opinion.

We have to go out of the realm of theory into that of practice to answer the second question raised above, and explain why the arguments in favor of the necessity of provincial publication were finally divested of all probability. We have here one of those instances, by no means rare in the history of legal controversy, where the practical application of a teaching has been the best test of its truth or falsity. It was discovered in the course of time that the opinion requiring provincial publication lent itself to the designs of those who might desire to render a papal law of no effect in one or another locality. This was made strikingly evident during the pontificate of Alexander VII.

On Sept. 24, 1665, this Pope published a list of condemned propositions, covering many questions of doctrine and discipline, three of which were destined to receive a certain adhesion in some quarters despite the papal condemnation. Two of these related to Mass stipends, and the third to the right of members of mendicant orders to absolve from cases reserved to a bishop without having been empowered for this purpose by the Ordinary. An attempt was made to evade this decree on the pretence that the condemnation, having been announced only at Rome, was without effect outside the Roman province. This argument served only to bring the opinion of which it was the latest expression into disrepute. It was clear that in this case Roman promulgation was sufficient, and immediately the cry was raised that here was satisfactory evidence that extra-Roman promulgation was not necessary. In this instance the application to a practical case had served as a boomerang. It began to be asserted that the theory of provincial publication was no longer probable.

In February of the same year, Alexander VII. saw his efforts to stem the tide of Jansenism rendered futile, in part at least, by the refusal of some of the bishops of France to publish a

papal bull within their jurisdictions. Here was the test which really settled the fate of provincial publication. The Church in France had some time before entered on a novel course. In more than one locality the Breviary and the Missal were translated into French, and the Latin texts abandoned; a ritual in French had been adopted; devotion to the Blessed Virgin had been discountenanced; the practice of the universal Church in regard to the Sacrament of Penance had been condemned and rejected; and theories and usages relative to the Eucharist which savored not only of novelty but of dogmatic error had received favor in high quarters. It was in defence of such enormities that provincial publication was to exhibit its real weakness and prove itself really irreconcilable with the true idea of Papal power.

For, more fundamental than the question whether any particular form of ritual or breviary or missal might be retained, or even than any novel theory as to one sacrament or another, was the question whether the Church was to remain one in doctrine and discipline, subject to one legislative head, or was to be split into as many sects as there were dioceses. Unity of any kind was impossible if the theory of provincial publication were to be followed to its logical consequences. The Pope would no longer be a universal legislator, confirming all his brethren and guiding his entire flock. Rebellion would be a right. Legislative authority would not be vested plenarily and in a supreme degree in the Roman Pontiff but in his subordinates. These consequences needed but to be brought home by such occurrences as attended the Jansenistic outbreak to reveal the true character of the principle from which they sprang and to render orthodox opinion unanimously and absolutely hostile to it. The theory of provincial publication became a weapon against the legislative authority of the Popes and consequently against the divine constitution of the Church. It served every bad cause, Gallicanism and Febronianism and Eybellianism. It was unsound and therefore it was rejected by all.

But how did it happen that the same theory which was dear

to Jansenists and Gallicans was also preferred by many of the orthodox school, and was defended by the Dominican Billuart and the Jesuit Pichler as well as by Van Espen and De Marca? First, the motive of each school of writers was as diverse as can well be imagined. Billuart [30] and Pichler, to take them as examples, were solicitous that the law might be better known and its observance furthered. Van Espen and De Marca, on the other hand, aimed at preventing the operation of a law unwelcome in any particular locality, and thus defeating the will of the supreme legislator of Christendom. Again, Catholic writers who defended the now abandoned theory did not deny the possibility of a law affecting the entire Church after promulgation at Rome—Billuart expressly says, "pariter fatemur sic esse quando ex causa urgente ita mandant et exprimunt SS. Pontifices"—their contention was that when the Pope had published a law at Rome without declaring for or against provincial promulgation, it would have to be presumed that he had made the obligation of the law in other places dependent on local promulgation. We are here, clearly, very far from the opinion of Van Espen and his brethren who set up the requirement of diocesan publication as a bar to papal authority. One school sets forth what it believes to be the will of the Pontiff, the other combats his explicit decree.

If Billuart's theory had not long ceased to be probable, it would lose all probability after the appearance of the constitution *Promulgandi*. Therein extra-Roman promulgation is expressly declared to be unnecessary. By insertion in the Commentarium, and by that means alone, laws receive their promulgation. This is the rule, and if exceptions are to occur explicit mention of them will be made in each case. The will of the Pope has no longer to be presumed; there is no need to wrest from the civil law texts of doubtful pertinence; we have at length, for the first time in ecclesiastical legal history, a general law on this important matter, one which leaves no ground for diversity of interpretation.

[30] *De Legibus*, Diss. III, Art. III, pars I.

Decrees of Roman Congregations.

The new constitution also settles a question which had long vexed theologians and canonists, and which had proved so perplexing to St. Alphonsus [31] that he found it necessary to retract the answer which he had originally given it. This question related to the decrees of Congregations. The lawmaking power of several Congregations is quite evident. But when this power was exercised, and decrees introductory of new legislation were framed, it was usually difficult to detect any trace of promulgation. That a Congregation had made this or that law or given this or that decision was quite certain; it bore all the marks of authenticity; but had it been published to the universal Church? Certainly not after the solemn fashion in which pontifical enactments were wont to make their apearance. These congregational decrees were framed in the office of the Congregation, and no promulgation took place beyond what might be conceived to happen in a secretariat in the presence of a few officials.

Some, confronted with what they believed to be an unpromulgated and yet binding law, were driven to the necessity of denying that promulgation was an essential requirement of law, in their desire to allow the decision of the Congregation to take effect.[32] Others, insisting on the necessity of promulgation, held that full authority could not be ascribed to the decision until a formal promulgation had occurred or at least until the decision had been incorporated in the *stylus curiae*.[33] Finally a third school, best represented by Lega,[34] maintained that promulgation was verified, at least substantially, inasmuch as it was quite clear that the law or decree, issued with every mark of authenticity and made a matter of public knowledge, had been officially brought to the notice of the community.

[31] *Theol. Mor.*, Lib. I, n. 106; *Elenchus Quaest. Reform*, Lib. I, n. 116.
[32] Bouix, *De Curia Romana*, p. 295.
[33] Wernz, *Jus Decretalium*, I, n. 146.
[34] *De Judiciis*, II, p. 353.

This controversy has no longer any actual interest. Decrees emanating from the Congregations must be promulgated in the Commentarium or fail to take on the character of Law.

The new constitution is silent as to the moment when the promulgated law goes into effect, and consequently the question suggests itself, does this mean that all persons throughout the Church are immediately affected by a law which appears in the official journal of the Holy See? It would seem that this must be the case, unless some delay be granted in the text of the enactment. Any law, after promulgation, is perfect; it is a rule of action for all members of the social body for which it is made. An ecclesiastical law as soon as promulgated is adapted to govern action in the universal Church.

This opinion is now generally received, and is supported by at least one decision of the Holy Office [35] and another of the Poenitentiaria,[36] but a considerable number of authors, especially of those who wrote before the nineteenth century, can be cited [37] who maintain that the extra-Roman operation of a law does not begin until two months have elapsed from the date of publication at Rome. Among these is a writer of so high repute as St. Alphonsus,[38] whose influence is seen in the earlier editions of Gury. But this view has always been less common. However, it was not without some shadow of support in legal texts. Pope Pius IV, in the constitution *Sicut ad sacrorum* in which he fixed the period when the decrees of the Council of Trent began to bind, declared expressly that the common law had prescribed that new ordinances were to go into effect only after a certain time. This clearly implied that somewhere was a text providing for delay, but in vain was such a text sought in ecclesiastical law. No Pope had ever made such a provision. The only legal declaration at all cor-

[35] June 15, 1870.

[36] November 8, 1821.

[37] See *v. g.*, Schmier, Lib. I, Tr. I, n. 202.

[38] *Theol. Moralis, De Legibus*, n. 96. Lyndwood, the celebrated English canonist of the fifteenth century, held this opinion. See his *Provinciale*, p. 51.

responding to the words of Pius IV was contained in the sixty-sixth Novella of Justinian, quoted above, which made a delay of two months a necessary preliminary to the effectiveness of the law. On this text, therefore, a doctrine was based, a doctrine which, it was said, was more conformable to natural justice and prevented the faithful from being bound by a law before they could possibly know of its existence.

But all the arguments that were valid against this much cited Novella when it was invoked to defend provincial publication, served also to deprive it of conclusive value in this other connection, and the sanction of the common law to which Pius IV referred remained undiscoverable. A solution had to be found in the practice of the Holy See, and this practice was, according to the testimony of those best acquainted with it, in favor of the immediate effectiveness of promulgated laws. Here was an indubitable argument to be set over against a civil law text of doubtful value,—it is not a matter of wonder that it won wider adhesion.

Nor is there any great danger that injustice or hardship will result from this practice or from the universal acceptance of the theory which it countenances. In many instances, in fact whenever injustice would otherwise result, the Holy See marks an interval between the promulgation of a law and its operation. And when this is not considered necessary, the greatest care is always taken to secure at once a general knowledge of the action taken by the legislator. Before this present year, all acts of importance were at once communicated to every bishop of the Church, and ignorance of the law was thus rendered inexcusable. Every vestige of possible injustice disappears when we remember that a commonly accepted opinion permits a judge to presume in offenders ignorance of a penal law until a sufficient time has elapsed to allow knowledge of it to reach the locality over which he has jurisdiction.

From this study of one papal constitution more is to be gathered than a brief rule of law. We not only learn how laws are to be promulgated in the future; we have a revelation also of the spirit which will inform the entire work of codifi-

ST. BASIL'S SEMINARY LIBRARY

cation of which this present decree is so small a part. We see here the institutions of the past perfected and readjusted to modern conditions; we can understand thoroughly and appreciate fully the present only if we are familiar with the past. And so it will be, we may well believe, with the new code as a whole when it is completed. What we shall behold is not a new creation, unseen and unknown before, but old and familiar things in a new guise. There will be a lopping off here and an addition there; some laws will be abrogated and some retained and others will work within narrower limits; but when we examine the work in its entirety or even in any of its great sub-divisions, we shall be able to say that what has come to us in the form of new law is really the development of that with which we have always had to deal. So it was with the new marriage law, so it was with the reorganization of the Curia, so it is with this constitution *Promulgandi*. So it must be with all important rules that affect the life of so essentially a conservative institution as the Church.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bullarium Romanum, passim.
ST. THOMAS: *Summa Theologica*, I, II, q. 90, a. 4.
SCHULTE: *Die Lehre von den Quellen des Katholischen Kirchenrechts.* P. 76 ss.
ZACCARIA: *De Rebus ad Historiam atque Antiquitates Ecclesiae pertinentibus Dissertationes Latinae.* Vol. II, Diss. XI.
SCHERER: *Handbuch des Kirchenrechts.* Vol. I, p. 163 ss.
SUAREZ: *De Legibus*, L. III, c. XVI: L. IV, c. XV.
BOUQUILLON: *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis.* P. 270 ss.
MEYER: *Institutiones Juris Naturalis.* Vol. II, p. 560 ss.
VAN ESPEN: *De Promulgatione Legum Ecclesiasticarum ac speciatim Bullarum ac Rescriptorum Curiae Romanae.*
BOUIX: *De Principiis Juris Canonici.* Pars II, cap. VI.
PHILLIPS: *Kirchenrecht.* Vol. V, p. 54 ss.
BOUQUILLON: *De l'époque à laquelle commence l'obligation des lois dûment promulguées.*
Canoniste Contemporain. Vol. III, p. 121. La promulgation diocésaine des lois pontificales.
ST. ALPHONSUS: *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. I, n. 95 ss.
BALLERINI-PALMIERI: Vol. I, p. 265, and Appendix II.

Also commentators on the Decretals, in their treatment of Lib. I, Tit. II; and moral theologians in the treatise *De Legibus* under *promulgatio.*

INNOCENT XI (1676-1689), LIBERATOR OF HUNGARY.

This study of one beneficent phase of a great Pope's life is based on the excellent Hungarian monograph of the learned ecclesiastical historian, William Fraknói, *Pope Innocent XI and the Liberation of Hungary from the Turkish Yoke*, published on the occasion of the second centenary (1886) of the liberation of Buda.[1] Fraknói gathered the material for his book mostly from the Vatican archives; in his preface he thanks Arpád Károlyi for having supplied him with additional matter from the archives of Paris and Vienna. From this work we learn the truly marvellous story of the liberation of Hungary, and realize also the prolific energy of one of the most prominent of modern popes in the struggle of Europe against the Osmanli power, which threatened the welfare of that continent and its Christian civilization. We may say at once that the learned work of Fraknói is worthy of the pope to whom, in grateful remembrance, the scholarly editor has dedicated it.

In view of the danger that threatened the Christian world on the part of Islam, grown so powerful in Asia and Africa, the popes were always the first to realize the necessity of organizing a common defence. From the dawn of the second millennium the constant effort of the Apostolic See was to unite Christian rulers in aggressive expeditions, that they might measure arms with the powerful enemy on Asiatic soil.

The struggle between the Turkish power and Christianity began in the reign of Sylvester II (999-1003). While on the one hand, he was ever willing to protect the weaker countries of the West against the avarice of the more powerful, he was, on the other hand, the first to cast his eye upon the Orient and to sound the tocsin of a crusade for the deliverance of Jeru-

[1] German translation : *Papst Innocenz* XI, *und Ungarns Befreiung von der türkischen Herrschaft, von Wilhelm Fraknói*, etc., (Freiburg im Br. 1902).

salem.[2] Gregory VII (1073-1085) and his successor took up his work and continued it with zeal and enthusiasm. Crusade after crusade was made to the Holy Land in order to free the native land of our Saviour from the hands of the infidels or at least to weaken their power to such a degree as to deliver Europe from its constant fear of invasion by their plundering hordes. However, in spite of the ceaseless activity and zeal of the popes, their efforts were not altogether successful; for as soon as the Christian armies were withdrawn from the Holy Land to regain their strength, or on account of some enmity between the leaders, immense armies of Moslems appeared regularly on the frontiers of Europe spreading everywhere devastation and ruin.

One of the first results of the Lutheran reformation, during which the European powers wasted their strength against one another, was an increase of military activity on the part of Islam, then fresh from the conquest of Constantinople. Taking advantage of the internal troubles of Europe, the Sultan hoped to plant the Crescent in all the centers of Christendom. The disastrous battle of Mohács (August 29, 1526) delivered into the hands of the Turks the greater part of Hungary; after a few more years of burning and plundering, Sultan Suleiman succeeded in taking Buda (1541) the strongest fortress of the Magyars. Then began one of the greatest national conflicts known to history, the struggle of the Magyars against the Turkish yoke, which lasted well-nigh two centuries (1526-1685).

The Osmanli, however, were not satisfied with the subjugation of Hungary alone. They aimed at bringing the whole of Europe under Turkish domination. Now that they had succeeded in securing a European foothold, they looked abroad over the other Christian nations, and awaited only an opportunity to hang about their necks the heavy Ottoman yoke.

There was waged upon Hungarian soil for a century and

[2] Epistle 219, Ex persona Hierosolymae devastatae ad universalem Ecclesiam, Jaffé, Reg. RR. PP., I., 3938; Migne, P. L. CXXXIX, 208; Olleris *Œuvres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1867), p. 149.

a half an almost continuous struggle between Islam and Christendom. Owing to the mutual jealousy of the European rulers, who often turned their arms from the common foe upon one another, all efforts to shake off the odious domination proved fruitless. Finally hostilities between the ambitious Louis XIV and Emperor Leopold I of Austria reached such a pitch that they resulted in open war. John Sobieski, king of Poland, was left alone to carry on the war against the Turks, but unable to obtain the help promised by the other powers, he was forced to conclude a treaty of peace with the sultan (1676). Kara-Mustafa, the warlike and ambitious grand vizier, viewed with delight the bitter enmity of France and Austria, and did all in his power to heighten it. The opportunity so long awaited by the Ottoman power came at last, and the Sultan determined to take advantage of it. However, just as the infidels were preparing to overwhelm the Christian world and to deal a death blow to Hungary, an ever-watchful Providence prepared a new and a mightier leader to ward off the threatening danger and to crush forever the power of Turkey in Europe. Several popes had already manifested much self-sacrificing zeal in this good cause, but none was more energetic than Benedetto Odescalchi, who ascended the papal throne September 21, 1676, under the name of Innocent XI. He was descended from a family of wealthy bankers in Como. From his youth he longed to fight against the infidels, and was inclined to enter upon the career of a soldier; accordingly he went to Poland where he took part in a number of battles.[3] At twenty-five he went to Rome, was ordained priest, and made such rapid progress in ecclesiastical

[3] It is regrettable that we possess no exhaustive biography of Innocent XI. (Concerning his youth, no fact is known as certain. Many historians even doubt that he ever intended to become a soldier). The four-volume work of E. Michaud: *Louis XIV et Innocent XI, d'après les correspondences diplomatiques inédites du Ministère des affaires étrangères de France* (Paris, 1882), the most extensive work that has so far appeared about this pope, is based on prejudiced and inimical documents, *i. e.*, it rests exclusively on the reports of French ambassadors and consuls, the bitter enemies of the pope, and therefore unfit to be his judges.

dignities that in 1645 he was created cardinal. His moral blamelessness and religious zeal won for him universal respect; in his election to the papal throne the only cardinal who opposed him saw "a most remarkable working of the hand of God." [4]

The expectations centered upon him were fulfilled by the very first acts of his reign. At the time of his accession, the treasury of the Holy See was heavily in debt. By the dismissal, however, of superfluous officers and by his economical mode of life, he not only paid off the pontifical debts, but rendered it possible, as we shall see, to collect millions of florins for the war against the Turks. "There was a general surprise, when breaking with nepotism, which the practice of a century had developed into an authorized institution, he kept his only nephew at a distance from the papal court and denied him the usual favors." To put an end to all strife between Christian princes, to unite them against the Turks, and to free Christendom from their yoke, was through his entire reign the sole aim of all his efforts. Towards this goal he advanced with steady endurance, nor did he allow himself to be diverted from it by seeming impossibilities, by bitter disappointments, or by tempting momentary advantages. His manner of life, his beneficence, and his great patience won for him universal respect. Shortly after the pope's death, a French traveller, resident in Rome, writes: "The reverence felt in Rome for the dead pope has reached such a degree, that many turn to him in their prayers and even assert that miracles have taken place at his tomb." [5] At a later date, Benedict XIV declared him "Venerable," and thus opened the way to his future canonization.

The first political act of Innocent was to restore peace between Louis XIV and Leopold I. He knew too well that he could do nothing against the Ottoman power so long as hostilities existed between the Christian rulers. After three years

[4] Michaud, *op. cit.*, I, 18, 19, 50.

[5] Jean Dumont, *Voyages en France et Italie* (1699), I, 287.

of ceaseless endeavor, he had the satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned with success. Through the fidelity and untiring labor of Buonvisi, his nuncio at Vienna, peace was concluded at Nimwegen, February 5, 1679, between France and Austria. Thereupon Innocent XI took up with renewed zeal, the matter of a war against the Turks. The opportunity seemed favorable for Sobieski. This king and Feodor III, the Czar of Russia, had concluded peace the summer before, and the latter was now waging war against the Turks. The pope endeavored to bring about an alliance between the Emperor and the King of Poland against the Ottoman power, and called on France for aid to carry on the war successfully. But the imperial court could not be won over to the papal project. In vain did Buonvisi point out to the Emperor and his ministers the advantages of a successful war; in vain did they show that the war between Turkey and Russia furnished the long desired opportunity of driving the former out of Europe and forever. All the endeavors of Innocent failed, being met by excuses and evasions on the part of the ministers.

While Vienna replied so coldly to the papal advances, Poland showed a better spirit. The idea of an alliance against the Turks was there taken up with enthusiasm. In a Diet held at Grodno it was decided that full reparation should be made to the Emperor for the injuries he had suffered on the part of those who aided the Hungarian rebels, and the Poles determined to enable Sobieski to commence the war, provided that he was assisted and supported by the other European rulers. The nobles wished to draw up and conclude an alliance offensive and defensive; accordingly plenipotentiaries were sent to Rome, to Vienna, and to Paris. The answer of Louis XIV was that former popes had tried to unite the European powers against the common enemy and had failed; it would therefore be an act of folly on his part to encourage so vain an undertaking.[6] Leopold, who was anxious to break the existing friendship between France and Poland, listened more

[6] Letter of Louis XIV to his ambassador at Warsaw, December 14, 1679. Walisewski, II, 347.

willingly to the proposals of Sobieski, and returned the answer that he was willing to conclude an alliance, but for mutual defense only.[7] Buonvisi and the nuncio at Warsaw were unceasing in their efforts to bring their respective courts to an agreement.

To realize the defensive and offensive alliance, however, the Holy See had to exert much diplomacy, for the obstacles were many and great. Louis XIV was not content with refusing his own assistance but did all in his power to thwart the projected alliance of Poland and Austria and to win Sobieski over by presents and promises. Sobieski himself meditated an expedition against Russia, hoping thereby to gain the Russian throne for his eldest son. The solution of these difficulties fell to the nuncio at Warsaw. This was Pallavicini, archbishop of Ephesus, and he displayed no less zeal than his predecessor Martelli, archbishop of Corinth, in bringing about the Austro-Polish alliance.[8]

About this time Innocent XI turned his attention to the affairs of Hungary, and directed Buonvisi to use all possible means to restore peace and quiet. Accordingly the nuncio convened a diet at Sopron, for April 23, 1681, in order to give both parties a chance to set forth their grievances. Before the diet he asked the Emperor to be liberal in his concessions to the Protestant rebels for the sake of internal peace; this "open sore," he says, "is the principal cause of the German nations not joining the war against the Turks. Even in this, to use the words of our excellent author, "that great idea was ever before his eyes, namely, to make the war against

[7] Report of the French ambassador at Warsaw, September 28, October 29, November 17, 1679, I, m. 291, 304, 309.

[8] He did not keep this a secret from the French ambassadors, who on February 25, 1861, wrote to Louis XIV: "Il (Pallavicini) nous dit qu'il travailloit uniquement à porter ce Royaume à se mettre en etast d'une défense raisonnable contre le Turc en augmentant considérablement leur armee, mais que si on ne le vouloit pas faire, il ne voyoit pas qu'on dust refuser le secours de l'Empereur, qui avoit tant d'interest à la conservation de ce Royaume." In the report of April 17, 1682, they declare that the nuncio takes more interest in the affairs of the Emperor than the imperial ambassador himself. Walisewski, III, 107, 205.

Turkey possible and successful by satisfying the Hungarian nation." The result of the diet, however, was unsatisfactory. The concessions demanded by Tököli, the leader of the Protestant rebels, would have been prejudicial to the Catholic Church in Hungary. Nor was the rebel leader anxious to have peace. Encouraged by the hostile attitude of France towards Austria, and by the promised aid of the Turks, he continued his devastations throughout Hungary and the surrounding countries. Under the guise of patriotism he was merely sacrificing his country to his own ambition. He was willing to reduce Hungary to a Turkish province, provided he could be its governor.[9]

In acknowledgment of the zealous activity shown by Buonvisi at this diet, the pope rewarded him by raising him to the cardinalate, September 1, 1681. This acknowledgment spurred him on to still greater efforts in behalf of the alliance. Finally, when in the autumn of 1682, the imperial court learned that the Sultan intended to send an invading army into Europe the following year, Buonvisi attained his end. The ministers unanimously voted for the alliance. At the same time Buonvisi convinced Sobieski of the fact that under the existing circumstances a war against Russia was unseasonable. He repeatedly requested the nuncio at Warsaw to do his utmost to consolidate the peace between the two countries and to dispel all mutual suspicion that might exist between them; for he says, "on this depends the good of Christianity and the fulfillment of the holy wishes of the pope." [10]

At the Polish diet, which had been convened to decide the matter, Count Waldstein announced that the emperor was willing to make the alliance both *defensive* and *offensive*. Whereupon Pallavicini having declared that the pope was willing to aid the allies both materially and morally, a treaty was resolved upon. A commission of thirty-eight Polish members was appointed to draw up its details in conference with

[9] Cf. M. Horvath, VI, 117.

[10] Letters of Buonvisi to the nuncio at Warsaw, December 14, and 21, 1682.

the ambassadors of the emperor. The sessions began on the 26th of February and closed on the last day of March, 1683. The conditions of the alliance were submitted to the diet where they were unanimously confirmed and afterwards signed also by the emperor. In the documents of the alliance,—to use our author's words,—"the powers of the confederation point to the fatherly zeal of Pope Innocent XI, who by means of effectual advice and magnanimous contributions had brought about the war with the Turks. The two rulers declared, also, that they would conclude an *offensive* as well as a *defensive* alliance, the latter lasting forever and the former till both powers could come to a lasting and a satisfactory agreement with the enemy. At the same time the pope was entreated to take charge of the protectorate for the preservation and surety of the alliance."

It soon became evident that the rulers in forming this alliance, and the statesmen who helped to make it a success, had rendered a great service to their country and to all Christendom. On the very day when the documents were signed at Warsaw, 250,000 Turks, under the command of the grand vizier, Kara-Mustafa, set out from Adrianople for the capture of Vienna, an undertaking in which a century and a half before Suleiman the Great had failed.

The impending danger was realized too late at the imperial court. It was only in the latter part of spring that the imperial forces began to fortify themselves against the enemy. Here, too, Cardinal Buonvisi played an important part by his wise councils; he hastened help from all sides, and used it to the best advantage.[11]

The Pope was true to his promises. The court of Vienna received from him 400,000 florins for the equipment of the

[11] Several accounts of the events of 1683, were published in 1883, on the occasion of the second centenary of the raising of the siege of Vienna. The best of them is by Onno Kloff: *Das Jahr* 1683 *und der folgende grosse Turkenkrieg* (Graz, 1883), p. 580, although we must note that he judges the situation of Hungary incorrectly and in some places unjustly. Some of the reports of Buonvisi have been edited by the scholarly members of the "Campo Santo dei Tedeschi" at Rome (1883).

army; he sent 500,000 to Sobieski and 300,000 to the elector of Bavaria. Many of the higher clergy, incited by the noble example of the great pope, showed a wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice. The garrison of Vienna, consisting of 12,000 soldiers under the command of Count Rüdiger von Stahremberg, displayed a heroic resistance for six weeks. In the seventh week Sobieski at the head of 26,000 men arrived, and in company with Duke Charles of Lorraine won a decisive victory (September 12) over the Turks and liberated Vienna. It was a brilliant victory for Christendom, and the first result of the Austro-Polish alliance. "Whom are we to thank for this victory? It is difficult to say. Great events are not the work of single men, but the result of the co-operation of many."

The liberation of Vienna was but the first step towards the fulfillment of the pope's wish. The liberation of Hungary and the overthrow of the Ottoman power still remained. Elated over this first victory, Innocent urged unceasingly the continuation of the alliance, declaring that he was willing to make any sacrifice to bring it to a successful issue.

About this time the allied parties gained a notable increase of power through the accession of Venice; and this was owing to the initiative of the emperor. In the beginning of December, the imperial ambassador laid the noble task of the great alliance before the Signoria and invited the Republic to join it. The matter was taken up, and, after discussing the conditions, the senate voted in favor of joining the allied powers. The treaty was signed March 5, 1684, by the Venetian commission appointed for the purpose. The result of the step was hailed with joy by the pope as well as by the allies themselves. Leopold declared that it was now certain that the aim of the alliance, the complete liberation of Christendom from the tyrannical yoke of Turkey, would be attained. Innocent gladly blessed this triple alliance and called it the Holy League."[12] The allies made the Pope the protector of the

[12] The letters exchanged between the pope and the members of the League were edited by Theiner, 266-271. It is worthy of notice that the pope in his letter to Leopold, May 27, 1684, declared that the accession

League "in the sure hope that not a member of the League would regret to pay filial obedience to every fatherly summons of His Holiness."

The Holy League, however, could not immediately begin its operations, owing to the troubles that again arose between France and Austria. The feeling that existed between these two countries was as bitter as ever. Moreover, Louis XIV viewed with an envious eye the success that he knew Leopold would have in the war with Turkey, and put forth every effort to break up the triple alliance. Taking advantage of the preparations of the imperial forces for the expedition against the Turks, he laid siege to Luxemburg. When the news of this reached the emperor, his ministers advised him to order his forces to the Rhine. Cardinal Buonvisi, however, objected to this, saying that the army was being equipped to fight the infidels. But the ministers insisted that if the emperor did not interfere, he would endanger his imperial crown and sacrifice Germany and Italy to the French. The emperor seemed undecided for a while as to which course to follow; but four weeks later, when Louis XIV took Luxemburg, he determined, in spite of the remonstrance of Buonvisi, to send to the Rhine a part of the troops equipped at the pope's expense. Buonvisi was very much grieved. He saw all his hopes come to nought. He did not doubt but that if the emperor had united his army with that of the elector of Bavaria, they could have recaptured Buda and Pesth without much trouble. Now, however, he saw that all his labor and the sacrifices of Innocent XI had been in vain. The fears of Buonvisi were not unfounded. The efforts toward the war of liberation were on the point of a total failure when happily the hostile parties concluded the peace (August 15, 1684), known as that of Ratisbon.

Finally, then, the war could begin. The threatening attitude of Louis XIV and the hesitation of the imperial court as to whether or not war should be declared against France, delayed the expedition, and it was only toward the end of

of Venice to the League took place "opera praecipue . . . . Francisci Cardinalis Buonvisii." 270.

May that real activities began. General Leslie at the head of 10,000 men was sent to the river Drave to hinder any reinforcements from Turkey; while Generals Schultz and Francis Barkoci with 8,000 men were sent to northern Hungary to hold Tököli in check. The main army consisting of 35,000 men was placed under the command of Duke Charles of Lorraine. The opening of the campaign was auspicious. Duke Charles began his operations on the right bank of the Danube; July 13, he laid siege to Visegrád, the fall of which was followed by the surrender of Vátz and that of Pesth. The imperial forces were now joined by the palatine of Esterházy with 10,000 Hungarians, and they proceeded jointly to lay siege to Buda. In the meantime Duke Charles, having left Stahremberg, the heroic defender of Vienna, to bear the brunt of the siege, attacked Kara-Mustafa, whom he put to flight after a long and bloody struggle. These successes rendered him and his officers over-confident in their strength, and they permitted all kinds of disorder among the soldiers. They were persuaded that the Turks could not hold out longer than five days. Cardinal Buonvisi did not share their views. He sent a special courier to the elector of Bavaria, calling upon him to hasten to the assistance of the besiegers of Buda.[13] But the arrival of the elector at the head of six thousand men, did not bring about the hoped-for result. Owing to the almost constant disagreement among the generals, the lack of discipline among the soldiers, and the heroic resistance of the Turkish garrison, the siege resulted in a failure; and at the end of October, after a loss of 20,000 men, it was raised.

When the pope was informed that the failure was due to the presumption and the negligence of the generals, he was somewhat discouraged and inclined to withhold further assistance. But he soon realized the awful calamities that would

[13] Report of Buonvisi, August 13, 1684. Among other things he writes: "Rappresentai che tutto consisteva nella prestezza, e che sotto Buda si haveva di decidere la sorte della guerra, onde bisognava trascurare tutte 'altre considerazioni, ancorché importantissime, per condurre à fine quest' impressa."

befall the whole of Europe, were he to abandon his fatherly care of the Christian armies. His liberality, therefore, was by no means diminished, and he did all in his power to further the continuation of the war. Of his self-sacrifice and energy Fraknói writes: "The pope did not hesitate in the least to spend for military purposes a great part of the legacies left by the archbishop of Estergom and the bishop of Vienna. Later on, to meet the expenses of war, he ordered the sale of a third part of the landed estates, which the monastic houses of the hereditary imperial provinces had acquired during the past sixty years; the proceeds were sent to the imperial treasury. For the execution of this measure, Cardinal Buonvisi and Kallowich, bishop of Rabb, were appointed papal commissaries.[14]

At the same time the prince-bishops of the empire were summoned by the pope to place their soldiers at the service of the emperor, and without delay. Every nuncio was especially urged to induce the higher clergy to contribute generously themselves and to gather money for the support of the war. The pope granted an indulgence to all who could help either materially or morally to bring the campaign to a successful end.

The result of these summons was encouraging. At the end of March, 1685, the secretary of state informed Buonvisi of the compliance of the archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Würzburg and Paderborn; furthermore, that the archbishop of Salzburg had given 75,000 florins, and gunpowder valued at 25,000 florins; the bishop of Trent, in conjunction with the clergy, offered 200,000 florins and the bishop of Brixen 16,000.[15] In all parts of Europe collections were made, and the contributions were transmitted to Buonvisi to be used partly for military purposes and partly for the erection of hospitals.[16]

[14] In the papal brief the bishop of Vienna was originally appointed as one of the commissaries; after his death the bishop of Gurk was invited to take his place, but he excused himself on account of his old age; then came the appointment of Kollowich.

[15] Report of the Secretary of State, March 24, 1685.

[16] Letters of Buonvisi, April 1, May 20, and July 1, 1685.

As soon as the pope had learned from Buonvisi's reports that the capture of Ujvár was of great importance, he sent for this purpose 100,000 florins in the beginning of April and a few months later, at the instance of the nuncio, another sum of 50,000 florins. For the armies of the governor of Croatia he sent 15,000 florins and for hospital purposes 10,000 florins, together with a great amount of balsam.[17]

By this liberality the Holy See rendered a service of the greatest moment, since the pitiable condition of the imperial treasury had much retarded the proper equipment of the army. This long standing evil Buonvisi often mentions in his reports. He traces it to two sources—corrupt administration and the pomp of the court.

The nuncio was repeatedly called upon by Rome to exhort the emperor and the nobility to economy and to the maintenance of a stricter discipline. He was advised to induce the emperor to exile or at least, for the sake of example, to remove from office some of the more corrupt nobles.[18] Buonvisi endeavored to obey the pope's command to the letter, but all was in vain. "The interests of so many are affected," he said, "that they give no heed to my words." [19]

The campaign of 1685 opened in July with the siege of Ujvár, which Charles of Lorraine surrounded with an army of 40,000 men. While the imperial army was engaged in this siege, Pasha Ibrahim marched from Buda at the head of 40,000 Turks against Visegrád, which he captured after a few days, and proceeded to besiege Esztergom. Charles of Lorraine, however, took half of his besieging army form beneath the walls of Ujvár and hastened to the rescue of Esztergom. At his approach the Pasha raised the siege and prepared for an engagement. The battle was fought August 16, near Nyerges-Ujfalu, and the imperial army won a signal victory. Three days later, General Caprara, with the other half of the army,

[17] Note of the Secretary of State, April 7, 1685. Reports of Buonvisi, May 20, June 17, 24, and August 5, 1685.

[18] Secret Note of the Secretary of State, March 4, 1684.

[19] Report of Buonvisi, April 26, 1685.

captured Ujvár. This double victory was due mainly to the generous assistance of the pope. "The emperor's army owes its stability entirely to Your Holiness," [20] writes Buonvisi. At the court of Vienna all were convinced that without the aid of Innocent XI it would have been utterly impossible to lay siege to Ujvár.

In this campaign as well as in that of the previous year (1684), Innocent XI provided not only for the thorough equipment of the army, but also for the sick and the wounded soldiers. In the last decades of the seventeenth century the sanitary condition of the military camps was sadly neglected. The officers of the army did not consider it their duty to look after the sick and the wounded; the result was that the latter were often left without any assistance whatever. The pope knew this too well; consequently he had a number of hospitals erected, which he provided with physicians and surgeons.[21] We learn of the work done in these hospitals from the letters of Buonvisi to Rome. He takes pleasure in announcing to the pope that the sick are receiving excellent care, and that many of the sick Protestants, moved by the charity of the Holy Father, have returned to the Church.[22] The generals themselves announced that in the campaign of this year alone the lives of over 4,000 soldiers were saved in these hospitals.[23]

About this time an attempt was made on the part of the pasha of Buda to restore peace between the Osmanli and Austria. He sent a letter to the secretary of war stating that the sultan was now willing to conclude a treaty of peace with the emperor, if the latter so desired, but on reasonable conditions. This step filled Buonvisi with consternation; he feared that the emperor would not refuse the offer, and that he would excuse his action by saying, as he did at the Peace of Nimwegen, that "he must conclude peace, since his generals

[20] Report of Buonvisi, August 26, 1685.

[21] Letter of Contarini, Venetian ambassador at Vienna, December 26, 1683.

[22] Report of Buonvisi, September 9, 1685.

[23] Report of Buonvisi, November 29, 1685.

were no longer fit to lead the campaigns." Buonvisi emphatically opposed all propositions of peace and strongly recommended the continuation of the war.[24] His representations, however, were seriously weakened by the reports from the Austrian ambassador at Rome.

Immediately after the victories of Ujvár and Nyerges-Ujfalu, the Emperor sent young Count Rosenberg to Rome to inform the pope of these events and to ask for fresh succor. Cardinal Pio, on introducing the ambassador to the Pope, explained, that "the emperor imputed the victories of the Christian armies in the first place to the help of His Holiness," and that he begged his further assistance in order to continue the war. The pope declared himself willing to satisfy the demands for moral support by calling on the neighboring nations for assistance and by rousing Sobieski from his lethargy by reminding him of the obligations that he had taken upon himself in joining the Holy League, as for material support he emphasized the fact that the condition of the pontifical treasury put an end temporarily to his generosity.

This unfavorable decision was caused by the suspicious attitude of the imperial court toward the Holy See. At Vienna, however, the answer given to Count Rosenberg and the letters of Cardinal Pio were interpreted to mean that the Pope desired peace. It was not so, however. Innocent XI had no thought whatever of concluding a treaty with the infidels, for simultaneously with this answer to the court of Vienna, the nuncio received orders to induce the emperor and his ministers to reject all Turkish conditions of peace and to continue the war, in which policy Buonvisi finally succeeded. The emperor assured him that the court had no thought of discontinuing the war, and in order to completely satisfy the Nuncio, he requested him to prepare the answer which the secretary of war should send to the pasha of Buda.

While Innocent XI worked with renewed fervor for the success of the Christian cause, the situation took on a new aspect.

[24] Report of Buonvisi, September 23, 1685.

Early in October, the rebel leader, Tököli, then the ally of the Turks, was arrested and cast into chains at the command of the grand vizier, whereupon many of his followers left him and sought the imperial pardon. The city of Kassa, which Caprara was besieging, opened its gates to the imperial army. The pope was deeply moved by this news, and considered it a sure sign that the Turkish power in Europe was beginning to totter.

At the request of Cardinal Pio, Innocent XI now imposed a tax on the Spanish clergy for the benefit of the war.[25] He promulgated anew the Bull of Indulgences of St. Pius V, and promised that as soon as the condition of the papal treasury would permit, he would make new sacrifices for the sacred cause.

During the summer of 1685, Sobieski remained inactive. The promises, that he had repeatedly made to the other members of the League were never fulfilled, although the pope continually sent him large sums of money.[26] He spent his time in planning campaigns.[27] In the end Cardinal Buonvisi grew impatient at the long inactivity of the Polish king and declared to the nuncio at Warsaw, "that it would be far more desirable if the King of Poland would plan less and do more." [28] Sobieski, however, had no thought of aiding Leopold. On the contrary, he sent Duke Lubomirski to Vienna to ask for a division of the imperial army to help him in his projected siege of the fortress of Kamenits. Both the emperor and the pope were pleased with this enterprise and Innocent XI sent him

[25] All holders of benefices were obliged to deliver up, once for all, a sixteenth part of their annual revenues.

[26] Thus on July 16, 1685, Innocent XI sent him 75,086 dollars.

[27] For example, in the beginning of summer, thinking that the campaign would be carried on in the vicinity of the river Theiss, he wished to lead his army thither. He therefore requested Cardinal Buonvisi to obtain the approbation of the court of Vienna. Buonvisi did not even set the case before the ministers, knowing well that it would never be accepted. He advised the Polish king to march against the Tartars and hold them in check, also to send three or four thousand horsemen to Hungary, where they might be needed. (Report of Buonvisi, July 22, 1685, and his letters to the Nuncio of Warsaw, September 10.)

[28] Reports of Buonvisi, October 21, 1685.

at once a million florins to cover his military expenses. The imperial court, however, was not pleased with Sobieski's request. They suspected that he hoped to meet with a refusal, which would have served as an excuse to quit the Holy League and to conclude a treaty with Louis XIV with whom he was in constant correspondence.

At the end of the year 1685, the great pope, who was, properly speaking, the soul and the main compelling force of the war, grew ill.[29] Doubtless, if Divine Providence had not renewed his vigor, the Turks would have remained for centuries the plague of Europe.

It was now time that the imperial court should begin preparations for the campaigns of the coming spring and summer. The usual obstacle, however, was the lack of money for military purposes. We can easily calculate what success the European powers would have had in this war, if the papal generosity had been withdrawn. While the Spanish clergy were reluctant and slow in complying with the papal levy on their revenues, two well-known ecclesiastics of Switzerland voluntarily sacrificed considerable sums. The bishop of Basel sent 12,000 florins and the abbot of Saint-Gall 6,000 florins;[30] the Benedictines and Cistercian abbeys together offered 2,200 florins.[31] A large sum of money was also collected in Austria from the religious orders of the inheritable provinces. About the middle of February, Buonvisi informed Innocent XI that so far he had collected 826,000 florins which he had placed at the disposal of the Emperor, in the near future he hoped to have 50,000 florins more, but even this provision was not enough for the army. The pope, however, as he had again and again declared, could not make new sacrifices.[32] These declarations had an almost overwhelming effect on Emperor Leopold. He admitted, says Fraknói, that "there never was a pope, who had done so much good for the common-weal as

[29] Gérin, *Recherches historiques*, p. 358; Klopp, p. 399.
[30] Report of Buonvisi, February 10, 1686.
[31] Report of Buonvisi, November 4, 1685.
[32] Note of the Secretary of State, February 16, 1686.

Innocent XI. To him thanks are due that up till now it has been possible to safeguard Christendom." He declared, however, that the half-million florins received from Rome, as well as the taxes levied upon all the religious orders, had already been used up, and he begged for the further assistance and support of the pope in order to carry on the war with unabated energy. Innocent XI declared anew that, owing to the exhausted condition of the papal treasury, he was unable to make further sacrifices.

As a matter of fact Innocent XI merely wished to induce the imperial court to a stricter economy. In the meantime he sent to Sobieski, of whom he expected great things, at first 100,000 florins, and later on 500,000. The court of Vienna seemed displeased at this generosity of the pope, and were quite put out over the fact that Innocent denied help to the Emperor and had been so liberal to Sobieski, who, they firmly believed, would never realize the plans for which he was receiving such generous support. Cardinal Buonvisi frankly expressed his opinion in a confidential letter to the nuncio of Warsaw. He seems surprised that the rich king of Poland refuses to use "a single farthing" of his own treasury for a war on which depends the safety of his country. And while the emperor repays the pope's liberality with gratitude and by his brilliant victories over the Turks, Sobieski, though as well supported by Rome as Leopold, can show no result whatever of the many sacrifices made for him by the pope. There is great fear, he concludes, that the Polish king is merely seeking an excuse to quit the Holy League.[33]

About the middle of May a powerful army of 80,000 men stood ready. The German and Hungarian forces of Leopold were joined by the army of the elector of Bavaria, and by the troops of a number of other princes, civil and ecclesiastical.

When Innocent XI saw that the imperial court was earnestly engaged in the equipment of strong places, and had already begun the campaign, he transmitted to the emperor by the hands of the nuncio, a sum of 100,000 florins and promised

[33] Letter of Buonvisi, December 23, 1686, to the Nuncio of Warsaw.

further support. The operations of the Christian armies were attended with good fortune. On the 18th of June the allied forces, under the command of Charles of Lorraine and Max of Bavaria, arrived beneath the walls of Buda, defended by Pasha Albi, with a garrison of 15,000 men. The siege was begun at once.

As in previous years, the nuncio again proved himself extremely thoughtful in erecting military hospitals for the care of the wounded. The 45,000 florins sent by the pope and the considerable amount of balsam received from Italy, were used with good results. Over 6,000 soldiers owed their lives to the care they received in these hospitals.

The siege of Buda proceeded slowly. On July 13, Duke Charles ordered an assault, but was repulsed leaving behind him 1,500 dead. On July 22, after one of the great powder magazines of the fort had been blown up, another assault was made, but without result. The Christian generals were somewhat discouraged at this, but the nuncio spurred them on to continue the siege. The grand vizier, in the meantime, at the head of an immense army, was approaching, and arrived before Buda, August 12. His plan was not to attack the imperial forces openly, but merely to harass them in such a way that they would be forced to retreat. The imperial generals, however, were too wary for him. Charles of Lorraine suspected the grand vizier's plan, and he ordered one division of his army to hold the Turks in check while his main forces continued the siege. The defenders of Buda again and again signalled to the grand vizier, that unless help came they could hold the fort no longer. Suleiman, however, could do nothing. He was forced to undergo the agony of seeing his Turkish comrades and their stronghold captured under his very eyes without being able to help them. On the last day of August, Duke Charles assembled his officers and held a council of war, wherein it was decided that they would make a general assault on the second of September. The weakened garrison fought desperately. About four o'clock in the afternoon the assault was begun, and after a bloody fight of two hours, the

Christians were masters of Buda. The capital of Hungary, considered by the Turks as the key to Europe, was free from the yoke under which it had groaned for over one hundred and fifty years. During the siege news of another great Christian victory arrived. The naval squadron of Venice, under the command of Admiral Morosini, with the assistance of the papal fleet, had won the glorious victory of Navarino, completely routing 10,000 Turks.[34]

The taking of Buda filled with joy the heart of Innocent XI. He immediately ordered a solemn act of thanksgiving to be made to the Most High for the great blessing just bestowed upon Christianity. The Pope, moreover, sent letters to the victorious generals in which he expresses his heartfelt thanks for the labors they had endured to bring the siege to a successful issue.[35] Throughout the whole of Europe all true Christian hearts were moved to joy and thanksgiving. Those who had taken part in the great event, especially such men as Buonvisi, the enthusiastic and untiring nuncio at Vienna, and Emperor Leopold I, were recipients of boundless gratitude. "Thankful for the liberation of Buda, the Hungarian nation refused to make use of its right to freely choose its king, and at the Diet the male heir of the House of Hapsburg was named." But it was Pope Innocent XI who received general acknowledgment. James II, King of England, expressed himself as follows: "His Holiness has delivered the city of Vienna; he has laid siege to Buda. For centuries no such pope has occupied the Chair of Peter."

After the victory of Buda the Sultan made another offer of peace. The matter was taken up and considered. But Belgrade and many other strongholds still remained in the power of the Turks. Most of the pope's desires were indeed realized, but not all; consequently the time for peace had not yet arrived. The pope was no less liberal now than before. He sent to

[34] Letter of the Venetian Doge, July 1, 1686, to Innocent XI; Theiner, p. 307.

[35] His letter to Leopold I, to the Elector of Bavaria, and to the Duke of Lorraine, date from September 22, 27, and October 26.

Vienna sums that altogether amounted to more than 600,000 florins, which enabled the war to be carried on with much success. After the taking of Buda, Suleiman, the grand vizier, at the head of his 60,000 Turks, turned in pursuit of Duke Charles of Lorraine, who had 50,000 men under his command. The Duke retreated as far as the plains of Mohács, where he prepared for battle. The engagement took place August 12. It was a hard fought battle, but ended in the almost complete annihilation of the Turkish army. After this the allied forces had but little difficulty in taking the other strongholds. One by one all the districts occupied by the infidels were freed from Turkish tyranny, till finally, September 6, 1688, Belgrade, after a siege of four weeks, fell into the hands of the victorious Christians.

The great and noble work was ended. Pope Innocent XI did not long survive the conclusion of the war of liberation. His mission on earth was fulfilled, and after a short illness, he died August 12, 1689.

The power of Islam over Christendom was at last destroyed. To this excellent and zealous pope, who liberated Hungary and did so much, not only for the Hapsburg dynasty, but also for all Christendom threatened by the Osmanli, the Hungarians have raised a fitting monument, and even to this day they hold his name in benediction. Out of gratitude to him, the pope's nephew, Livio Odescalchi, was made Duke of Sirmium, and in 1751, the Hungarian Assembly conferred on the latter's son the rights of citizenship. The Odescalchi are still an influential family of Hungary, and as such possess a title of nobility second to none in Europe.

It is difficult to realize the full value of the service rendered by Innocent XI to Hungary, unless one understands the condition of the country in the seventeenth century and the feeling that pervaded the people immediately before the liberation. The following passages from an excellent work of Acsády, a distinguished Hungarian historian, will enable us to appreciate the situation. They give at least a faint idea of the dangers from which Pope Innocent XI saved Europe, and the miseries

from which he delivered the Hungarian nation. This historian begins the preface to his *Hungary at the Reconquest of Buda,* with the following words: "The reconquest of Buda and the liberation of Hungary from the yoke of the Turks are epoch-making events in the national history of Hungary, whereby the dreams of generations, the wailing of millions, the ideals of the noblest hearts were realized. To repel and break the Osmanli power was for a hundred and seventy years the end and purpose of Hungarian policy. This great end was bequeathed as a sacred legacy from one generation to another, every child of Hungary taking to the grave the hope that the next generation would have better fortune and behold the glad day of freedom.

He concludes with the following passage: "Concerning the defeat at Mohács (1526) the Hungarians do not speak of it as a lost battle but as a catastrophe. With this disastrous day indeed a catastrophe fell upon Hungary. Then began an epoch, when famine and misery increased as decade after decade rolled by. While the land was under the degrading influence of Turkish rule, it steadily approached destruction. From generation to generation the Hungarian people diminished in number, in wealth, as in political standing and culture. The yoke of a hundred and seventy years and its many concomitant evils had finally brought the state to the very edge of destruction. Often has it been maintained that never since the great invasion of the Tartars had the land been in a more desperate condition, than immediately before the liberation.

. . . . . .

"The story of the seventeenth century is a dark and sanguinary page in the annals of every nation in Europe. Flourishing states and mighty peoples succumbed. Cruel and devastating wars raged everywhere. . . . . External enemies combined with domestic confusion to destroy human culture. There is nothing, as a German writer has said, in the history of this century, that made the hearts beat faster, which satisfied the people more, than that series of glorious victorious, by which the chains of Turkish slavery were burst and the liberation of

Hungary completed, by which Europe was forever delivered from the dangers of Mohammedan conquests and domination. The news of these victories, by which the holiest ideals of the Hungarian people were realized, electrified even the most distant peoples.

"To break the Turkish yoke had been for more than a century and a half, amid much turbulences and compulsory submission, the ideal of the best citizens. Finally the ideal was realized, and at a period when the ruin of Hungary was about completed. At the last moment the favorable turn long desired, but scarcely hoped for, set in. Ten years later it would perhaps have been too late; the Hungarian element would have dwindled to such a degree, that it could no longer have claimed on its own soil political and spiritual supremacy. Fortunately, however, the Almighty restored to the Hungarians their capital and their country, for the most part, it is true, in a chaotic and disordered condition; nevertheless He restored it. An age of peace now dawned to which was reserved the second peopling of the wilderness, the creation of a new thrift and a new Magyar life."

George F. Horwarth, C. S.C.

Holy Cross College.
Catholic University.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

One aspect of the work of outlining a method of teaching Religion resolves itself into an attempt to bring the teaching of Religion into conformity with the fundamental principles of education which have been firmly established through the advance of pedagogical science. These principles derive their validity from their conformity to the laws governing the unfolding and the normal functioning of the mind and hence they apply with equal force to all the subjects which find place in the curriculum. There can be no question that in our schools Religion should be the very first subject to benefit by every advance in our knowledge of fundamental principles. That it has not done so will be readily admitted, nor will we have far to seek for the reasons of this ultra-conservatism in the methods employed in the teaching of Christian Doctrine. The content here is so sacred to the Catholic conscience and it is frequently so far beyond the reach of the unaided efforts of human reason that great care is naturally exercised in making even the slightest change of method.

Moreover, those to whom the Church entrusts the all-important work of teaching the religion of Jesus Christ to her children very rightly believe that their Divine Master understood the capacity of the human mind and the nature of the doctrines which He taught better than the modern pedagogue, however broad his scientific attainments. But it is not as generally known as it should be that every secure advance of modern pedagogy registers a closer approximation to Our Lord's method of teaching and to the method embodied by the Holy Ghost in the organic activities of the Church. It is a truism that there can be no conflict between faith and science, but the fact that the very methods employed by Christ and His Church are

the goal towards which scientific achievement is tending is only just beginning to come home to us.

We are beginning to have a clearer comprehension of the functions of memory and in proportion as we conform to this knowledge we are relieving the memory of needless burdens thus enabling it to minister more effectively to the needs of the growing mind. In like manner in proportion as we understand the meaning of mental assimilation we are refusing to rest content with mere knowledge and we are demanding that each truth gained be allowed to mould character and express itself in conduct. Genetic psychology has made it plain that the child is not a diminutive man but a being that will develop into manhood, preserving unity in his conscious life while undergoing a series of metamorphoses in the modes of his mental activity. Thus we have learned that we must begin with the child's instincts and by presenting truth in concrete form, gradually develop his intellect until he is capable of comprehending truth in its abstract formulation. The sequence in which the various truths shall be presented must be determined, in like manner, both by the series of developmental changes taking place in the child's consciousness and by the relationship of truth to truth as we ascend from the concrete to the abstract. The important rôle which feeling plays in the assimilation of truth throughout life, but particularly in early childhood, and the necessity of truth expressing itself in action as an indispensable step in the process of rendering it functional in the mind have been emphasized in recent psychological work. The all-important rôle of imitation and the necessity of correlation are to-day admitted among the fundamental principles of pedagogy. It is a joy to the Christian teacher to know that these principles find their fullest illustration and most perfect embodiment in Our Lord's method of teaching Religion and in the organic life of the Church.

Our Lord's Method of Teaching Religion.

In Our Lord's method of teaching Religion there may readily be distinguished three essential elements: 1) The doctrine or

dogmatic content of His teaching. This has been developed and systematized in Dogmatic Theology and many of its leading features have been defined by the infallible teaching Church. 2) His Divine Personality and the compelling force of the example set by the life which He lived among men. This element has been formulated in Moral Theology; it has been emphasized by the ascetic and accepted with loving gratitude by the devout Christian in every walk of life. Something of the force of this element in Our Lord's teaching shines forth in the lives of the saints. It continues to reach the children in our schools in a tangible way through the religious character of our teachers, through the beauty of the Christian virtues which adorn their lives and through their zeal for the salvation of souls which has led them to forsake the world and its allurements in order to bring to the little ones the saving truths of religion and to fill their lives with the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ. 3) The principles which underlie His method of teaching the sublime truths of religion to His simple and untutored followers. These principles stand out in bold relief on the pages of the Gospel. They have been embodied in the organic activity of the Church, in her Liturgy and in her Sacramental System, but they seem to have been lost sight of in the prevalent methods of teaching Christian Doctrine.

Our Lord sowed in the hearts of His followers the seeds of those mighty truths that were to reform the world and change the whole course of human events and He established a living Church which was to continue even to the consummation of the world to teach these truths to all nations and to unfold and define them according to the needs and capacities of the children of men.

A familiarity with Our Lord's method and a mastery of the principles on which it is based should be numbered among the qualifications of all who aspire to take their place beside Our Lord and to say with Him "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of Heaven." Nor is it unreasonable to expect of those who would aid the teacher in this sublime work by preparing textbooks to be placed in the hands of the children that they should

keep Our Lord's method constantly in view and be governed throughout their work by the principles upon which it is based. Teacher and text-book alike should adhere faithfully to the doctrines preached by Christ as expounded and defined by the Church. In order to render these truths fruitful, the principles that underlie Our Lord's method of teaching and that are embodied in the organic life of the Church should be faithfully adhered to.

If the circumstances and environment in which Our Lord taught be compared with those in which our teachers are called upon to teach the truths of religion many striking differences will be found which must be taken into account, but they do not justify a difference in the doctrines to be taught nor in the principles of the method to be employed. Our Lord's followers were for the most part adults, while our teachers are called upon to instruct little children. He spoke to an Oriental people, living in primitive conditions; the children of our schools do not live close to nature, they are for the most part the creatures of a complex civilization in which undue emphasis is laid on the products of human activity. But all the deeper elements in human nature remain the same in spite of the many changes in the environmental influences which are constantly impressing themselves upon human consciousness and modifying the details of human development, and it is precisely with these deeper elements that religion is concerned.

The multitudes that followed Our Lord over the hills of Judea and around the shores of the lake of Gennesaret consisted chiefly of the simple untutored children of Israel. They were fishermen, tillers of the soil and shepherds; they were servants, with here and there a master who had been led through curiosity to listen to the words of this new Prophet. There were traders, a few tax gatherers and an occasional lawyer who came to try conclusions with this Teacher who, by the magnetism of His personality, the sublimity of His doctrine, and His power over disease, was drawing the multitudes after Him. The deaf and the dumb, the lame, the halt and the blind, the palsied and the possessed, the leper and the poor—they were all there to be healed in mind and body and to witness

the wonderful works of God. They all lived close to nature and were the daily observers of her recurring phenomena; they all felt the throb of those elemental human emotions and passions which do not vary with shifting political boundaries nor change throughout the lapsing centuries; they all heard the voices of Moses and the Prophets and built their hope of redemption on the promised Messiah.

To this motley crowd Our Lord delivered the sublime truths of the spiritual kingdom, and He taught them, not as truths to be accepted in set phrases and stored in the memory, but as the bread of life that was to enter into the depths of their being and transform all their thinking and all their acting. "Be ye not hearers of the word only, but doers." "Not he that sayeth to me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father who is in heaven." The obligation to understand the lessons which He taught and to render them fruitful in their amended lives Our Lord illustrated by such parables as that of the talents and of the barren fig tree. And when the multitude were unable to understand Him, as is recorded in the sixth Chapter of St. John, Jesus said to them, "Murmur not among yourselves. No man can come to me except the Father who hath sent me draw him." And after this declaration to them of the necessity of a gift of faith in order to accept the truth which He was imparting to them, He proceeded to restate His doctrine again and again so as to leave them no subterfuge and no possibility of misunderstanding the nature of the difficult truths which they were called upon to believe. It is evident on every page of the Gospel that Our Lord not only delivered the truths of the Kingdom of Heaven to His followers, but that He sought in every way to make these truths take root in their intelligence and bear fruit in their conduct. He warned them in a hundred ways that they would be held accountable for every truth which they heard from His lips and that if they failed to grasp the meaning of these truths and to render them fruitful in their lives they would be condemned like the wicked servant who wrapped up his one talent in a napkin or like the barren fig tree that was to be cut down and cast into the fire. Over and

over again He cautioned them that "the letter killeth," and that it is "the spirit that giveth life."

It is evident, therefore, that those teachers of religion who would follow in Our Lord's footsteps must not rest content with securing verbal memory products but must strive unceasingly to render the sublime truths which they teach intelligible to their pupils and functional in their lives. To do this they should use every human means within their reach and above all they should consider carefully the means employed by Our Lord for the attainment of these ends. It is not recorded that Our Lord ever formulated His doctrines or that He set them forth in exact words which He required His followers either to write down or to memorize, but it is recorded of Him in the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew that "All these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitude: and without parables He did not speak to them." He never presented a truth of the spiritual kingdom to His disciples without first preparing their minds for its reception by calling up familiar scenes and relating them to familiar human experiences.

The first preparation which Our Lord seems to have made on every occasion was to fill the souls of His followers with feelings of love and gratitude and wonder. He turned water into wine at the marriage feast; He fed the hungry; He cured the lame, the halt and the blind; He called the dead to life, and He preached the glad tidings to the poor and to the outcasts of Judea. When their minds were filled with wonder and their hearts overflowing with gratitude, they gave glory to God because a great Prophet was raised up amongst them. With their minds and hearts thus prepared, Jesus proceeded to unfold to them the truths of the kingdom of heaven. And the first thing He taught them was to look upon God as a most dear Father and to serve Him in a spirit of love and loyalty. He taught them to ask of Him all they stood in need of and to offer Him the tribute of their praise. Thus shall you pray: "Our Father who art in Heaven." To enable them to understand the sublime truth that God was their Father, He called their attention to the most familiar spectacles in nature. "Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not,

neither do they spin. But I say to you that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these. And if the grass of the field, which is to-day, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, God doth so clothe; how much more you, O ye of little faith? Be not solicitous, therefore, saying, what shall we eat: or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth you have need of all these things. Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you." (*Matt.* VI, 28-34).

He recurs to this lesson again and again throughout the whole of His public career as if He would make sure of this at least that His followers would understand something of the Father's love for them and of His solicitous care for their well-being. In this conviction and in the feelings and emotions which it would naturally produce in their hearts He seemed to rest His hope of their understanding the truths of the spiritual kingdom and of their conforming their conduct to its laws. In most of Our Lord's lessons, as in the one which we have just cited, there may be discerned four phases. In the first of these Our Lord appeals to His hearers' observation of familiar phenomena in the vegetable and animal worlds. In the second phase He appeals to human feelings and emotions, to the various circumstances of the every-day struggle for existence. This phase is always present even when the first phase is omitted. In the third phase of His lessons He leads His followers to contemplate the exalted state of the children of the kingdom as seen in comparison with the dwellers on the lower planes of life. And finally He points out the obligation that rests upon the children of the kingdom to bring their conduct into conformity with their high estate as children of God.

He invariably drew His analogies from those natural phenomena which were most familiar to His hearers: the birds of the air, the budding fig tree, the vine and its branches, the seed falling by the wayside, on stony ground or in good soil and the weeds which sometimes choke it, the hairs on their heads, the cockle and the tares. From these things He turned to the rich store of elemental human emotions, such as the

shepherd's love for his sheep and their answering recognition of his voice, the father's love for his children, "And which of you if your son shall ask him for bread will you reach him a stone?" and the father's quick forgiveness of the repentant prodigal, the envy of the hireling, the anger of the king whose invitation was slighted, the servant who, though forgiven, refused to forgive his fellow servant. He called attention to the wisdom of the collector of jewels who, having found the one pearl of great price, sold all that he possessed in order to purchase it. He reminded them of the joy of the woman who found her groat and of the shepherd who found the straying member of his fold. He commended the worldly wisdom of the unjust steward and warned His followers against the wickedness of the servant who wrapped up his one talent in a napkin and against the foolish virgins who put off their preparation to the last moment. Out of such simple materials, drawn from the most familiar experiences of His hearers, Our Lord fashioned the concrete setting of His lessons and built His parables through which He led His followers into an understanding of the spiritual truths by which they were to be regenerated. He always proceeded thus from the known to the unknown; from the tangible and the concrete to the abstract and the spiritual; from the natural to the supernatural.

Our Lord frequently had recourse to striking object lessons, as when He cursed the barren fig tree and caused it to wither away and when He called attention to the fact that the one leper who returned to give thanks was a stranger and that the faith of the Centurion was greater than any He had found in Israel. Similarly, He made use of His miracles to drive home vital truths, as when, coming down to the shores of the lake, He found the fisherman washing their nets and ordered them to push out and let down their nets for a draught; and when they were astonished at the multitude of fishes enclosed, He told them to leave their nets for henceforth they were to be fishers of men. He multiplied the loaves and the fishes to feed the hungry multitude and when they found Him on the other side of the lake, He made use of this miracle to place before them the truth of the Blessed Sacrament which He was

about to establish. "Amen, amen I say to you, you seek me not because you have seen miracles, but because you did eat of the loaves and were filled. Labor not for the meat which perisheth but for that which endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man will give you. . . . Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written; He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Then Jesus said to them: "Amen, amen I say to you; Moses gave you not bread from heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven and giveth life to the world." Then Our Lord proceeded to unfold to them the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, having combined in His preparation the striking and sensible fact of His miracle and the earlier figure of the same truth, the manna in the desert, the knowledge of which was preserved for them in their Scriptures. Our Lord appealed not only to the experience of His individual hearers, but to the experience of their race. He pointed out the action of Divine Providence in their own lives, in the phenomena of surrounding nature, and in the history of their race. He called upon the natural feelings and emotions and upon the religious truths and emotions that had grown into their lives and the lives of their people. He found them possessed of a knowledge of the letter of the sacred Scriptures but without a comprehension of their spirit or their larger meanings, and He unceasingly warned them against their narrow and rigid interpretations. He warned them against the letter of the law that killeth and showed them that it was the spirit that giveth life. To bring home to them the spirit and meaning of the truths which were wrapped up in the statements of the Prophets, He constantly employed the concrete and tangible happenings of daily life. And in this way He gradually led them into an understanding of those sublime spiritual truths which He came from heaven to teach to the children of men and which, in fact He taught so effectively that His lessons in time transformed the world and built up the institutions of Christian civilization. But He did not expect the harvest on the day of its planting. "Unless the grain of corn falling

into the earth perish, itself remaineth alone, but if it perish it bringeth forth much fruit."

The Apostles followed in their Master's footsteps. They continued to teach His doctrines and they taught by His method. This is sufficiently indicated in the first verses of the Gospel according to St. Luke. "For as much as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us; according as they have delivered them to us, who from the beginning were eye witnesses and ministers of the word: it seemed good to me also, having diligently attained to all things from the beginning, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the verity of those words in which thou hast been instructed." The Apostles instructed the first Christians in the truths of the spiritual kingdom; they made converts among the Jews and the Gentiles, among the learned and the untutored; they lit the torch of faith in the heart of the self-indulgent Roman and they softened the rigor of the religious fanatic, and thus they built up the foundations of the Christian Church.

The deposit of Revealed Truth was carefully guarded by the early Christian teachers. Little by little the fundamental truths of Christianity emerged in clear definitions, as may be seen in the Apostles' Creed and in the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds. The Sacred Scriptures and the commentaries by the Fathers kept the teaching of Christ in the hearts of the people. These prolific writings were in time summarized in convenient formularies. The catechism of the Council of Trent forms a striking example of a brief, clear resumé of the doctrines of Christianity. But all down the ages it was the Sacramental system of the Church and her Liturgy that kept the vital truths of Christianity vividly before the minds of the people and that rendered them fruitful in their lives. To the Liturgy, as a means of popular instruction, were added in time the resources of the fine arts. Poetry and music lent their beauty and eloquence, while painting, sculpture and architecture joined in the building of great cathedrals which spoke eloquently to the hearts and minds of the unlettered children of the forest no less than to the cultivated mind of the philosopher and of

the theologian. All this has frequently been pointed out by students of Medieval history, but few non-Catholic writers have exhibited so keen an appreciation of this side of the Church's work as Charles Eliot Norton, the well-known Dante scholar of Harvard University. "But it was in the great church edifice that many parts were united, as in no other work, in a single joint and indivisible product of their highest energies. From the pavement rich with mosaic of tile or marble; or inlaid with the sepulchral slabs of those who in life had knelt upon it, up to the cross that gleamed on the airy summit of the central spire, each separate feature, instinct with the life of art, contributed to the organic unity of the consummate master-piece of creative imagination. Religious enthusiasm, patriotic pride, the strongest sentiments of the community, the deepest feelings of each individual, found here their most poetic expression. The Church was not merely picturesque, but pictorial. The system of mosaic decoration, with which arches, vaults, and domes were covered, was intended not merely for ornament, but as a series of pictures of religious instruction. The Scriptures were here displayed in imperishable painting before the eyes of those who could not read the written word. The Church became thus not only the sanctuary wherein to pray, to confess, to be absolved, but also a schoolhouse for the teaching of the faithful. The scheme of its pictorial decoration includes the story of the race of man, his fall and redemption; the life and passion of the Saviour, and the works of His Apostles and saints."

The teacher of religion who would be faithful to the Divine Model, must take into account natural phenomena, human emotions and passions, the figures and prophecies of the Old Testament and their fulfillment in the New. He must seek to make the Saviour live in the imagination and in the heart and he must call to his assistance every resource of art. This plan will be carried out as far as may be in the series of text-books of Religion which are here under discussion.

Current Criticisms of the Public Schools.

While looking for causes and remedies for the failures of our public school education it may be just as well to make it clear once for all that after the banishing of religion from our schools the greatest calamity that has befallen them is the substitution of the hireling teacher for the vocational teacher. Teaching is esentially a delegated parental function and it can no more become an economic function than can the bringing of children into the world. The teacher who attempts to fulfill the duties of his lofty vocation merely for the salary that he is to draw never knows what real teaching is and the children under his care are in a way as unfortunate as those others who instead of parents have known only the boardinghouse mistress or the hired superintendent of official charity. Our Lord left no room for doubt as to His position on this subject: "You cannot serve God and mammon," "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep. But the hireling, and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and flyeth: and the wolf catcheth and scattereth the sheep: and the hireling flyeth because he is a hireling: and he hath no care for the sheep. I am the good shepherd; and I know mine and mine know me. As the Father knoweth me and I know the Father: and I lay down my life for my sheep." (*John* x, 11-15.) The relation of father and child is here held up as the only relation that should be permitted between the teacher and his pupils. It is this relationship that Our Lord clothes in the parable of the sheep and the shepherd. Teaching was at times an economic function among pagan nations and the masses of the people groaned in slavery, while only the few enjoyed the blessings of culture and of freedom. The Christian Church educated Europe and built up its civilization, but in the doing of this work she relied on those of her children who were called to the vocation of teaching even as Aaron was called to the priesthood.

In assigning his reasons for omitting the statistics for the Roman Catholic colleges and universities, Mr. Pritchett said, "This omission, however, is unavoidable since it is impossible to compare the cost of teaching in institutions where teaching is an economic function with that in institutions where the teachers serve in the main without salary. But this fact itself is one of great significance in the discussion of the question." Yes, it is of a significance even greater than Mr. Pritchett seems to appreciate. It is quite true that "the Roman Catholic Church has in education, as in other fields, a well-thought-out policy. It has met the problem of educational administration with full appreciation of the fact that, if it meant to control colleges, and to use them as agencies for the propagation of the faith, it must secure teachers who were independent of the ordinary financial obligations." This is quite true, but it is only a small part of the truth. She is conscious that the laborer is worthy of his hire, that the mother who brings children into the world should be supported by a devoted husband and should be blessed by the gratitude of her children, and so she has blessed marriage and thrown all her strength into the home to render it an enduring unit where the members might coöperate for a common purpose, and where the mother would be "independent of the ordinary financial obligations." And she has proceeded in like manner in education, the enlarged work of the home, and hence it is that her "college professors are, therefore, recruited from priests or from other members of celibate religious orders. These teachers could, however, not be drafted for this service if they were compelled to face the possibility of being turned out in old age upon the tender mercies of an indifferent world."

The Church has always held up her Divine Founder as the model Teacher, and she has lifted to the very highest plane of dignity and honor the work of teaching. Those who are called upon to take up this exalted work are incorporated into a religious society which is only a larger family wherein each member is freed from individual and sordid cares and can devote himself with all the energies of his life to the noble work of educating the children of men and transforming them into the

children of the Kingdom of God. As over against this, what has the State done for the vocation of the teacher? The public is taxed for the building of schools and the maintenance of an elaborate school system, but teaching remains "an economic function." It is not held in any special esteem when measured even by the low standard of salary. So poorly are the members of this profession paid that men have turned from it to follow other pursuits. Not only is the contrast unfavorable when the work of teaching is compared with that of the other professions, or of merely mercantile pursuits, but within the system itself the teacher is the poorest paid of all its employees. Attention has frequently been called to this phase of the problem, but up to the present little progress has been made in the search for a remedy. A table of salaries of teachers and other employees in the Chicago schools, published in the *Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin,* April, 1908, brings out in startling relief the esteem in which the office of teaching is held by the School Board of the City of Chicago, and in this respect, let it be remarked, Chicago does not differ from the other large cities of the country. We reproduce here a part of the schedule of salaries with the increase from 1907 to 1908.

	1907	1908
Secretary of Board of Education	$4,000	$5,000
Assistant Secretary	3,300	3,500
Assistant Business Manager	1,900	2,500
Assistant Auditor	2,500	3,000
Architect's Draftsmen	1,320	1,820
" "	2,840	3,300
Secretary and Stenographer	1,650	2,100
" " "	2,400	2,700
Bookkeeper	1,500	1,800
4 Engineers (each)	2,000	2,250
16 Stenographers and Clerks, Average,	900–$ 950	950–$1,050
10 " " " "	1,000– 1,100	1,050– 1,200
6 Clerks and Bookkeepers, Average	1,250– 1,650	1,300– 1,800
2 Laborers	720	780
2 "	900	960
2 Teamsters	900	960
2,000 Experienced Teachers, Primary, 1898 to 1908	875	
2,000 Experienced Teachers, Grammar, 1898 to 1908	900	

Startling as this schedule is, it does not tell the whole truth. The salary roll shows that the actual salary paid both the grammar grade and the primary teachers was less than that indicated. It was cut and raised several times during the ten years and thus kept dodging between eight and nine hundred dollars; only a few times in the ten years did it reach nine hundred dollars. And be it remembered that this was the maximum salary which presupposed many years of actual experience and several years of professional training. With a showing like this it is not surprising to find that our young men have abandoned the profession of teaching in our elementary schools. The few that are still to be found in the ranks are either making use of the school system to supply the needed revenue for a few years while they are preparing themselves outside of school hours for some other career, or they are the emasculated weaklings who find it to their taste to escape from the competition of men in earning a livelihood.

Where service is an economic function, the salary and other economic advantages indicate the level of the profession in question and judged by this standard, teaching has certainly lost caste. In Germany the case is otherwise. The man teacher, while paid only a moderate salary, is held in great esteem in the community and the State demands of him a professional training in keeping with the dignity of his office. He either possesses the degree of Doctor of Philosophy or is on the way to its reception. The dignity of his profession and the esteem in which it is held by his fellow men compensate in some measure for the meagerness of his income. In this country the opposite is the case. This phase of the problem was handled ably in the *Educational Review* for April, 1908, by C. W. Bardeen, in a paper to which we referred in the June number of the *Bulletin*. Some of the reasons which he there assigns for the abandonment of the teaching profession by men are well worth considering. The teacher is entirely at the mercy of his trustees. If he does not please them in every detail he is likely to be dropped and "what is worse, to be dropped is often permanent loss of occupation. Teaching is the only business over which the State has a monopoly. An

attorney or architect discharged by a school board may start in business in the same town, but a teacher who is dismissed from one school in the city is dismissed from all of them and must go elsewhere. Hence, teachers are wanderers; they buy a home only at the risk of being compelled any year to give it up. They are in a state of dependency upon trustees elected to office without special knowledge of the needs of the schools or the relative qualifications of teachers." It is easy to see why teamsters and bookkeepers, architects and stenographers, draughtsmen and secretaries receive large salaries and constant promotions. The State has no monopoly in their professions and hence must compete for their services and treat them with becoming civility. But the teacher has no redress. The work of teaching in itself is altogether apart from the ordinary vocations of men and does not fit for any other employment. It is a sacred vocation that is final in itself and if the State holds a monopoly and fails to lift the profession to its proper dignity, the blame rests with society. The teacher is deprived of his freedom by the machinery of the school system and his work is lowered in his own eyes by the meagerness of his compensation and the helplessness of his position, but this does not end with the school board. " Outside the board of education that directly employs him, the community feels authorized to dictate whether he shall smoke or dance or play cards or call on a lady twice a week. The present Principal of the High School in Newark, N. J., lost a place in Courtland Normal School because when he applied he was wearing a red necktie; the chairman of the committee disliked red neckties." The teacher is felt to be not only a public servant but a public servant whom every body believes himself qualified to criticise and dictate to. In other vocations men may sometimes, at least, be their own master. They can come and go when they like, and do what they like, provided they respect the laws of the land. And in this large freedom they find avenues of advancement opening up to them just in proportion to their talents and energy. But all this is reversed in the teaching profession. To quote once more from Professor Bardeen, " teaching is looked down upon in the community. We might

as well face the fact. 'When A. was principal of a grammar school,' said the head of a normal school, 'he would run across the street to shake hands with me. Now that he has passed the law examination and hung up his shingle, he expects me to run across the street to shake hands with him.' In other words, A. feels that to be the tail of the law is higher than to be at the top of teaching. . . . The teacher may have a personality that commands respect in spite of his calling, but as a teacher and outside of his especial work he is regarded by business men slightingly, as an improvident visionary, thinking in a world of imaginary conditions, like Alice in Wonderland."

The Professor then goes on to point out that the teaching profession actually unfits a man for any other line of work and he concludes that this is the reason that so few teachers are ever elected to responsible positions in the commonwealth. He then passes to a consideration of another and a very serious phase of the subject. "Teaching usually belittles a man. I do not say it ought to; I do not say it always does; I say it usually does. His daily dealing is with petty things, of interest only to his children and a few women assistants, and under regulations laid down by outside authority, so that large questions seldom come to him for consideration. His environment narrows him, he grows to have only one interest, and that limits him in public and social life." On peril of losing his position he is compelled to trim his policies to suit each political change that alters the personnel of the school board until in time he loses all grasp of principle and all esteem for his profession. Now, if this is true of the teachers in secondary schools and of principals in the elementary schools, the case is far worse with the teaching staff of the elementary schools. We are not here dealing with theory but with the facts which confront us, with facts which have already driven the talented and ambitious men out of the teaching profession, at least out of the ranks of the teachers in our elementary schools and have filled their places with women. This state of affairs and the consequences which it leads to are attracting wide-spread attention at present.

The Catholic Educational Association.

No movement in behalf of Catholic education, since the foundations of our school system were laid in Colonial days, has attracted more attention or possesses more interest for our people or gives greater promise for Catholic education than The Catholic Educational Association, which held its fifth annual meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, last July. The Secretary-General, Rev. Francis Howard, deserves the thanks of all concerned for the splendid report of the proceedings which he has recently issued to the members of the Association. It is more complete than any of the preceding reports. Those who were not privileged to attend the sessions of the association will find in the 480 pages of this report a full and faithful account of the discussions in the various sections, nor are these the only ones who will hail with joy this faithful record of the proceedings. The several departments held their sessions simultaneously and as a consequence the delegates were compelled to choose between several papers each of which possessed vital interest for them.

A comparison of the present report with that of former years shows that the members of the Association are drawing nearer year by year to the heart of the great problems which must be solved by our Catholic educational institutions of every rank. There is a notable absence of special pleading throughout the papers and an evident desire on the part of the participants to face the issues squarely. But perhaps the most encouraging feature of the movement is to be found in the growing consciousness on the part of our Catholic educators of the need of union and coöperation among our schools of all ranks and of all parts of the country. This is shown by the growing membership and by the more representative character of the delegates. "Seven hundred and sixty-seven delegates registered at the meeting and many of these represent colleges, academies, and communities of teachers." We heartily agree with Father Howard in his brief and pointed introduction when he says:

"The usefulness of these meetings is now generally recognized. They give us an understanding of the strength and weakness of our educational position that can be obtained in no other way. A great deal of earnest and serious work is done at these meetings; they foster a spirit of unity and coöperation in all departments of our educational work; and they inspire our educators with a greater love and devotion to their calling. It is the opinion of all who attend the meetings that the whole system of our educational activity has been strengthened, unified and developed by the annual conventions of the Association, and more especially has this been the result of the meeting in Cincinnati."

A perusal of the papers contained in this volume will also make it evident that not only are Catholic educators realizing more clearly than ever before the need of coöperation, but they are coming to a fuller understanding of the fundamental principles on which our Catholic educational system rests. Whatever differences may exist in the details of method, there is unity of fundamental principles. As a consequence of this there is a growing realization of the danger that lurks in the affiliation of our schools to non-Catholic institutions. The philosophy underlying an educational system must inevitably express itself in all phases of its work and hence our Catholic institutions must find within themselves guidance and helpfulness. Coöperation and mutual helpfulness are needed to safeguard our weaker institutions against the danger of straying in pursuit of false ideals. Father Howard expresses a thought that has often been expressed in these pages when he says: "Of more importance even than the thoroughness of our educational work is the defence of the general interests of Catholic education and the vindication of the principles on which it is based. The secular system of education is based largely on the theory that man is born for the State and that he derives his rights from the State. The Socialist would have the State absorb all authority in the domain of learning and of industry, and there are many secular educators who would fain see the monopoly of education lodged in the power of the State. The Catholic system is based on the right of the parent,

the right of the child, and a reasonable individualism. . . . The importance of the Association is also apparent in view of the most portentous evil in American life—the decay of religion. Religion has practically disappeared in a very large element of the American people and we are facing an entirely new situation in our national life. The most vital work and the most urgent problem in American life is the preservation of religion; and the responsibility of preserving the Catholic faith in our people and religion in our country rests upon those who are charged with the work of Catholic education. Our Catholic people live in an atmosphere of irreligion and paganism. The American nation is losing religion because it has eliminated religion from the schools of the nation. Catholic people spend millions of dollars every year in their educational work, but it is sacrifice made for natural right and for the preservation of religion in our country."

Archbishop Moeller, who has shown his interest in Catholic education in so many ways, welcomed the Association to Cincinnati in an address which is replete with wisdom and which should be read by every educator in the country, whether Catholic or non-Catholic. He emphasizes in particular what our people too often forget that in striving to realize the ideals of Catholic education we are laboring at the same time to develop the ideal citizen of the republic. "It would be difficult to sufficiently praise you for the service which you are rendering the country. What is it that gives dignity and permanence to the State? What will save it from internal dissensions and rebellion that menace its existence? Will wealth, or learning, or power of a large and well disciplined army? The wrecks that mark the ways of time teach the lesson that a nation may not depend on riches, culture or power and hope to live. Religion, the truths of God, the unchangeable principles of morality, are the soul of every government, give it life and inspire it with noble and lofty ideals and insure its permanency. . . . Next to the ministers of God none contribute more to the preservation and extension of the faith than our Catholic educators. Clergy and laity are convinced that to

sever religion from education would be detrimental to the faith."

This well merited tribute to the work of our teaching orders was voiced in many ways throughout the discussions of the convention. Bishop Maes, in his remarks at the opening session, said: "It is not often that we have an opportunity of sounding the praises of those modest teachers who are ever kept from publicity, but who work day after day, from morning till night and from night till morning, striving to become more and more perfect in their profession. The thanks of the Bishops—and I may here presume to speak in the name of all the Bishops of the United States—and the thanks of every priest are due to those self-sacrificing brothers and sisters who are making Catholic education their life's vocation, and do it out of pure love for God and for the souls of our children. So great is their influence that I do not hesitate to say that it is in their hands that lies the future of the Church in the United States."

In the vocation of our teachers we have, indeed, an asset that far out-weighs all the advantages of wealth and State aid. Where education is not a vocation but an economic function, it is not possible to secure the same breadth or freedom of thought, the same zeal and professional spirit or the disinterestedness and self-sacrifice which is indispensable in the teacher where education is to reach a high level of moral and intellectual culture.

Dr. Pace, in his paper at the first general session, throws into the foreground the same asset. "I feel the more encouraged in this course when I consider the spirit of our Catholic teachers. Were it a question of arousing interest, or of spurring endeavor or even of pleading for greater self-sacrifice, an appeal of quite a different sort would be needed. Likewise, if our main object were success as against strong competition or financial gain to piece out our slender resources, it would be at once easier and wiser to offer a scheme based solely on prudent calculation. Happily, however, no such situation confronts us. There is neither apathy to be rebuked nor self-seeking to be put to shame. There is instead, a determina-

tion to make our schools as perfect as possible and a willingness to profit by example and suggestion from whatever source these may come."

The papers in every section are encouraging from the progress in all departments of our educational work of which they speak. In speaking of the improvements in method, Dr. Pace says: "For the Catholic teacher there is a special consideration arising from the fact that the teaching of religion is an essential part of our school work. The conviction is growing, and has more than once been expressed, that religious truths must not be held apart from the general body of knowledge which the mind assimilates, but must become a vital and a dominant element in the mental structure. Hence it follows, obviously, that the importance of method and of professional training is to be gauged not alone by the value of the ordinary school subjects but above all by the supreme value of religious truth. In other words, if religion is to be taught by the methods employed in the secular branches, those methods, for an additional reason, must be the very best, and their application must be marked by consummate skill. When and so far as this is done, when the truths and moral precepts of Christianity are so thoroughly interwoven into the thought and feeling of each man and woman as to exert a practical influence on every action, Catholic education will have done a perfect work."

But this convention did not occupy itself exclusively with recording progress. One of its most valuable results was the clear light in which it placed the problems which still remain to be solved and the difficulties and dangers which confront us. The key-note of this situation was struck by the Right Reverend President-General in his opening remarks: "The more I study this subject of education the more profoundly convinced I feel of two things—that it is the most important problem that confronts the Catholic Church to-day, and that, far from having arrived at a solution, we are simply at the beginning of the difficulty." The difficulties here spoken of were touched upon in Dr. Pace's paper on "The Present State of Education," in the discussion which followed it, and in many of the discussions of the special sections, particularly in the school sec-

tion. To quote again from Dr. Pace: "There is reason to believe, or rather there are plain facts to show, that our teachers, especially in the secondary schools, are eager for every possible means of improvement. But the question is: do they find these means within the Catholic system? If they are obliged to seek aid from outside sources, then, clearly there is a defect somewhere. A system that has not within itself adequate means of supplying its own vital elements with needed energy is a system only in name. Doubtless too, some of our schools are in process, and not a slow one, of coördination so far as methods, standards, inspection, registration and credits are concerned. But does this mean that they are coördinate parts of our Catholic system? Certain it is that our teachers are familiar in some degree with current educational literature, and that they make use to a considerable extent of the latest and most improved text-books. Those of us who listened to the discussion at Milwaukee last summer may recall some significant statements and admissions bearing on this very point. All of us know, moreover, how often and how eagerly the desire for Catholic text-books has been expressed. But the real reason why they are not forthcoming, has yet to be stated." Speaking of the reasons why we have so little educational literature and why non-Catholic educational literature finds such ready access to our schools, he says: "They find readers, in growing numbers, among Catholic teachers as well; and inevitably, though imperceptibly, they turn the thoughts of our teachers into lines that are parallel, if not identical, with the ideas that pervade the general system. Is it to be wondered at that our schools incline more and more to some sort of affiliation with the institutions from which that literature emanates, in which those methods are being constanly worked over, and in which better, or at any rate different plans of study are being drawn up? . . . . The plain man who is little concerned about educational theories, will quickly enough ask why his children should get their elementary training in a Catholic school if that school draws its strength mainly from affiliation with outside institutions. He knows nothing perhaps about 'coördination' and the 'unitary character' of education; but

it seems to him the commonest of common sense that the boy or girl should as soon as possible get into the system that carries him right through to the end. And he is likely to be confirmed in this view when he sees that Catholic schools, in the essential things, are not altogether outside the general system."

We have difficulties to face and we are surrounded by dangers, but we can rely upon our army of trained and devoted teachers to adhere steadfastly to Catholic ideals and whatever wandering beyond the line may occur in the storm and stress, we may be sure of a speedy return as soon as the danger is realized. We need unity and strength in our educational system, but the unity must come rather from a recognition of common fundamental principles than through legislative enactments or coercive measures and our strength will be abundant when we turn to general use the educational power that is now locked away in the brains of individual teachers scattered through the teaching communities of this country. We need our own text-books and our own educational literature and when that need is fully realized there will be at hand an abundant supply of both the one and the other and the quality will not be inferior to the best that is produced by the hired teachers in a State school system.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Essays Philosophical and Psychological in honor of William James, Professor in Harvard University, by his colleagues at Columbia University. New York: Longmans, 1908. Pp. viii + 610. Price, $3.00 net.

A healthy tone of Realism characterizes this important contribution to contemporary philosophical literature. Those who have learned how much courage is required nowadays in order to profess a philosophy which agrees with the convictions of "the plain man," will readily acknowledge that an open profession of Realism by the authors of this volume will be sure to have a salutary influence. We are reminded, indeed, that "In philosophy it is not the same thing to be in the right and to be in the fashion." Yet that "*Athanasius contra mundum*" is no longer the position of the Realist, must have the effect of removing one of the greatest difficulties in the way of restoring philosophy to a cordial and intelligible agreement with the physical, biological, and historical sciences. Too long has philosophy been "the most irresponsible of sciences;" too long has extravagance of theory been its gravest fault. It is indeed time "to renounce the splendid follies of speculative imagination and return to intellectual seriousness." It is time, in a word, for epistemology and metaphysics to cry *peccavi* and to acknowledge that Cartesian subjectivism is at the root of all the aberrant tendencies of unreal metaphysics. To many minds, it is true, Idealism appeals because of a false though widespread association of the name Idealism with ideals in religion, conduct, and artistic production. To such minds it comes as a shock to learn that nothing is more destructive of ideals than Idealism, and that the swinging of philosophic thought in the direction of the spontaneous belief in a "World as it is" corresponding to the "World represented" means the re-enforcement of the bulwarks of sane philosophy, which alone stands between our ideals and the destructive onrush of scepticism, agnosticism, and the flippant despair of knowing anything. Of course, there is Realism and Realism. No realist would nowadays maintain that "world as it is, is directly revealed in its fulness to the mind of man;" but for

every attempt to convince us that there is a "transubjective reference" in our perceptions and that to them there corresponds a physical world, we are truly and duly grateful. Professor Woodbridge in the article on "Perception and Epistemology" goes to the root of the matter when he writes, "If the processes belong to a world entirely physical, the 'representations' belong to a world at least partly physical. In other words, if there is a physical world external to consciousness, there is also a physical world within consciousness"—the union of subject and object in the act of knowing, as the Aristotelians taught. In the volume before us we remark also the note of pragmatism. Professor Dewey's article on "Reality as Practical," which follows Professor Fullerton's excellent article on "The New Realism," emphasizes this phase of contemporary thought. To the old theory of knowledge which, he says, has been systematically built up on the notion of a static universe, Profesor Dewey opposes the new theory which makes "stress and strain, strife and satisfaction" the tests of validity, thus summing up the pragmatic view of reality as possessing a practical character.

There are many things in this volume which we can safely recommend to all who are interested in the ever-recurring problems of epistemology, psychology and metaphysics. The work is a noble and a graceful tribute to Professor James, whose position in the world of philosophy here and in Europe is one of well-earned honor, and, evidently, to those who know him personally, of singular, if not unique, esteem. The book is faultless from the point of view of material workmanship.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Popes and Science. The History of the Papal Relations to Science during the Middle Ages and down to Our Own Time, by James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of History of Medicine at Fordham University School of Modicine, etc. New York: Fordham University Press, 1908. Pp. xii + 431. Price, $2.00 net.

That dissection was prohibited by Papal authority, that anatomy was declared "a sin against the Holy Ghost," that chemistry was forbidden under the severest penalties, that the medieval miracles of healing checked medical science, that the practice of surgery was held in suspicion and contempt—these are not mere popular preju-

dices, the fallacies of shallow dabblers in ecclesiastical controversy. They are brought forward as a part of serious arraignment of the Church and the Papacy in Dr. Andrew D. White's *Warfare of Science with Theology*. The refutation of them is the scope and subject-matter of the volume before us, in which Dr. Walsh meets calumny with calm statement and confronts misinformation with the testimony of reliable and in most cases contemporary documents. The author has, in our opinion, succeeded not only in proving a contradictory but in proving a contrary. He has shown that when allowance is made for the "popular" feeling of horror and suspicion, the triumph of anatomy and surgery owes much to the enlightened and liberal patronage extended to medical science by the Popes. The career of Vesalius, and his relations with ecclesiastical authorities form, to our way of thinking, the best and most striking refutation of Dr. White's allegations.

The volume is dedicated to His Holiness Pius X. It is well printed, and provided with a useful index.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Educational Association. Columbus, Ohio, 1908. Pp. xiii + 480.

Crescit eundo seems to be the motto of the Catholic Educational Association. In the number of its members, in the attendance at its meetings, in the interest which its work arouses, in the size and importance of its Reports there is a very decided growth from year to year, a growth which is a very pleasing sign of the progress we are steadily making towards the unification of effort, coördination of programme and hearty coöperation in the difficult task of building up our educational system. The volume before us cannot be too earnestly recommended to teachers, to the members of the parochial and regular clergy and above all to the pastors, whose care for the souls of their people includes the all important duty towards the schools for which the faithful are making so great a sacrifice. A more extended notice of the volume will be found under the heading "Notes on Education." Copies of the volume may be had from the General Secretary of the Association, 1651 Main Street, Columbus, Ohio.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The True Rationalism. A Lecture delivered in the University of Glasgow before St. Ninian's Society, by the Reverend M. Power, S. J., B. A. St. Louis: Herder, 1908. Pp. 68.

This is a brief but comprehensive statement of the claims of Reason within the limits of orthodox belief. To those who have made a study of the system of philosophy which is associated with the names of Aristotle, St. Thomas and Albertus Magnus, it will not come as a new thing, this plea for the headship of Reason in matters philosophical. Distinguishing true Rationalism from false, the lecturer contends that "The one great human force to keep us in the old paths of the Faith in Rationalism"—a thesis which is more timely than ever to-day when so many are trying to point out the dangers of just that kind of Rationalism.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Psychologie de l'incroyant, par Xavier Moisant. Paris: Beauchesne, 1908. 12mo, 339 pp.

What is the mental and moral attitude of the unbeliever towards the Christian religion whose claims he rejects? This question the author has tried to answer by analyzing the three types of unbelief in which he thinks all can be comprised who will not accept the Christian faith. One type he finds exemplified in the deist Voltaire, the witty but narrow scoffer, skilled in arguments of ridicule but contemptible for his pessimism, irritable temper, excessive vanity, low moral tone, and his blindness to the wonderful vitality and moral heroism of the Church of Christ.

A second type is to be seen in the positivist Comte, who while rejecting Christian belief and even deistic philosophy, recognized that the religious craving in man is a legitimate need, and sought to meet it with a creation of his own that should embody the high morality and the saint-veneration of Catholicism together with the accredited results of positive, scientific research.

The third type he finds illustrated in the philosopher Renouvier, the passionate lover of individual liberty, the irreconcilable enemy of clericalism, an ardent believer in immortality not of the Christian type, and in a divine personality subject to anthropomorphic limitations, a thinker so far from Christian, and so near to Pla-

tonic, thought, that the author does not hesitate to pronounce him "un philosophe grec attardi en pays chrétien."

The analytic study of these three types is made with no little skill, and is at the same time set forth in a lucid and attractive style. But the concluding chapter, in which he essays a definition of the unbeliever on the basis of these types, leaves an unsatisfactory impression on the reader by its vagueness. One is led to ask, why should so unique a thinker as Renouvier be put up as a type of the modern unbeliever? Might not other types far more appropriate have been found,—as for example, the type of the socialist unbeliever, represented by such men as Proudhon, Marx, Bebel; and the type of the scientific enthusiast, like Huxley, Haeckel, Flammarion, to whom science is all sufficient and the sole medium of certain knowledge?

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Apologie scientifique de la foi chrétienne, d'après l'ouvrage de Mgr. Duilhé de Saint Projet, entièrement refondu, par J.-B. Senderens. Paris: Poussielgue, 1908. 12mo, 444 pp.

The distinguished author of the *Scientific Apology of Christian Faith* was one of the few clear sighted apologists of a generation ago who knew how to distinguish between what is of faith and what is of traditional opinion in the current theological teaching on questions largely scientific, and who had the courage to meet the legitimate claims of the natural sciences with sympathy and fairness. It is greatly to his credit that despite the rapid march of geology, biology, and anthropology in the last twenty-four years, his book is still one of the best apologies in the field of natural science.

It is not surprising that after so long a period, the work, in some of the questions treated, should have fallen behind. In order to remedy these defects and to bring the apology up to date, the Abbé Senderens has seen fit to modify it considerably. The methodical arrangement of the original has been in great measure retained. By omitting two of the introductory chapters on the method of treatment, and the obsolete chapter on the concordist interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis, as well as by pruning portions of the text in other chapters, he has reduced the

bulk of the book by one hundred pages, and that, too, while adding a chapter of his own on the plurality of inhabited worlds.

His changes are for the most part judicious. Yet one cannot help thinking that the work of revision could have been better done. In the chapters dealing with transformism, parts of the original have been dropped that one might wish to see retained. The room now taken up by the speculative question of the inhabitation of other worlds might better have been given to a larger treatment of prehistoric archæology. Again, it is to be regretted that no bibliography accompanies the revised edition. An index, too, would have enhanced its usefulness. But notwithstanding these failings, the *Scientific Apology,* in its new dress, will not fail to command respect and to prove of great service.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Commentaire français littéral de la somme théologique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Par le R. P. Thomas Pègues, O. P., Lecteur en Théologie. Edouard Privat, 14 Rue des Arts, Toulouse. Tome 2 ; Traité de la Trinité (7.50 fr.).

The first two volumes of Father Pègues' valuable work, a translation of the Summa of St. Thomas and a commentary on the text, have already been noticed in the pages of the *Bulletin* (see January, 1908). Those volumes dealt with the first twenty-six questions of the Summa. The second tome (vol. 3) gives a remarkably lucid and learned exposition of St. Thomas' treatise on the mystery of the Trinity (1 P., QQ. 27-43). Pope Pius X graciously accepted the offering of the first two volumes, and addressed to the author an encouraging Brief, from which we extract the following significant words: "Consilium probamus tuum lingua dicendique genere patriis, quae praestant, quam quae maxime, lumine, principis exponendi de Theologia operis, hodie praesertim accomodatissimi, quando qui a Thoma discedunt, iidem videntur eo ad ultimum agi ut ab Ecclesia desciscant: studium ad haec dilaudamus, quo rem rite curasti exequendam." These words were written on November 7th, 1908. On September 8th of the same year the Supreme Pontiff addressed to the whole world in the famous letter "Pascendi dominici gregis," the following admonition: "Philosophiam scholasticam quum sequendam praescribi-

mus, eam praecipue intelligimus, quae a sancto Thoma Aquinate est tradita; de qua quidquid a Decessore Nostro sancitum est, id omne vigere volumus, et qua sit opus instauramus et confirmamus, stricteque ab universis servari jubemus . . . Magistros autem monemus ut rite hoc teneant, Aquinatem deserere, praesertim in re metaphysica, non sine magno detrimento esse." Father Pègues, naturally, is very much encouraged in the fulfillment of his arduous task, by the words of the Supreme Pontiff.

Apart from this, the talent and learning, the familiarity with his subject, the genius which he displays in presenting in an easy, attractive style the most abstruse questions of theology, the sound judgment shown in giving, with the translation, just enough of commentary to make his work an up-to-date manual, are in themselves perfections which should commend his volume to all those who love solid theology and are anxious to know how theological questions were treated by the Prince of theologians. We predict that Father Pègues' work will be deeply appreciated not only by students but even by professors. The author is a master of theology, intimately acquainted with every part of the Summa, and his genius for lucid exposition cannot be surpassed. The volumes thus far published have been most highly praised by the leading theological reviews of Europe, especially in France, Belgium, Italy and Germany.

D. J. Kennedy, O. P.

De Doctrina S. Joannis Evangelistae circa Baptismi Sacramentum. Dissertatio theologico-ermeneutica quam ad doctoratus gradum in sacra theologia apud Seminarium S. Bernardi, Roffae consequendum scripsit Rev. Michael J. Ryan, S. T. L., Ph. D. Roffae, N. Y., 1908.

In this dissertation Doctor Ryan gives an explanation of the doctrine of St. John the Evangelist on the all-important sacrament of Baptism. His explanations of the various texts adduced are very ingenious, very interesting and very instructive. The Fathers of the Church did not hesitate to base their instructions on mystical interpretations of the sacred writings. Preachers and writers of our days also may make use of mystical interpretations, for—to use a style of argument approved by Dr. Ryan—"The letter killeth but the spirit quickeneth" (2 Cor., III, 6). We must be

very careful, however, in passing from proposing for the edification of the faithful the beauties of the mystical meanings, which God may have intended to convey when He inspired the sacred writers, to the solid, sober fact of adducing arguments in proof of the doctrines which we profess. "Et sic nulla confusio sequitur in sacra Scriptura, cum omnes sensus fundentur super unum, scilicet litteralem, ex quo solo potest trahi argumentum, non autem ex iis quae secundum allegoriam dicuntur, ut dicit Augustinus" (S. Th. 1, P. Q. 1, art. x ad 1^{um}). Dr. Ryan exercises this caution; he reminds his readers that "sensus doctrinales sacrae Scripturae imponi sine auctoritate non debent" (p. 15); hence he cites authorities when his argument is based on the mystical meaning of the text. Since the authorities do not agree, his thesis has not that stability which we find in theses that rest on the literal meaning of the sacred writings. "Very beautiful, probably true, but not proved," might be the verdict of some hard-hearted scholastic who will not be convinced except by arguments based on the literal meaning of the inspired text. However that may be, the author has rendered a service by recalling interpretations that have been forgotten, and by pointing out hidden beauties which all men should admire in 1 John v, 6, 8 (verse 7 prudently omitted); John xix, 34; John vii, 37, 38 (punctuation changes the meaning); 1 Cor. x, 2, 4; John iv, 13, 14; John iii, 5.

In stating (ch. x) as more probable the opinion which holds that the sacrament of Baptism was not instituted before the passion of our Saviour, Dr. Ryan is setting himself against the majority of theologians.

The dissertation manifests valuable, patient research and reflects credit on the author and on the seminary of Rochester.

D. J. Kennedy, O. P.

The History of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, explained and applied to the Christian life by James Groenings, S. J. Second English edition prepared from the fourth German edition. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1908. 8°, pp. xiv + 461. $1.25.

As the title indicates Father Groenings' book is a description and explanation of the principal events in the history of the Re-

deemer's suffering and death. The various incidents of the sacred Passion, beginning with the agony in the garden and concluding with the watch at the tomb, are presented, as far as can be determined, in their chronological succession. An appropriate text from one of the Gospels supplies the subject matter of each chapter. In the commentary on those texts, the exegetical material is chosen with a view to edification and useful instruction, a few of the more difficult points of interpretation being summarily treated in the appendix at the end of the volume. The author's method of treatment is popular throughout and it does not come within the scope of his work to deal explicitly with these mooted questions. Numerous reflections of a practical character are found in every chapter of the book which affords excellent matter for meditation.

P. Aloysius Menges, O. S. B.

Das Evangelium von Gottessohn. Eine Apologie der wesenhaften Gottessohnschaft Christi gegenüber der Kritik der modernsten deutschen Theologie, von Dr. Theol. et Phil. Anton Seitz. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder, 1908. 8vo, pp. xii + 545. $1.85.

The doctrine of Christ as the Logos, and of His eternal and essential oneness with God is the foundation of Christianity. Unfortunately the majority of the modern reconstructions of the life of Christ are dominated by a false philosophy which leaves no room for His Divinity. Under the circumstances the work of the apologist becomes more difficult as it increases in importance. Not only must he establish the proofs of Revelation objectively, convincingly and scientifically, he must also seek to obtain a hearing for the truth and to make it generally understood. To attain this end he has to expose religious doctrines relatively to the needs of the time, a task which presupposes a thorough knowledge of the current trend of thought. Dr. Seitz has produced a volume that comes up to these requirements. He is familiar with the immense literature dealing with the central figure of the Gospels and knows how to select judiciously where completeness is almost impossible. His method is determined by the apologetic scope of his work. In proving the Divinity of our Lord he lays stress

in particular on the central point of contention, where modern criticism has placed the issue, the testimony of Jesus to Himself. Christ frequently expressed Himself in a manner which definitely shows the consciousness of His messianic dignity and of His divine Sonship. That these terms imply more than a mere ethical relationship to God the Father is clearly set forth. There is no essential difference of meaning between the Sonship of Jesus as presented in St. John and that which is recognized in the earlier Gospels. St. John's version does no more than to bring into stronger relief the teaching of the synoptists. We have furthermore the direct professions of faith elicited by Christ from His followers and a number of indirect proofs which confirm the truth of the fundamental dogma of our Catholic Christology. Finally there is the testimony of the apostle Paul. The author pays due regard to questions of literary and historical criticism and is careful to emphasize only that which has an unquestionable claim to consideration. In an introductory chapter he describes the methods and principles of the Rationalist school of thinkers in general, and more specifically the undogmatic nature of Christianity as presented in Harnack's "Wesen des Christentums." The volume is deserving of attention not only on account of its well-timed appearance, but also on account of the excellence of its contents.

P. Aloysius Menges, O. S. B.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. IV. Clancy—Diocesan Chancery. Robert Appleton Company (New York, 1908). Pp. i–xv + 799.

The fourth volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia which has recently been issued is in no respect inferior to the splendid volumes which have preceded it and in a few minor details at least it marks an advance. The maps are particularly good and the busy reader will welcome the list of articles appended to each name in the alphabetical index of contributors at the beginning of the volume. The Catholics of the English speaking world are beginning to realize the magnitude of the work that is being carried on so successfully by the editors of this admirable encyclopedia. None but the scholar could have realized the necessity of a work of this kind. Since the Reformation English literature along many lines has in

large measure passed out of the hands of Catholics and it fails completely to do justice to the doctrines, the legislation, the ritual, the constitution or the history of the Church. As the successive volumes of the Encyclopedia appear English speaking Catholics realize more and more the rich treasures of art, literature, science, etc., that are theirs—their hearts cannot fail to respond with gratitude and pride, and those who have the ability will be stimulated in the work of creating a new and distinctively Catholic literature in English along many lines.

The articles in this fourth volume cover a very wide range of interesting topics. Christian Archæologists and students of Church History will find the twenty-two pages devoted to the article Cross teeming with interest. The authoritative character of the work is sufficiently guaranteed by the scholarship of the three men who contributed this article, Orazio Marucchi, Fernand Cabrol and Herbert Thurston. But it is not only the scholar who will turn for help to these pages: the multitude of Sisters and Brothers, priests and teachers to whom is committed the important work of teaching the religion of Jesus Christ to the little ones will find in this article a wealth of suggestive material organized around the symbol of Redemption. Biblical scholars and historians will turn eagerly to the articles on Biblical and Historical Criticism for light on the Church's attitude towards many of the problems which are at present occupying the attention of scholars and they will not be disappointed with the few brief but well ordered pages from the pens of Professor Reid and Prat who have contributed the article on the higher criticism and textual criticism of the Bible, nor with the splendid article on historical criticism by Father Charles De Smedt, S. J. The article on Confirmation is not only of vital interest to teachers of Christian Doctrine but to theologians and students of Church History as well. It is valuable not only for the light which it sheds on the meaning of this sacrament and the place which it holds at present in sacramental Theology but as a splendid illustration of the development of doctrine and ritual in the Church. It has an added interest to a large section of the readers of the Encyclopedia from the light which it sheds upon the development of the Irish and British Churches. The profusely illustrated article on Christopher Columbus from the pen of Adolph F. Bandelier will interest all Americans and will prove helpful to the teachers of American history in our schools. The lovers of Dante will delight in the

beautiful illustrations which accompany this article and the brief, clear story of the life and work of the poet. The theologian and the lawyer will be interested in such articles as those on Contracts, Consanguinity and Compensation, while a much wider interest attaches at present to the article on Concordats, owing to the recent break between the Church and the French Government. The article on Clandestinity will be turned to eagerly by a great many Catholics on account of the recent legislation by the Holy See on that subject.

Catholics of the English speaking world have grown so accustomed to the misrepresentation and caricature of the things which they hold most sacred that it will take them some time to come to a full realization of what the Encyclopedia is destined to do for them. A multitude of writers have misrepresented things Catholic, not through malice or bigotry, but through ignorance of the facts. It is true that Catholics frequently knew where to turn for authentic information on the subjects in question, but the non-Catholic was at the mercy of the literature at his disposal and this was frequently poisoned in its source. Hereafter this will not be true, for all those outside the Church who want to know will find the facts and the key to the sources of more detailed information in the pages of the Catholic Encyclopedia.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BOOK NOTICES.

Father Bernard Vaughan, whose sermons have of late attracted so much attention here and in England, writes the Preface to a little volume of ninety-one pages on SERMON COMPOSITION by Rev. Geo. Hitchcock, S. J. (New York, Benziger, 1908). To the summary of qualities which a good sermon, according to St. Thomas, should possess, namely Solidity (*stabilitas*), Luminosity (*claritas*) and Usefulness (*utilitas*), Father Vaughan adds a fourth requirement, Up-to-date-ness (*Actualitas*). The choice of a subject, the method of composition, the use of illustrations and anecdotes, the filling in of details, etc., are treated in this little volume in a way to interest and, we should think, benefit the young student of sacred eloquence.

Perhaps the most useful kind of preaching nowadays is the expository, or what is sometimes misleadingly called the didactic, sermon. People seem to need more than anything else, to be instructed on the teachings of the Church. A series of Sermons on the Creed, on the Commandments, on the Sacraments, on the Ceremonies of the Church, in a word, a larger and more mature Catechism of Christian Doctrine expounded from the pulpit, is what many experienced pastors find to be most beneficial to their flocks. Besides, the evident wish of His Holiness Pius X that the teaching of Christian doctrine be not confined to instructing the children of the parish, but be extended to the instruction of grown up members of the flock furnishes an additional reason for this style of preaching. An admirable series on the doctrines of the Church, by various well known preachers published by Wagner, New York, and entitled THE CREED, is part of a projected course entitled *Pulpit Commentary on Catholic Teaching.* It ought to be of use to those who contemplate a series of sermons on doctrinal subjects.

The second volume of Father Brancherau's MEDITATIONS FOR THE USE OF SEMINARIANS AND PRIESTS comes to us from the Press of Benziger Brothers, New York. For the work of the translator, who has, we notice, considerably abridged the original and wisely adapted the meditations to the temperament and needs of English and American students, we have nothing but praise. The presswork, however, is hardly up to the standard of the Benziger Company.

We have seldom seen a more beautiful piece of typograpical work than that in which Benziger Brothers put before us a new edition of the IMITATION OF CHRIST. The edition is prefaced by a Life of Thomas a Kempis and a collection of "Eulogies or Praises" of the Imitation. In everything except the binding, which is plain, though tastefully lettered, the volume is an *edition de luxe.* The price is two dollars.

An author less known than Thomas a Kempis, though deserving to be known better than he is, is Gerard of Zutphen, a countryman of Thomas, and like him, a Brother of the Common Life. Gerard's best work is that entitled *Beatus homo*, (the words of its *incipit*) commonly called, THE SPIRITUAL ASCENT. A translation of this valuable treatise on the spiritual life, by J. P. Arthur, prefaced by a life of Gerard from the pen of Thomas a Kempis has just been published by Benziger Brothers, New York.

A biography in the sense that it exhibits the best in the spiritual and administrative life of a very saintly priest, and at the same time a treatise on many of the virtues, natural and supernatural by the religious state—such is the volume published recently by Benziger Brothers, and entitled VIRTUES AND SPIRITUAL COUNSELS OF FATHER NOAILLES. The author is Father Eugene Baffie, O. M. I., and the translator is Father John Fitzpatrick, of the same Congregation. The life of the pious founder of "The Most Holy Family of Bordeaux" was replete with good works, and the wise maxims and prudent spiritual counsels with which he so successfully guided others in the difficult paths of supernatural virtue were the fruit of an extraordinarily close union with God, such as only the greatest of the mystics attained.

In the difficult yet fascinating task of discovering the spiritual in the material there is no guide more safe than the saintly Bishop of Geneva, the Founder of the Order of the Visitation. Among the papers which were found after his death was a mystical explanation of the Canticle of Canticles, which was first published in 1643. It now appears in an English translation by the late Canon Mackey, with a preface by the Archbishop of Westminster. We can heartily recommend to the clergy and to religious this MYSTICAL EXPLANATION OF THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES COMPOSED BY BLESSED FRANCIS DE SALES. It is published in London by Burns and Oates and in New York by Benziger Brothers.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Patronal Feast of the University. On Tuesday, December 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, the Patronal Feast of the University, was celebrated by a Solemn Pontifical Mass in the Chapel of Caldwell Hall. The celebrant was the Right Reverend Rector. The sermon was preached by Very Reverend Chrysostom Theobald, O. F. M. After Mass, the Deans of the Faculties, the Heads of the University Colleges and distinguished members of the local clergy were entertained at dinner at Caldwell Hall.

The A. O. H. Scholarships. The Ancient Order of Hibernians has already founded eight Scholarships at the University, and it is expected that before the end of the school year the number will reach twenty-five.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *February, 1909.* *No. 2.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED BY

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *February, 1909.* *No. 2.*

THE ROME OF NAPOLEON.[1]

Napoleon, who enjoyed the fulfillment of so many fond hopes, cherished one dream that was never realized. He had always longed to see and to know Rome and he felt that his Empire would never be regularly established until it would include the Eternal City. Trained in Jacobin principles and imbued with the doctrine of Rousseau and the eighteenth century philosophers, from his youth he had looked upon Rome as the classic land of ancient liberty and, sharing the strange ignorance of his time as to the real condition of the republics of antiquity, had considered as the type of a free state Rome whose economic prosperity had been based on the institution of slavery. Having become Emperor, the Jacobin was mercilessly haunted by the memory of the Holy Roman German Empire and the phantoms of his illustrious predecessors, Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa, and acknowledged Rome as the historic capital in which throughout the Middle Ages the rulers of the universe had been crowned, the divine capital of which throughout mediaeval times the temporal vicars of Christ had taken possession. Thus, even the name of Rome fired Napoleon's imagination and when he became a father, he called his son "the King of Rome" in commemoration of the time when the heir to the Holy Roman Empire was styled "King of the Romans."

[1] M. Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon* (Paris, Plon, 1907).

But, owing to some strange, mysterious fate, Napoleon who sped from one end of Europe to the other—victory enthroned in a saddle—never saw the Rome of which he incessantly dreamed; his gallant steed never trod the *Via Triumphalis,* although in the dazzling splendor of his triumphs he had surpassed all the ancient conquerors whose proud joy was manifest as they traversed this great highway. An invisible hand, the hand that moulds history, stayed Napoleon on the way to Rome and denied him the supreme satisfaction of showing himself in the City of the Seven Hills, as one of the "halves of God."

"The two halves of God, the Pope and the Emperor;" Hugo afterwards wrote in *Hernani.* It was Napoleon's misfortune to have wished to be *more than* the half of God, to have wronged, oppressed and imprisoned that other "half," the Pope, and, as Christ's temporal vicar, to have sought to control and usurp the functions of spiritual vicar. This error inaugurated his series of reverses. God permitted him to deprive Rome of its pope but did not allow him to appear there as emperor and also reserved to this ephemeral master of the Eternal City the consummate humiliation of learning at the very moment of his defeat that Murat, one of his creatures, was endeavoring to establish for himself in Rome a sort of personal sovereignty and that he, Napoleon, had perhaps banished the pope only that the great city might fall into the hands of a Murat, as a fragment of the booty accruing from the dismemberment of an empire.

. . . . . .

Such is the great lesson in the philosophy of history emanating from M. Louis Madelin's fine book: *La Rome de Napoléon.* M. Madelin is the quick-witted, brilliant lecturer whose learning and talent but recently delighted appreciative audiences in the United States. Among our young historians I know some who are quite as well informed as he but no one who is more animated, whose narrative is more vivid or, if I may so express myself, who is better skilled in the art of making manuscripts "speak." His deep erudition is never oppressive;

he introduces numerous details culled here and there, but they never encumber his recital: on the contrary, they but add to its sprightliness. M. Madelin is picturesque because he is scholarly: his colors are not superficially applied but are ingrained and the result of protracted, persevering research. Five years ago he published two volumes on the enigmatical Fouché, who was by turns Oratorian and terrorist and minister of police for Napoleon and for the Bourbons; M. Madelin's readers must ever remember Fouché's dull countenance as eminently expressive. Scarcely had the gifted author taken leave of this character when, with an historian's intuition, he foresaw the interest that would be evoked by a new subject entitled: *La Rome de Napoléon.* Prior to M. Madelin's time the relations between Pius VII and the Emperor had been frequently and carefully studied. The history of the Concordat, prepared through the efforts of the Comte d'Haussonville and Père Theiner—had, thanks to the researches of Père Rinieri and M. Boulay de la Meurthe, and to Cardinal Mathieu's book—become almost definitive at the time that this Concordat was about to be ruptured. The strife between Napoleon and Pius VII had already found in the Comte d'Haussonville an historian whom one could ill afford to ignore, and M. Welschinger, a new member of the Académie des Sciences Morales, exploited in his book *Le Pape et l'Empereur,* the latest data discovered in archives. Moreover, Père Dudon, a learned Jesuit, marvelously well versed in the history of the Napoleonic Church, began a series of articles still appearing in the *Etudes,* and which shed new light on the episcopate of that time. Then, in his turn, M. Louis Madelin concluded that it would be interesting to study that section of the history of Rome covered by the seven years during which it was under Napoleon's control and to delve into memoirs, newspapers, family documents, carols, ballads, prefectorial registers and municipal archives for accounts of French domination in the city of Rome. Thus it was that eighteen months ago there appeared, almost simultaneously, the first volumes of *Paris sous Napoléon* by M. de Lanzac de Laborie and of *La Rome de*

Napoléon by M. Louis Madelin. The two capitals of the great empire were brought vividly before us; the one into which the Grand Army marched and the other into which only a garrison entered: Paris, the capital of the imperial organism and the central point of its gigantic radiation, and Rome, which according to the Emperor's idea, was the real capital, Rome which never beheld its ephemeral master and was never seen by him. Although he was frequently absent from Paris and always absent from Rome, Napoleon's personality pervades the respective works of M. de Lanzac de Laborie and M. Madelin; though invisible he is present and the scene is filled, so to speak, with the void created by his absence.

. . . . . .

M. Madelin has depicted the conquest of Rome by Napoleon as lacking pomp and greatness, as being a surprise rather than a victory. On February 2, 1808, General Miollis presented himself at Rome with some troops en route for Naples and requested that the soldiers be given hospitality for the night. Before the lapse of forty-eight hours, Miollis had disarmed the Pope's soldiers, seized the post and heaped threats upon the timid officials. In a consistory held on March 16 Pius VII protested, but Miollis remained obdurate, arrested the governor of the city and organized a civic guard in Rome. The conflict increased in bitterness and intensity and on August 6 one of Miollis' officers went so far as to threaten Cardinal Pacca in the privacy of his apartments. The absent emperor grew impatient. The line of conduct that he dictated to his general was distinctly out of keeping with his usual method of conquering. It seemed as though Napoleon who craved the mastery of Rome, as elsewhere, nevertheless hesitated; it looked as if he were afraid or even rather ashamed of the victory whose delayed achievement nevertheless irritated him and as if he desired to be ruler without having first been conqueror.

" To conquer without risk is to triumph without glory," and what risk could there be in entering a struggle against a government of aged priests? Hence, after a variety of episodes, the combat resolved itself into a police attack: surely Napoleon had no reason to be proud of his conquest.

At this time there was in Rome a queer type of policeman whose name was Radet. Fifteen years previously he had distinguished himself, as lieutenant of mounted police, by trying to deliver King Louis XVI, arrested at Varennes; but had not succeeded. Had Radet saved Louis XVI the history of France might have been changed and the memory of the heroic policeman have perhaps been revered by posterity as that of a dauntless cavalier. But alas! Radet was destined for a different kind of notoriety: he who had failed to be the deliverer of the Bourbon dynasty was to become the infamous captor of the successor of St. Peter. During the night of July 9, 1809, a worthless gang of unfrocked priests, Free Masons, Jacobins, bankrupt merchants, brutal police and police-aspiring ruffians, stealthily surrounded the walls of the Quirinal with the intention of secretly scaling them, and an old valet who had been dismissed from service in the palace and was well acquainted with the interior, was to act as guide to the victors. It was with very different arms and under brighter skies that the Napoleonic forces had assailed other sovereigns of Europe. But the wall-scaling failed; the ladders fell and made so great a a noise that the Quirinal was aroused and its bells sounded an alarm. Then Radet, utterly regardless of caution, flung himself against the door of the palace and the crowd forced an entrance, invaded every place, battered in thirteen successive doors, put to flight the Swiss guards and the priests, gathered up whatever of value they could lay hands on and then, under the honorable guidance of the discharged lackey, suddenly reached the pope's chamber. Radet knocked for admittance "in the Emperor's name," then, hatchet in hand and without removing his hat, he entered. Pius VII was seated at his table holding a crucifix. Radet demanded that he renounce the temporal power and stated that he had been commissioned to carry him off. The pope was obliged to leave at once, his only companions being his breviary and Cardinal Pacca. Being allowed to bless the city of Rome he was then put into a carriage, the shutters of which were nailed and the doors carefully locked by two policemen. Napoleon had conquered and

Radet hastened to acquaint Miollis of the fact, the general himself informing the emperor that the "barricades" and "last intrenchment" behind which Pius VII had sought shelter had given way to the valiant attack. However, in his innermost heart, so meagre was Radet's esteem for the Romans who had coöperated with him in storming the Quirinal that, the blow once dealt, he turned to his officers with the order: "Now, gentlemen, dismiss the mob."

. . . . . .

There are visible in Rome to-day many admirable traces of the Napoleonic administration. The Pincian promenade overlooking the Eternal City and seeming to dominate even the cupola of St. Peter's, was laid out in the Gardens of Lucullus, owing to the assiduity of the Comte de Tournon to whom Napoleon had entrusted the care of his newly acquired territory. It was also this competent official who had the débris removed from around the Temple of Vespasian, the Column of the Emperor Phocas and the porticos of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum, and who likewise had Trajan's Forum cleared. Finally, he set about draining the Pontine Marches and Napoleon was elated at the prospect of governing successfully where Leo X, Theodoric, Trajan and Augustus had failed.

Although so far away, Napoleon was tenderly fond of Rome, in fact, loved it as he did no other city and treated it with a father's partiality. His collectors were instructed not to tax the Roman State too heavily and his recruiting officers were ordered not to enroll too many conscripts from within its confines. He was eager to counteract the destructive work of the barbarians, to restore the ancient fertility of the Roman Campagna, to raise from their ruins the once magnificent temples and circuses, so that the Rome of Napoleon might vie in splendor with the Rome of Augustus. The men who represented him in Rome, like Miollis, the general, and Tournon, the prefect, were bland and courteous; they conquered the patricians with whose wives they danced, and the nieces and nephews of former Popes, readily forgetful of the exiled pontiff, will-

ingly patronized official salons to the intense gratification of the foreign element then in control.

However, Napoleon did not succeed in conquering Rome; somehow it eluded him. The multitude remained hostile to French rule and sighed for the time when the pope and priests had been in power. This exasperated the emperor who imagined that, by taking severe measures against priests and monks, he could render them amenable and abolish their prestige. In Rome only twenty parishes were left out of eighty-five and in the Roman States but five out of thirty-two bishoprics were maintained. Moreover, it was decided that, in country districts, there would be but one priest to minister to every six thousand souls, and the desired suppression of the chapters was effected by increasing the number of exiled canons. The monks, those "cowards;" those "tools of Gregory VII" spent harrowing hours. There were thirteen thousand monks and nuns in Rome and the convents were ransacked, the inmates expelled and their property put up at auction, this course being pursued that the people might see that sacerdotal government was forever abandoned. But each blow dealt the priests smote the hearts of the multitude and when it was learned that the few remaining clergy were obliged, under pain of exile or imprisonment, to bind themselves by oath, the grief of the people was augmented. As the oath was refused and in Umbria, nine bishops out of twelve were arrested, naught but contempt was felt for the weak bishop of Citta delle Pieve who cringed before the new power and to whom Radet gave the crowning insult by absurdly calling him the new Tertullian. But this bishop had established no precedent: 370 priests in Rome refused to take the oath. Must they then be expelled and Rome be deprived of worship? In this classic land of "*combinazioni*" Tournon chanced upon one: he allowed bishops and priests to inscribe in a blank, beneath the formula of the oath proposed to them, all the reservations which they saw fit to make and, under the flourish of their signatures, the signers added these decisive words: "excepting the rights of the Church and of the Holy See." Then M. de Tournon, shrewd man that he was,

took a pair of scissors and cut out this line of reservations when lo! all was in due form, the oath required by Napoleon had been signed by the priests. M. de Tournon's trick was indeed an elegant one but not very Napoleonic: however, it served as another proof of the fact that with the pope, priests and consciences in the scale against it, Napoleonic omnipotence was far outbalanced.

But these elegant expedients were short-lived and the relations between the Napoleonic State and the Roman clergy became so strained that, after a while, Church property was confiscated. The emperor thus hoped to gain 148 millions. But he was deceived, as there was but little ready money in the coffers of the clergy, and houses, fields and gardens did not sell well. Each new episode in the struggle marked an additional defeat for the Napoleonic State, and the people whom it was eventually hoped to subjugate, became more and more stubborn, more and more rebellious.

To the religious agitation of the multitude there was gradually added great physical suffering and, to increase the prevailing misery, famine set in. The Emperor's officials boasted that they had delivered the Roman people from their parsimony, that they had converted a nation of beggars into a nation of free men; but among these "free men," beggars were more numerous than ever. In 1810 there were in Rome 12,000 mendicants and in 1812, after two years of Napoleonic power, these numbered 30,000. Alas, farewell to the liberality of the banished monks! The inhabitants of Rome were urged to have recourse to "soup kitchens," organized according to the requirements of philanthropy, and then the poor patrons of these resorts were divided into brigades and brought to the Forum, there to slave at the work of digging and clearing. Rome was to be made an industrial city and the Roman Campagna was to be an agricultural district, but the people objected. Ruefully they looked toward the distant *Camp de Plaisance* where their exiled priests were huddled together and beyond the mountains where their revered pontiff, Pius VII, was imprisoned.

"Napoleon is great," said Chateaubriand later on, "for hav-

ing so ably restored, enlightened and administered Italy;" and Chateaubriand, who was never to be doubted when he spoke favorably of Napoleon, should in this instance be believed. But, despite Napoleon's greatness, Rome escaped him; notwithstanding M. de Tournon's excellent achievements and projects in behalf of the Eternal City, Rome never yielded its heart to Napoleon. It cannot be denied that certain administrative regulations and legislative maxims introduced into Rome by France, outlived French rule; in fact, even in Cardinal Consalvi's governmental principles could be detected a little of Napoleon's spirit, because Napoleon's functionaries and generals sojourned nowhere without sowing the seeds of progress. But whatever was efficacious, beneficent or legitimate in the maxims of Napoleonic government could not bear any real fruit in Rome until the pope had been reinstated. Napoleon had flattered himself that with the advent of his soldiers, "progress" had entered Rome; but the Roman people refused to accept this "progress" until the supreme pontiff had returned to preside at its development. Thus the history of Napoleonic Rome, whilst attesting the strength of radiation of the emperor's government, shows us that, although in the hands of well chosen representatives, this government, was irremediably handicapped by the spontaneous coalition of the popular conscience with a great, moral, exiled power, and that the Napoleonic militarism which, in the capture of Rome, had sought no glory, but on the contrary had allowed its attack to assume the form of a simple police operation, was ever powerless against the immutable loyalty of a people but little inclined to belligerence while mourning the loss of a banished pope.

GEORGES GOYAU.

SIR JOHN GILBERT (1829-1898).

Death has thinned the ranks of Irish scholars and archæologists and very few are left of the type of O'Donovan, O'Curry, Petrie, and others who attained to eminence in that sphere of learning and research. Dr. Joyce, whose Social History of Ireland is the latest of his many valuable contributions to Irish literature, the ripe fruit of eight years close study, stands almost alone since the lamented demise, some years ago, of Rev. Dr. McCarthy of Inniscara, County Cork, whose knowledge of old, middle and modern Irish was unrivalled. While an enthusiastic and persistent propaganda is being pursued to keep alive the still spoken language of the populace, attention is for the moment, diverted from the less exciting but more laborious work of scholarly study. Later on, perhaps, when the language movement grasps and interests the educated classes, —which it has not yet done in any marked degree—we may look forward to a revival and perpetuation of the traditions of scholarly culture associated with the eminent writers named.

One of the most eminent of these was Sir John T. Gilbert, the distinguished Irish historian and archivist. Although the son of a English Protestant, a descendant of the old Devonshire family and with the blood of Sir Walter Raleigh flowing in his veins, he was Irish and Catholic to the finger tips. This was due to the strong faith and resolute will of his Irish Catholic mother (*née* Marianne Costello),[1] daughter of a Dublin coachbuilder.

The same year which witnessed the dawn of a new era for Catholic Ireland in the enactment of Emancipation, witnessed the dawn of a life that was destined to reflect additional lustre upon Ireland, just liberated from the thraldom of the penal

[1] The family of Costello derives its name and lineage from Hostilio, second son of Gilbert De Angullo, one of the knights who accompanied Strongbow to Ireland.

laws and admitted to the free exercise of civil and religious liberty. It was in the house of his maternal grandfather, Philip Costello, 23 Jervis street—one of those old Dublin side streets, long given over to dinginess and decay, and which have lost all trace of their former respectability—that John Gilbert was born January 23, 1829. Although the fruit of a mixed marriage, and born at a time and in a city described by Macaulay "a place with all the plague and none of the attractiveness of a capital, a provincial city on fire with factions, political and religious," no element of religious dissension marred the domestic harmony in the home of the Gilberts. The mother had her whole family of five children brought up as Catholics. In a letter to Rosa Mulholland, before she became his wife, he wrote in after years: "I, too, had a mother who was left a widow when I was only four years old . . . She devoted all her life to the children, of whom I was the youngest. From the time I left college the care of her was the main object of my life, and well she deserved it. To her I owe everything and from her, I believe I inherit the best qualities I possess. She often told me of her happiness in the great care which my sisters and I bestowed on her." As his father had had the advantage of being educated in one of the best schools in London, that of the famous philomath, Samuel Whyte, who united the profession of dramatist to that of schoolmaster—the kinsman and teacher of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and of Thomas Moore—a similar advantage was secured by his prudent and provident mother for young John Gilbert, who was early sent to St. Vincent's Seminary, Usher's Quay, the parent establishment of the well-known college at Castlenock. It is a trite saying that the boy is father to the man, and it is recorded that in 1836, being then seven years old the precocious pupil already distinguished himself "particularly in history," a fact which those who love to trace the evolution of genius or of some special faculty may see the career of the future historian already dimly adumbrated. From Usher's Quay he passed to Bective College, and at twelve to Prior Park College, near Bath, where many of the O'Connors, Fitzgeralds, and O'Connels received their education in

the early forties of the last century, and where English and Irish representatives of the Old Faith commingled in friendly rivalry and intercourse. When the family migrated from Brannickstown in Meath, after the house which Mrs. Gilbert's brother had inherited from his uncle was burned, to Villa Nova, near Blackrock, County Dublin—the residence of Lady Gilbert who, in her memoirs of her husband describes it as an " old-fashioned dwelling in its own enclosure of great old trees, lawns, meadows, and stream," young Gilbert, then a youth of seventeen, already had a collection of rare books relating to history, chiefly in connection with Ireland. Thither he brought his library, and there, among the songbirds in which he delighted, and in friendship with the squirrels that haunted the ancient walnut trees near his window, he set up his desk, at which he was to labor in this spot for a period of fifty years.

After leaving Prior Park College, Gilbert would have become an alumnus of the University of Dublin had not his mother been a Catholic as uncompromising as she was staunch, determined to safeguard him from the contamination of the Protestant atmosphere of Trinity, steeped as it is in traditions antagonistic to creed and country. She was not one of those invertebrates who would be content with a small share in the unjust monopoly of higher education which that stronghold of Protestant ascendancy has so long enjoyed, a barely tolerated and patronized presence within its halls. The same force of character and will power which, based on deep religious convictions and not mere temperament, had enabled her to overcome her husband's desire to have the boy brought up as a Protestant, were employed with equal success in securing her son's compliance with her wish that he should pursue his studies elsewhere. He had already begun to specialize and devoted much of his time to reading and historical research, his favorite haunt being Marsh's Library, where, amid its many quaint and curious volumes the future historian of Dublin and the Viceroys acquired those tastes and laid the foundation of that erudition of which he afterwards made such noble use. This bent of mind was innate. He tells how, as a small boy, on

his way to school, he would pause studying the faces of the houses and streets, and asking himself who had built them, and what kind of life went on behind their walls, in olden times. "I wanted to know something of the City I lived in," he said. He learnt, as time went on, to know much of it, to know it as few of his contemporaries knew it, and in the delightful, entertaining volumes which he has narrated the "History of Dublin," superseding Whitelaw and Reid's ponderous and prosy quarto, he has graphically grouped the rich results of his ramblings and researches. When he was only nineteen he was elected member of the council of the Celtic Society, at the head of which was Dr. Renehan, of Maynooth College, among its Vice-Presidents being Isaac Butt and Smith O'Brien; while he had, as fellow members of the council, Gavan Duffy, Samuel Ferguson, John Mitchel, Dr. Wilde, Dr. Russell (uncle of Lord Russell of Killowen) and Thomas O'Hagan, afterwards, as Lord O'Hagan of Tullahogue, the first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland since the reformation. This Society, subsequently amalgamated with another association under the name of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, did splendid pioneer work in furtherance of a genuine Irish literary revival, work that has lasted and will last in its much esteemed and much sought for publications. But there were literary giants in those days, and, although politics, then as now, captured and captivated the public mind of Ireland, they did not entirely divert it from other national interests; and Irish literature counted among these. They were the stirring times of '48, which if they did not contribute much towards the solution of the political problem, as yet unsolved, added to the literature of the epoch some of the finest creations in prose and verse which have emanated from the Irish mind.

In 1851 Gilbert became connected with the *Irish Quarterly Review* in which he wrote a series of articles on the "Celtic Literature of Ireland," which impressed Irish literati and in which, emphasizing the importance of Celtic records he says: "The history of Great Britain must remain incomplete and defective until the ancient literary monuments of the Kingdom

of Ireland, which now forms an integral portion of the British Empire, have been fully investigated."

Although still a very young man, he was such an omnivorous reader and indefatigable investigator that he had reached, almost *per saltum,* a prominent and leading position among the archæologists of his day. Many of his learned elders, like Dr. Graves, consulted him on moot points of historical or antiquarian interest.

"Holding this position," says his biographer, "in January, 1852, Gilbert, secretary to the Celtic Society, closely connected with the editorship of the *Irish Quarterly Review,* author of the articles in that review on the 'Streets of Dublin,' the Celtic Records, and Irish Historic Literature, which had attracted the notice of many thoughtful minds in the Kingdom, known in intellectual circles as a young man of ability and learning far beyond his twenty-three years, sought election as member of the Royal Irish Academy, but without success." On the 12th of April, 1852, he was blackbeaned by the Academy. His rejection was ascribed to sectarian prejudices, a prejudice which was overcome when in 1855, his fast friend, Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Wilde procured his election. The Academy has since moved with the times and is not so biased or exacting, even easily admitting to membership some whose claims to scholarship or literary distinction are not very obvious.

Gilbert's rejection did not damp the ardor of his enthusiasm for historical research, in which the knowledge of languages, ancient and modern, and skill in paleography greatly aided him, or damage him in the estimation of his widening circle of friends, to whom his social qualities endeared him.

In the congenial companionship of the wits and worthies who enlivened the society of the Irish capital at that epoch, his brilliant wit and playful humor, with which his conversation and familiar letters sparkled, found free vent. Among the several social clubs or coteries which existed at this time was one called "The Mystics" of which Gilbert was a member, and which included some choice spirits of infinite wit, and

excellent fancy. It is to their symposia, doubtless, that D. F. MacCarthy alludes in his rhymed tribute to the memory of Father Prout:

> "Full many a ditty,
> Both wise and witty,
> In this social city
> Have I heard since then;
> With the glass before me,
> How the dreams come o'er me
> Of those Attic suppers, and those vanished men."

The publication of the serial, "The Streets of Dublin," the embryo of the later "History," in the early fifties in the *Irish Quarterly Review* brought the anonymous author into epistolary relations with numerous correspondents, who became his intimate friends, among them being the Duke of Leinster, grandfather to the present youthful chieftain of the Geraldines; while the issue of the first volume of his "History of Dublin" his biographer records was "hailed with delight not only by the antiquarian and historian, the lover of local tradition and story, and brilliant anecdote, and those whose family histories were touched on in its pages, but by the general public. The reviews from the highest quarters in London, Dublin and Edinburgh and on the continent, and from the principal presses in the three kingdoms were lengthy and laudatory. The young author of twenty-five was addressed in letters of congratulation and enquiry as a sage elder who was giving to a younger generation the benefit of his years of study and experience.[2]

D. F. MacCarthy wrote of it in characteristic vein to the successful young author as "the most important original contribution to local Irish history which this century has seen"; playfully adding: "By a happy and characteristic accident you have shown the world, by the color of the binding of your volume, that an Irish *blue* book must be *re(a)d*! A miracle which I believe has never been effected out of Dublin." When the third volume appeared, Lady Wilde—"Speranza" of *The*

[2] Lady Gilbert, *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert*, p. 50.

Nation—found it so interesting that she could not lay it down after she first opened it and writes to the author: "That difficult chapter on the Parliament House is admirably done. It quite woke up all my old feelings, yet you never exceed the limit of calm historic truth. Do you know I actually fell into a fit of tears over the last great scene of October 2, 1800, and had to shut up the volume for the night." Newman pronounced this work one of "very great value" and the Royal Irish Academy, now clothed and in its right mind, like the man in the gospel, after it had been delivered of the unclean spirit of sectarianism, awarded the Cunningham gold medal to the Irish historian whom it had once rejected. It is much to be regretted that the History of Dublin, like the tale of Cambyses, was never completed,[3] a large portion of the interesting old city the memorabilia of which would epitomize much of the history of Ireland—for most of Irish history converges on the metropolis—having been left untouched. It is to be hoped that some one with taste for research in this direction and capacity for presenting the results in a graphic and gossiping narrative form may work to profit and pleasure the rich mine of information hidden in the highways, and byways, exploring ground not covered by Gilbert, and completing its history before vanishing Dublin shall have become a thing of the past.

Gilbert's reputation was now well established. Distinctions were showered upon him. Successfully elected an honorary associate of the Genealogical and Historical Society of Great Britain, honorary librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, of which he was a life member, and honorary secretary of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, he had a large share in the work for the preservation of ancient Irish literature which has placed a large number of invaluable volumes, on the shelves of the great libraries of the world, books which

[3] Three volumes were issued (1854-59). About his "bookroom" at Villa Nova, when he left on Monday morning, May 23, 1898, never to return, were slips of printed matter for the abridgment of his history of Dublin, then in the press and published by Dollard, in 1903.

were anxiously looked for by the learned in all countries, and are now becoming rare.[4] He and his co-secretary, Dr. Todd, were the moving spirits of a group of eminent men, profoundly impressed with the need for disinterested effort on the part of some Irishmen in order to save the ancient literature of their country from passing into oblivion, and collecting together all Irish antiquities of all descriptions to be deposited in one central treasury for the benefit of posterity.[5]

Working on the same lines as when he was elaborating his "History of Dublin," he preluded his "History of the Irish Viceroys" by a series of papers on Dublin Castle in the *Dublin University Magazine* then (1856) edited by Mr. Cheyne Brady.

At this time his hands were full of work. Besides helping the Kilkenny Archæological Society, of which he was honorary secretary for Dublin, in its learned labors, he was one of a committee formed to promote the compilation and publication of a complete Irish Dictionary, a work which never saw the light. Father Dineen, a well known Irish scholar, has supplied the omission by his careful reëditing and revision of previous published dictionaries of the vernacular, compressed into the valuable volume brought out at the instance of the Irish Texts Society.

In 1862 he wrote for "Chambers' Encyclopedia" two articles on the early history and state of Ireland, and on the Irish language and literature, at the suggestion of his friend, Dr. Reeves; and in 1863 strove but failed, to interest the government in the publication of a collection of original documents illustrative of the history of Dublin from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. In the same year he reproduced in pamphlet form the "Record Revelations by an Irish Archivist," which first appeared as a serial in the *Dublin Review;* revised and enlarged they were reissued in 1864 in a volume bearing the title 'On the History, Position and Treatment of the Public Records of Ireland." The book was epoch-making in the history of Irish literature. Its main object was

[4] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[5] *Ibid.*

to place permanently before the world an exposition of the Record System sought to be imposed on Ireland, in opposition to the protests and disapprobation of every Irish archivist, and to guide the public respecting the steps proper to be taken with reference to the promised governmental concentration of the Records in a General Repository at Dublin. He pointed out that while during five previous years annual grants had been made by the English Treasury for the production of works entitled "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland" and "Calendars of State Papers," 71 volumes having been published at a cost of £35,500, not one of these was committed to the editorial care of any scholar in Ireland; that the period when the interest of the scholars of the world centered in the surviving Gaelic monuments of Ireland, was that chosen by government for the abolition of the professorships of the Celtic Languages in the Irish Queen's Colleges; and that while the Parliamentary grants to the British Museum averaged annually nearly £100,000, those to the Royal Irish Academy were but £500 per annum, though Ireland was contributing to the Imperial Exchequer a direct annual revenue of seven millions sterling! The result was the organization of a public Record Office of which Gilbert was made secretary. He had startled literary society in Dublin no less by his extraordinary and profound archæological research than by his crushing criticism upon the "Irish Calendars" edited by Mr. Morrin, under the patronage of the Master of the Rolls. The pamphlet in which he expressed the blundering and parsimonious policy of the government was declared to be one of the most remarkable publications of the day. Government authorities were at last shamed into action, but not cured of that insular self-sufficiency which has always been the mainspring, the keynote, the *motif* of their policy in all their proceedings in relation to Ireland.

This was further evidenced in the appointment of two English archæologists, Brewer and Hardy, to decide upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of a translation of Irish records relating to Irish lands, tenures, habits, persons, and antiquities;

although the Royal Irish Academy had a special department devoted to the elucidation of Irish antiquities and records, composed of Irish scholars of the highest eminence, exceptionally well versed in all that relates to archæological studies. This was quite in line with their previous procedure. When Betham died, John O'Donovan applied to the government to be appointed Keeper of the Irish Records, when he was informed that the office was then held by Lord Stanhope, an English peer, whose deputy Betham had been, and that, despite all agitations on the part of Irish patriots, the office would be abolished on Stanhope's decease. The ludicrous anomaly and glaring injustice of this arrangement is accentuated by the fact, vouched for by O'Donovan, that neither the earl nor the knight, his deputy, could *even read the Records!* Little wonder that this distinguished Irishman should, in a letter to Gilbert, thus give vent to his indignation: "So much for Irish offices! I have no belief in any justice for Ireland, or for any other country unless Ireland, or such other countries, are able to demand justice with the tongue, or fist, or sword. Ireland has lost all these instruments recently, and therefore she must rest content with having injustice copiously dealt out to her." [6]

Coincident with Gilbert's election in 1865 as a life member of the Royal Dublin Society, followed by his election as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of London, was the publication of his "History of the Viceroys of Ireland," pronounced by the *Athenæum* to be "one of the ablest and most useful books on Irish history.

Appointed, in 1870, Inspector of Manuscripts in Ireland under the Historical Manuscript Commission, he was designated by the Irish Master of the Rolls (Sir Edward Sullivan) to select and edit the documents which were published under the title of "Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland," these facsimiles being produced by the photozincographic process. The work on the National Manuscripts of Ireland included not only the most perfect reproduction of Irish illu-

[6] *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert*, p. 69. Letter from Dr. John O'Donovan, dated March 19, 1855.

minated and other historic writings, but also an "account of the same, forming a valuable volume of history in itself," the whole requiring an intimate knowledge of every page of Irish Annals, and of every piece of ancient, or medieval or even later important writing connected with the history of Ireland from the date of its earliest records.[7]

In 1869 he proposed to the Royal Irish Academy, as a work to be undertaken by them, the translation and editing of the ancient Irish books of great importance, treasured in their library, but inaccessible to all save scholars learned in the Irish language. This work he himself inaugurated by editing and publishing "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" and "Leabhar Breac"; and entering on the same undertaking with regard to the "Book of Leinster," he was cheered by the sympathy of all Celtic scholars and students throughout Europe.[8] The encouragement he received from European scholars, kindred spirits, was followed by the discouraging and dispiriting action of the English Treasury in abolishing the office of Secretary to the Public Records through narrow-minded and niggardly economy, despite a strong protest from the Irish Master of the Rolls, and a memorial signed by a large number of the most influential names in Ireland. It was a crushing blow to Gilbert, who had reason to deplore it on public and private grounds. It occurred just as the fruits of his long labors were approaching maturity, on the eve of the publication of the first part of the National Manuscripts,—a splendid volume, which entitled him to better treatment—and after he had severed his connection with the lucrative business of his grandfather and father, and taken on himself the chief support of his mother and sisters; largely sacrificing pecuniary consideration to pursue those moderately remunerative labors, a desire for the achievement of which was the passion of his life.[9] It was a grievous disappointment after he had for eight years of invaluable work,

[7] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 174. The "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" is the oldest known volume entirely in the Irish language—the chief surviving literary monument, not ecclesiastical, of ancient Ireland.

[9] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

which could have been done by few men, proved the necessity and importance of the office, upon which he entered with a great purpose in mind. He desired to open up the entire treasury of documentary material for Irish history, to print all that was necessary or desirable for the enlightenment and for the use of present and future historical writers, and thus, by incontrovertible evidence, to free history of many pages stained by misrepresentation. He aspired to see the new Record Office an institution based on the lines of the French School of Archivists, where the work is done systematically, which appoints minor schools in every province and whose archivists being thus thoroughly educated and technically trained, are competent to fill important posts as heads of the several departments. It was with no selfish views nor regrets that he saw himself compelled to abandon so patriotic a prospect.

"Under a blow so doubly crushing," writes Lady Gilbert, "no wonder that his health gave way. Buoyant spirits and genial humor had enabled him to support the long strain of incessant labors hardly relaxed from boyhood, and the ardor of his hope and love of work, even for work's sake, had hitherto carried him over all obstacles where even less sensitive natures might naturally have broken down. But the catastrophe of this year coming as an unexpected climax to overstrain, seriously affected his nervous system. A fever of anxiety was followed by a physical and mental depression with which he battled for a considerable time, fulfilling all his duties and carrying on the work of the National Manuscripts; but at last he yielded to the advice of physicians and friends, and consented to spend a year abroad under medical care, removed from the associations with, and sources of, his misfortune." [10]

His life-long friend, Denis Florence MacCarthy, expressed the thought of many minds when he wrote: "It is really intolerable that to serve some petty, private purpose, or to effect some paltry saving, a career of such activity and credit to the country should be interrupted. I can feel complete sympathy with him in his disappointment at the prospects of being severed from

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

an institution, the necessity for which was mainly pointed out by himself, and to which his learning, his talent, and his industry would have contributed such valuable assistance."

He left Dublin with a heavy heart to seek renewal of health in idleness and change of scene under circumstances which precluded him from the enjoyment of leisure and freedom from work. That Gilbert, the indomitable in conquering difficulties, the irrepressible in play of good humor, and the sanguine in spirit, should have broken down in the early prime of life, seemed incredible to those who knew him well, till the long strain of labor beset with difficulties, was called to mind. Death and domestic grief added to the depressing influence of enfeebled health and baffled hopes. His sister, Philippa, and his old friend, Sir William Wilde, died during his absence.

His return and resumption of his literary work, restored to health, rejoiced his many friends, and letters of congratulations poured in upon him. About this time he became very anxious for the inclusion in the Rolls series of publications of " Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland " and of the Chartularies and Annals of the two great Abbeys of Dublin—St. Mary's Abbey and the Abbey of St. Thomas; but the reduction of the Treasury grant for historical publications prevented the realization of the latter prospect.

Meanwhile another notable Irish scholar, Rev. Dr. Todd, had passed away, and Gilbert took a leading part in promoting a memorial of one whose highest and principal public distinction was the service he rendered in the formation of a sound and accurate school of study of the ancient language of Ireland, and who was known to the world of letters through his labors in connection with native Irish literature. For this purpose a professorship of the Irish language in the Royal Irish Academy was founded. It was at his suggestion that the Academy, in 1866, established a department for work on Irish Manuscripts, and at his proposal they commenced, in 1869, the publication of the ancient Irish texts in their integrity in the hope that it would be attended with important results in the promotion of Celtic studies. In pursuance of this, and in a

system originated by Gilbert, the two important manuscripts "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" and "Leabhar Breac," were edited by him and published under his direction and supervision. He then undertook the editing and publication of the "Book of Leinster," until failing health again compelled him to seek change of air and scene, and the editorship was transferred to other hands.

In 1877 government, at the special instance of Sir G. Jessell, English Master of the Rolls, reinstated Gilbert in his position as Inspector and Editor for Ireland, under the Historical Manuscript Commission. "Of the National Manuscripts," wrote Dr. W. K. Sullivan, then President of the Queen's College, Cork, "the work belongs to you by all the laws of authorship. The first part is truly a National Monument." Besides this and other important literary work, he contributed to the *Academy*, the *Athenæum* and other reviews, special articles on learned topics; while he found time to carry on an extensive and continuous correspondence with literati at home and abroad, personally pursuing his investigations in the British Museum, Bodleian, and other large libraries, where he occasionally employed transcribers, and inspecting, when in Ireland, ancient manuscripts in the possession of private owners. His knowledge of historical subjects had come to be regarded as encyclopedic and he was frequently appealed to for information which he willingly imparted, often spending hours taken from the time devoted to his own particular work, in collating and preparing concise notes for some fellow laborer in the same field of research.

In 1879 he began to publish the "Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland," the first of the great works dealing with the period of conflict from 1641-1652, printing for the first time a unique and remarkable manuscript entitled "The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction," which he had discovered among the muniments of Trinity College, Dublin, and to which was added an appendix of valuable letters and documents; the whole forming a mass of contemporary evidence, original and authentic, elucidating the history of that important

event, hitherto much clouded by prejudiced accounts from partisan pens. The manuscript, written between 1652 and 1660, he regarded as of special value in reference to the views and acts of descendants of the old Celtic race of the North of Ireland represented by Owen Roe O'Neill and his "Ulster party" as distinguished from the Irish of other provinces, as well as from the Anglo-Irish and the Irish Scots. The "contemporary history," comprised in four volumes, entailed a vast amount of labor. In 1880 he brought to a satisfactory conclusion his painstaking work on the collation and the revision of the plates from the collections of England for the National Manuscripts of Ireland. The design of the "Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland" was that the publication should constitute a comprehensive palæographic series, furnishing characteristic specimens of the documents that have come down from each of the classes which in past ages formed the principal elements in the population of Ireland or exercised an influence in Irish affairs; combining therewith facsimiles of writings connected with eminent personages or transactions of importance in the country's annals down to the early part of the eighteenth century. It was a publication of magnitude and comprehensiveness, dealing with recondite materials, and comprising writings of various ages, classes, and languages.

He next published his important work, the "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1652," another narrative of the War in Ireland from 1641 to the conclusion of the treaty for the cessation of hostilities between England and the Irish in 1643, based on contemporary documents and letters showing the movements of the Irish Confederates, and of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio. The manuscript of the narrative was identified by Gilbert as the long missing work by Richard Bellings, Secretary to the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederation, of whose career, concerning which very little had hitherto been known, he collected a good many particulars. Its historical value is incalculable. It completes our knowledge of one of the most momentous and interesting epochs in Irish history. It is history at first hand

and from a reliable source, supplementing the "Aphorismical Discovery" a record of the war in the North. Bellings relates the movements of the Confederates in the south, east and west —in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. The historical "Introduction" prefixed to it by Gilbert is accompanied by correspondence and documents of the Confederation (the originals of many of these are in the possession of the Dublin Franciscans and of the administrators of the English Government in Ireland). For this work, we are told, Gilbert's labors or research were immense. He had been laying up stores of documents, unearthed by his patient perseverance during a long course of years, rivetting connecting links, and gathering treasure of corroborative evidence. "They will never be able to blacken that period again," [11] he said, speaking with satisfaction of the admirable conduct of the Irish Confederates as the light of truth had revealed it.[12]

It is pertinent to note in this connection that the famous Rinuccini manuscripts, which government ultimately refused to publish, were for a time entrusted to Gilbert's keeping, and that having reported on them for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, he had a transcript of the whole eight folio volumes made for his own purpose. It is also interesting to note that the flag of the Confederation carried in procession before Rinuccini, is at the Dominican priory of St. Mary, Tallaght, near Dublin. It was preserved in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, is of green silk, and bears a painting of the "Queen of the Rosary."

Towards the close of 1880 he was nominated by the lord lieutenant to fill the vacancy on the council of trustees of the National Library of Ireland caused by the death of Very

[11] In a letter to Gilbert, Dr. S. R. Gardiner says, "I have been living in the Ireland of 1641-2 during the last week, and a very unpleasant country it is to be in. Yesterday I read a letter of Conway's calmly stating that 'Monroe's Scots had marched into Antrim and found *no* enemy, but had killed about 40 men, and 500 or 600 women and children who were looking after the cows.' I don't think Prendergast got hold of anything as bad as that."

[12] Lady Gilbert, pp. 277-278.

Rev. Dr. Russell, president of Maynooth College. Ever watchful for the furtherance of the cause of Irish historical research, he made several valuable additions to the Library. It was also through his intermediary that the Irish manuscripts included in the Ashburnham Collection, purchased by Government, were deposited in the Royal Irish Academy. As Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Hibernian Academy and one of the governors of the National Gallery of Ireland, he found scope for the development and exercise of his knowledge of art, particularly in the domain of historical portraiture, well represented in the fine building on Leinster Lawn. In 1892 The Royal University of Ireland conferred on him its honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and on 1897 he was knighted by the Viceroy, Lord Cadogan.

His pen was never idle. For several years he contributed brief biographies of distinguished Irishmen to the *Dictionary of National Biography,* edited by Leslie Stephen. In 1887, at the request of the Dublin Corporation, he undertook the editing of the city muniments. Early in life he had, for the purpose of his own researches, thoroughly investigated those interesting records, and collected in a series of large manuscript volumes, which he entitled "De Rebus Eblanæ," writings bearing on the history of the Irish metropolis gathered from many sources. In 1889 he began the publication of the "Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin," which are illustrated with facsimiles of manuscripts, rare engravings, portraits, buildings, bridges, and other features of the old city by the Liffey which have long since disappeared. In the previous year he had appealed to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy to take up the work of translating certain of the old Irish texts, the contents of which were practically inaccessible to students of ancient Irish literature; but after much correspondence and debating, it abandoned the idea and proceeded instead with the production of photographic facsimiles of old manuscripts known as "the Royal Irish Academy Facsimiles," for which the world of letters is indebted to Gilbert's zeal and pertinacity.

His home life, which had been temporarily clouded by the

death of one of his oldest and most attached friends, the genial and gifted Irish poet, Denis Florence MacCarthy, and the failure of the Munster Bank, by which he was a heavy loser, was brightened in 1890 by his marriage to Rosa Mulholland, the well-known Irish authoress who, as Lady Gilbert, is now the widowed occupant of Villa Nova, where she spent so many happy days and where she penned his biography a loving tribute to his cherished memory. He studied hard and worked hard all his life, as much after marriage as before it. "My work is my pleasure," he would say. He had now, as ever, always some work on hand: reports on the Charlemont Papers, the Ormonde, Franciscan manuscripts and others. The seven volumes of the "Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin;" the "Historic Literature of Ireland" forming four separate works; "A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-1691" (published 1892); "Narratives of the Detention, Liberation and Marriage of Maria Clementine Stuart, styled Queen of Great Britain and Ireland" (published 1894); and "Crede Mihi: the Most Ancient Register Book of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation" (published 1897) were among the literary output of these later years. To his credit as an Irish-Irelander be it recorded that the mechanical work on these books was done in Dublin, employing, on principle, his own people in his own native city, a principle he consistently acted upon for many years. With but one exception, all his works were printed and published in Dublin. A portion of the History of Dublin, in one volume, entitled "An Account of the Parliament House, Dublin, with Notices of Parliaments held there, 1661-1800," was published by him in 1896. For many years he had been collecting materials for a complete work on Irish Bibliography, including not only books published in Ireland, but also those written and published on the Continent by Irishmen during the 16th and 17th centuries, which would be of the greatest utility to authors and book collectors. [13]

[13] His library, now in the possession of the Dublin Corporation, contains a number of important manuscripts and valuable materials for future historians, especially for Irish writers. The special collection in which

This work the plan and scope of which he unfolded in papers read before the Royal Irish Academy, was begun in 1896-1897, but he did not live to complete it. "To the last" observes his biographer, "one of his deepest interests centered in the Royal Irish Academy."

On two occasions he put aside a proposal to elect him as president, preferring his post as honorary librarian, for its intimate connection with the books and manuscripts, and the greater leisure it afforded him to pursue his own ideal labors. His solicitude for the maintenance of a national Irish character in the institution, for the development, through its instrumentality, of a true knowledge and appreciation of the treasure of ancient Irish writings preserved therein as foundation for a noble Irish literature in the future, never flagged till his very latest moment. He deplored the fact that some of his friends deviated from the intention of Lord Charlemont by substituting largely the pursuit of general science for more national aims and objects. In this he had, happily, some sympathisers and followers, men who still live and strive to uphold the main original purpose of the illustrious founder of the institution.[14]

He was on his way to attend a meeting of the council of the Academy, when death suddenly snapped the thread of a life spent in and for Ireland and its ancient literature. In simple and touching language his wife graphically tells how it ended; how they spent an hour out of doors in the grounds of Villa Nova, enjoying the beauty of a bright May morning, sunshine,

he took the keenest interest, consisted of those works of Irishmen who, while living in enforced exile, wrote contemporary history, often in Latin and under curious titles, to escape the eye of the enemy, and at a period when it was asserted and believed that Irishmen were in a state of savagery, incapable of education and unworthy of being treated as human beings (Lady Gilbert, p. 367). In the manuscript room of the Royal Irish Academy is preserved his unfinished work containing notices on books by Irish writers, or in connection with Ireland, printed prior to 1600, and continued to June, 1897, with notes on similar books printed in the 17th century.

[14] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-67. The Royal Irish Academy was founded in 1875 and its first meeting was held at Lord Charlemont's on April 18 of that year.

delightful verdure, flowers in early bloom making the little demesne a miniature terrestrial paradise; how they lingered in one favorite haunt after another, rejoicing together and thanking God for their happiness; how she wished to accompany him, but as she had been suffering from a cold he would not allow her to leave home; how they chatted and laughed together, and how, after a tender parting, he walked away from her at the door, his last look at the home thrown backward to his wife across the clustering roses. "He went out of the garden wicket which had known his passing for fifty years—as a youth of nineteen, as a man till the age of sixty-nine—and he saw his home no more. A friend, speaking with him as he walked down Merrion Avenue thought him looking exceedingly well, and, as usual, felt the influence of his sweet and genial humor. He died of sudden heart failure on the way to Dublin. There was no struggle, no suffering for him; no cause for spiritual dread in the souls of those who loved him. Sudden and unlooked for as came the summons, he was ready. No more pure and noble spirit ever answered the call of his maker."[15]

He was as fine a type of Catholic, sound and consistent in practice, as he was of an Irishman proud of his ancient race and devoted to its ancient religion. Though reserved on so profound a subject, Lady Gilbert says he had a deep sense of religion, and a thorough reliance on Providence. "Do not repine," he said to one in sorrow, "depend on it, Providence orders all things for the best. Everything ends well." On another occasion he said, when money was being counted with a view to making provision for the future. "Don't count up money. If we do our duty, Providence will always give enough. I will work while I live." He loved privacy in daily prayer, saying, "I would rather not let anyone see what passes between me and my Creator." The Lord's Prayer was his favorite prayer, and the spiritual book of his choice was the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas Á Kempis. He took with him out of the world the faith to which he was born, and persisted, unostentatiously and with characteristic reserve, in the spiritual practices which he had learned at his mother's knee. "It is

[15] Lady Gilbert, pp. 384-5.

a tremendous thing to me to receive my God," he said to one who shared his most sacred thoughts; yet, despite this keen sense of reverential awe, sprung from an unusually vivid power of realizing an idea, he fulfilled also the difficult duties of his religion with childlike fidelity. Of the truth of the dogmas of Catholicity he had thorough conviction. A friend having on one occasion pointed to blots on certain pages of the history of the Church, observing that they might be held accountable for deviations from her paths, he laid down his book on his knee, and, after a few moments' reflection, he remarked impressively. "There is no excuse to be made for the confounding of two things: the blunders and even crimes of men, and the doctrines of religion." Speaking of the spirit of unbelief so largely abroad, he said, "Believe me, it is a disease in men's minds; but, it passes. One, diseased, will infect a whole group; but every man if left to his own heart, may find the cure, if he will." His trust in God as merciful beyond our understanding, and his charity towards all men, produced in him a peaceful attitude of mind in relation to the problems of faith. To him who made the mysteries of life and death, including all other mysteries, he left their solution. He was ever aware of the limitations of the human intellect, and willing to await the great revelation which follows the release of the spirit.

His loss to Ireland was regarded as in many ways irreparable; and it was recognized that he had revealed more of the hidden or forgotten sources of Irish history than had been done by any single student. The present apathy of many Irish people on the subject did not discourage him. He looked to the future with a hopeful eye. "One day to come," he said, "they will wake up and look around for the authentic facts of their history, and I will work while I live to provide for that day." In the words of Professor O'Looney, he was the forerunner and founder of the modern revival of interest in the study and cultivation of the language, literature and history of Ireland, to the advancement of which he devoted his labors from early boyhood till the day of his death.

R. F. O'Connor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF THE WORKS OF SIR JOHN T. GILBERT, LL. D., F. S. A.

Contributions to the *Irish Quarterly Review*. 3 vols, 8vo. Dublin, 1851-1853: II. Irish Historical Literature, June, 1851; III. The Historic Literature of Ireland, September, 1851; IV. The Celtic Records of Ireland, December, 1851; V-XII. The Streets of Dublin; V-VIII. March, 1852 to September, 1853; V. Irish Church History, March, 1852; VI. The Survey of Ireland, A. D. 1655-56, June, 1852; VII. The Brehon Laws Commission; VIII. Mr. Worsae on the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland, December, 1852.

The Historic Literature of Ireland; an essay on the publications of the Irish Archæological Society. Reprinted from the *Irish Quarterly Review*. 8vo., pp. 64. Dublin, 1851.

The Celtic Records of Ireland: An analysis of Dr. O'Donovan's Edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters." Reprinted from the *Irish Quarterly Review*. 8vo., pp. 113. Dublin, 1852.

A History of the City of Dublin, with John Speed's map of Dublin, A. D., 1610. 3 vols., 8vo. Dublin, 1854-59.

1854. Vol. I, pp. xvi, 438.

1859. Vol. II, pp. xxxvi, 336.

1859. Vol. III, pp. iv, 382.

Ancient Irish Historical Manuscripts from the *Dublin Review*, No. C. 8vo., pp. 22. London, 1862.

On the Life and Labors of John O'Donovan, LL. D. From the *Dublin Review*, No. CII. 8vo., pp. 22. London, 1862.

Record Revelations. A letter on the Public Records of Ireland, by an Irish Archivist. 8vo., pp. xxxvi, 613. Dublin, 1865.

On the History, Position, and Treatment of the Public Records of Ireland, by an Irish Archivist. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. xxiv, 201. London, 1864.

English Commissioners and Irish Records. A letter by an Irish Archivist. 8vo., pp. viii, 64. London, 1865.

History of the Viceroys of Ireland; with notices of the Castle of Dublin, and its chief occupants in former times. 8vo., pp. xxxvi, 613. Dublin, 1865.

Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, A. D. 1172-1320 (Master of the Rolls Series). 8vo., pp. lxxxviii, 560. London, 1870.

Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland, selected and edited under the direction of Sir Edward Sullivan, Baronet, Master of the Rolls in Ireland. With introduction and colored plates, 5 parts, imperial folio. Dublin and London, 1874-1884.

Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland. 8vo., pp. lxxi, 356. London, 1884.

A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, from A. D. 1641-1652, with portraits and facsimiles. 3 vols., 4to. Dublin, 1879-1880: I, xlii, 850; II, lx, 546; III, lx, 464.

A History of the Irish Confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641 to

1649 with portraits, plans and facsimiles. 7 vols., 4to. Dublin, 1882-1891: I, lxxxvii, 320; II, cxxii, 430; III, xiv, 408; IV, lxvi, 342; V, xvi, 376; VI, viii, 444; VII, x, 320.

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin; with the Register of its house at Dunbrody, and annals of Ireland (Rolls Series). 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1884: I, cviii, 536; II, clviii, 522.

Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin (Master of the Rolls Series). 8vo., pp. lvi, 470. London, 1889.

Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin, A. D., 1172-1730, in the possession of the Municipal Corporation of that City. Illustrated with facsimiles. Vols. I-VII, 8vo. Dublin, 1889-1898: I, xvi, 530; II, xxiv, 526; III, xlviii, 580; IV, xxxii, 582; V, lxii, 638; VI, xx, 624; VII, xxiv, 616.

A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-1691, with portrait and facsimiles. 4to. pp. xvi, 200. Dublin, 1892.

Documents relating to Ireland, 1795-1804, with portrait and facsimile. 4to., pp. xx, 264. Dublin, 1893.

Maria Clementine Stuart, styled Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, 1719-1735. With portraits and facsimiles. 4to., pp. xiv, 208. Dublin, 1894.

"Crede Mihi." The Most Ancient Register of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation. With Illustrations. 4to., pp. xii, 194. Dublin, 1897.

Royal Irish Academy Facsimiles of Ancient Irish Manuscripts:—
Leabhar na h'Uidhri. Folio. Dublin, 1870.
Leabhar Breac. Folio. Dublin, 1876.
Book of Leinster. Folio, pp. i, 100. Dublin, 1880.

Letters and Contributions of the Secretary contained in the reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. I-XI. 8vo. Dublin, 1869-1877.

Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports—Ireland. Folio and 8vo. London, 1870-1899: I. Earl of Charlemont; Earl of Rosse; Lord Talbot De Malahide; J. W. Bayley, Esq.; Thomas Hewitt, Esq.; Richard Caulfield, LL. D.; Corporations of Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny, Limerick, and Waterford. II. Marquis of Ormonde; Earl of Granard; Earl of Rosse; The O'Connor Don, M. P.; Mayor General F. P. Dunne; R. D. Lyons, M. D.; Rothes Register of Kilkenny. III. Marquis of Ormonde; Earl of Granard; Historical Memoirs of the Geraldine Earls of Desmond; Parliamentary History of Ireland, by Hugh Howard, LL. D. IV. Marquis of Ormonde; Viscount Gormanstown; Sir Richard O'Donnell, Bart.; Trinity College, Dublin; College of Irish Franciscans (Louvain), Dublin. VI-VIII. Marquis of Ormonde; Lord Emly; Lord Talbot De Malahide; The O'Connor Don, M. P.; Trinity College, Dublin; Diocesan Library, Derry. IX. Marquis of Ormonde; Duke of Leinster; Marquis of Drogheda; Lord Macartney; Earl of Leicester; Rinuccini Memoirs. X. Marquis of Ormonde; Earl of Fingall; Corporations of Galway and Waterford; Sees of Dublin and Ossory; The Jesuits in Ireland. XI. Marchioness of Waterford. X. Earl of Charlemont (I).

MANGAN AND POE.

One cannot read "Dark Rosaleen," nor, indeed, many other poems of Mangan, without being forcibly reminded of that American author whose studies in horror and gloom have been the subject of a varied criticism, ranging from highest praise to severest condemnation. The purpose here is not to determine the relative value of those criticisms, but, considering Edgar Allan Poe as a poet of high merit, to point out a few of the most striking relations that exist between him and James Clarence Mangan.

A comparison of the writings of these two poets reveals a curious parallelism, one of those unaccountable phenomena not altogether uncommon in the history of literature, a similarity at times approaching almost to a sameness, but broken occasionally by sharp contrasts, which only accentuate the points of resemblance. And this likeness is all the more surprising when we find that there is not one particle of direct evidence that either poet knew of the other's existence. The question, therefore, whether Poe, as has sometimes been stated, borrowed from the Irish poet, cannot be settled with any degree of certainty. The theory, however, that he did so appears extremely probable.

The life-time of the two poets is almost identical. Poe was born in 1809; Mangan, six years earlier. Both died in 1849. Poe, according to some authorities, could trace his ancestry back to a distinguished Anglo-Norman family. With the exception of the names of his parents, Mangan's ancestry is unknown. In the following words Miss Guiney has summed up the most important of their personal characteristics:—"The two Celts had much, very much, in common; Poe's Attic taste, sprung from his fortunate training, is responsible for most of the difference. To affirm of him, as has often been done, that he worshipped beauty with his whole soul; that he loved the occult sciences, the phrenologists, and the old mystics; that his

existence was but an affecting struggle with the adversaries of darkness; even that he was of a frail physique, his forehead high and pale, the lower part of his face sensitive and dejected;—this is to describe Mangan equally well. They had kindred dreams; they were haunted by the same loathing of the 'dishonor of the grave;' they died, under almost identical circumstances of pain and misery in the same year. Their respective sense of humor was unevenly apportioned. In point of achievement, too, or of the forces which make achievement possible, they are hardly to be compared. Poe was ever the artist; his imagination was not only sumptuous but steadfast; his utterances were fewer and had finality. In the moral contrast, it is the Irish poet who gains. Poe with his manifold gifts . . . . was of 'the highest order of the seraphim illuminati who sneer.' He nursed grudges and hungered for homage; he was seldom so happy as in a thriving quarrel. Mangan was a pattern of sweet gratitude and deference, and left his art to prosper or perish, as Heaven should please." [1]

The environment of the two men was vastly different. Mangan's whole life was spent within the limits of perhaps the most miserable section of a single city. From earliest youth Poe enjoyed the comforts of a cheerful home, and until he had grown to manhood was a stranger to the privations and the sufferings that came as the result of his own dissipation.

Unlike his less fortunate brother poet he never knew what it meant to spend day after day, even in youth, "dreeing death for others." He had resided in England, had travelled on the continent, and spent some years in the largest cities of the United States. He further had the advantage of a relatively thorough education. Mangan, with the exception of a few years in the primary schools of Dublin, received no education but that which he acquired by ceaseless reading along the lines suggested by his own fancy.

But it is with a comparison of their literary productions, and particularly with their poetry, rather than with their lives

[1] *James Clarence Mangan. Poems and Study.* By Louise Imogen Guiney. Boston, 1897.

or dispositions that we are here concerned. In the extent of his poetical writings Mangan has far exceeded Poe; if, however, we were to select from his poems only those that are really worthy of his genius, those on which his fame must ultimately rest, we might then say that the two poets wrote about an equal amount. And in the general character of the subject-matter their writings are fundamentally alike. There is in each a prevailing tone of sadness and of melancholy; a love of the indefinite, the vague, the mysterious; a predilection for the preternatural and the weird; a recoiling from the world of reality, and a constant effort to find more congenial surroundings in a world which the vast majority of mankind enter only with hesitation and with a deep feeling of awe. This predominance of gloom in the lives of both was undoubtedly largely temperamental; but there is likewise no doubt that to some extent Poe was rendered moody and melancholy by the taunts of his young associates concerning his parents, just as Mangan's lack of cheerfulness was intensified by his intercourse with uncongenial office companions. But the clouds gathered more suddenly over Poe's fortunes. Like Mangan he knew "the loveliness of loving well," and in the death of an early friend he read the "symbol and the token" of all misery. The constant recurrence of this doleful note is not at all accidental. It is a characteristic deliberately studied and embodied in their work. Poe insists that a certain taint of sadness is inseparably connected with all the higher manifestations of true beauty, and the impression which he aims to produce is one of "pleasureable sadness": [2]

> "A feeling of sadness and longing
> That is not akin to pain,
> And resembles sorrow only
> As the mist resembles the rain."

Aside from the poetic content there is in their mode of expression, at least in their best poems, an indefinable something neither music nor poetry, though partaking of the nature of

[2] *The Poetic Principle. Poe's Works*, vol. XIV, p. 279, Virginia edition. New York, 1902.

both, which haunts the soul of the reader in the echoes of their entrancing melodies. It is in their later works that this quality reaches its highest point of perfection. Read, for example, the last stanza of "Ulalume":

> Then my heart it grew ashen and sober
> As the leaves that were crisped and sere—
> As the leaves that were withering and sere,
> And I cried—"It was surely October
> On this very night of last year
> That I journeyed—I journeyed down here—
> That I brought a dead burden down here;
> On this night, of all nights in the year,
> Ah, what demon has tempted me here?
> Well I know now this dim lake of Auber—
> This misty mid region of Weir—
> Well I know now this dank tarn of Auber
> This ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir."

And compare with this the last two stanzas of "The Saw-Mill," which, under the title of "A Mourner," was published in *The Nation* about a year before "Ulalume" appeared in *The American Whig Review:*

> "In a few days more, most lonely One.
> Shall I, as a narrow ark, veil
> Thine eyes from the glare of the world and sun,
> 'Mong the urns in yonder dark vale,
> In the cold and dim
> Recesses of yonder dark vale!
>
> "For this grieve not! Thou knowest what thanks
> The weary-souled and the meek owe
> To death,—I awoke, and heard four planks
> Fall down with a saddening echo,
> I heard four planks
> Fall down with a hollow echo."

These two poems may be taken as typical of their respective authors, not because they represent the best work of either,—for this is not the case,—but because they reveal, in some degree, qualities that are characteristic of both poets. The topic, —a phase of death,—though considered from different view-

points, is one on which they frequently dwell. The scenes, too,—if one may speak of the scene in a lyric,—are similar:

> "The dank tarn of Auber
> In the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir,"

and

> "the hillside
> That glanced adown o'er the sunken glen,
> Where flowed the river Mourne."

In "Ulalume" the poet is pictured as walking forth at night beneath the cypress trees of a dim, misty region. In spite of the "nebulous lustre" which lights up the way, his soul continues to whisper forebodings of evil. At the end of the vista he is stopped before the door of a tomb. He then recognizes the spot, and, remembering a former memorable visit to this, the burial-place of one most dear to him, his heart sinks within him and he is overwhelmed with sadness and despair.

"The Saw Mill" tells of a wanderer who lies down to rest on the banks of the river Mourne. The water in the mill, the sound of the saw, the breeze, and the humming bees lull him into a dreamy reverie, and in

> "The song of the tree that the saw sawed through"

he hears the warning that in a few days more the planks thus made shall form a narrow ark, his resting place, among the urns in the neighboring cold, dark vale. Unlike "Ulalume," this poem concludes with the author's accustomed word of hopefulness. This difference is evident throughout all the poems of Mangan and Poe, for while the former at times pictures life in gloomiest colors he is always careful to insist that beyond the veil of darkness shines perpetual light: the latter, on the contrary is constantly wrapped in doubt so dark and dismal that it can scarcely be distinguished from despair. "Eldorado" may be taken as an exception to this general statement; and the "Hymn" to the Mother of God certainly reveals a spirit so different from his other poems that it has been well characterized as "the one bright star that 'flickered up to Heaven through the night' of his clouded existence."

But if the similarity extended no further than to the points just mentioned there would not be the same interest or importance attaching to this comparison nor the same reason for selecting these two poems, or in fact the poems of these two authors, to the exclusion of poems of like character and tone by many other authors. The peculiar qualities here accentuated belong not so much to the matter as to the form, and may be roughly summed up under the three heads of rime, repetition and parallelism; we might also add a fourth, though less important than the rest—the use of assonance. Now the effect in question is due not to the fact that any or all of these elements are employed but rather to the unusual combination in which they exist.

The rime effect in the poems cited is not so marked as in many other poems, such, for example, as "The Wail and Wandering of the "Three Khalendeers" or "The Bells." But even here we find a few examples that may serve to illustrate a tendency which, in Mangan's case at least, has been developed to excess. The attempt to make "qualm ill" rime with "Saw-Mill" is inexcusable. The rime itself might be admitted, but the line in which it occurs has been so distorted by the effort that it must be summarily rejected. Similarly the riming of "Meek owe" with "echo" in the last stanza can hardly be justified. The use, also, of "plank will" to rime with "tranquil" is scarcely legitimate. Poe, on the contrary, is far more careful in his use of rime. He has the happy faculty of discovering a proper name which often serves no other apparent purpose than to fill out the requirements of the verse, while at the same time adding increased vagueness to the environment. "Auber" corresponds very well with "October" and "sober," just as "Yaanek" does with "volcanic" and "Titanic." But "Dian" does not harmonize so well with "dry on" and "lion"; nor is there the necessary sound-sequence in the words "vista" and "sister." Like Mangan, Poe occasionally uses a Latin term, evidently because it serves the purpose of his metre, while at the same time expressing his meaning. For example, in the phrase "videlicet a tent" the last word is made to rime with the final syllable of "extrava-

gant." Both Mangan and Poe frequently use with good effect the run-on instead of the end-stopped line; as in the following:—

> "In terror she spoke letting sink her
> Wings until they trailed in the dust."

Here again, though not in his serious moments, Mangan errs by excess, sometimes dividing a word at the end of a line, as in "The Metempsychosis:"—

> "It seems to me a pos'tive truth, admitting of no modification, that the human soul, accustomed to a lodging
> Inside a carnal tenement, must when it quits one body
> . . . . . .
> Seek out a habitation in some other cozy corpus."

In justice to Mangan it should be stated here that when he wrote verses like these he did so for a very definite purpose, and with a full knowledge of their real value.

The repetitions and parallelisms employed cannot well be considered separately, for they do not exist apart. They are rather elements combined in various proportions dependent on the effect which the poet wishes to produce, and with an approximate degree of accuracy they might be styled a form of parallel repetition. This, in its ultimate analysis, is only a modification and a new adaptation of the refrain—a poetic device almost as old as poetry itself. As a recognized and accepted feature of poetry it was, in this new form, certainly unknown until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. But it was not wholly unknown. We have but to read Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," and Bürger's "Lenore" to find something that is more than a suggestion of the style of verse which Mangan and Poe later developed.

From the forty-four poets represented in Mangan's "German Anthology" of 1845, other ballads like Rückert's "Die Begrüssung auf dem Kynast" might also be cited, but none seems quite so important as "Lenore." The stanzas in this poem that best illustrate our point are these:—

"O Mutter, Mutter! Hin ist hin!
Verloren ist verloren!
Der Tod, der Tod ist mein Gewinn!
O wär' ich nie geboren!
Lisch aus, mein Licht, auf ewig aus!
Stirb hin, stirb hin in Nacht und Graus!
Bei Gott ist kein Erbarmen.
O weh, O weh mir Armen!

O Mutter! was ist Seligkeit?
O Mutter! was ist Hölle?
Bei ihm, bei ihm ist Seligkeit,
Und ohne Wilhelm Hölle!
Lisch aus, mein Licht, auf ewig aus!
Stirb hin, stirb hin in Nacht und Graus!
Ohn' ihn mag ich auf erden,
Mag dort nicht selig werden."

Mangan's translation of these lines is well worth noticing here. It is one of his best poems from the German, for he makes clear that he has lost sight of none of the merits of the original, and has embodied them all in his version. Among the many English translations of this poem Mangan's is undoubtedly the best. He has accurately reproduced the spirit, the metre, and the rime-scheme; and what is of greater importance in this particular case he seems to have taken special pains to accentuate the very peculiarity which we have been considering. Note how closely he follows the German poem:—

"O mother, mother! gone is gone
And lorn for once is ever lorn!
The grave is now my hope alone;
Would God that I had ne'er been born.
Out, out, sick light! out flickering taper!
Down, down in night and charnel vapour!
In Heaven there is no pity—none—
O, woe is me! Oh wretched one!

Oh mother, what is Paradise?
Oh mother what and where is Hell?
In Wilhelm lies my Paradise—
Where he is not my life is Hell!
Then out sick light! out flickering taper!
Down, down in blackest night and vapour!
In Heaven, on earth I will not share
Delight if Wilhelm be not there!"

The following stanzas from the "Ancient Mariner" show Coleridge's use of repetition:—

"And I had done a hellish thing,
And it would work 'em woe;
For all averred I had killed the bird
That made the breeze to blow.
Ah wretch said they, the bird to slay
That made the breeze to blow.

Nor dim nor red like God's own head,
The glorious sun uprist;
They all averred I had killed the bird
That brought the fog and mist.
'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay
That bring the fog and mist."

The parallel repetitions which we discover in both of these poems are very far, it is true, from the "curious involved diction" of either Poe or Mangan. And yet they are closely akin to that of the latter. They are very different from the refrain as it existed in contemporaneous German or English poetry. In the verse of some of Mangan's fellow poets in Ireland, like Samuel Lover, we find a peculiar use of the refrain. In Percy's "Reliques," too, there are many poems, such as "Richard of Almaigne," "King of Scots and Andrew Browne," and "Corydon's Doleful Knell" in which the refrain is used, but in all these cases it is a refrain and nothing more. It is evident that neither Bürger nor Coleridge had any thought, in the stanzas which we have quoted, of making use of such a thing as the refrain in the sense in which it is now understood. Their repetitions were employed solely with a view to the production of a poetic effect which harmonized with the spirit and movement of the poem in hand; Mangan and Poe perceiving this effect as well as the value of the refrain developed and perfected them, and if a distinction can be made between the final products of the two poets, in this particular regard, it would seem in a general way at least, to be this: the former lays greater emphasis on the refrain as a distinct element which he preserves in its essential character and varies in his own peculiar way, while the latter more frequently discards the

refrain as a distinguishable quantity and distributes his modifications and his repetitions at will throughout the various verses of the stanza.

The fact that Mangan was familiar with Bürger's "Lenore" leads us to suspect that this poem may have exercised no slight influence on the style of his later poetry. But he was familiar with Coleridge's writings also. The lines in "The Saw-Mill" which tells that "The song of the tree"

> "Disturbed my spirit with pity,
> Began to subdue
> My spirit with tenderest pity,"

are plainly an echo of a line in Coleridge's "Love:"—

> "—His dying words—but when I reach'd
> That tenderest strain of all the ditty,
> My faltering voice and pausing harp
> Disturbed her soul with pity."

Knowing, then, the general nature of Mangan's poetry and the kind of literature that appealed to him with greatest force we need have no hesitation in asserting that few, if any, of the beauties of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" escaped his notice.

The question whether Coleridge himself was influenced in some degree by Bürger has long been a subject of dispute, and its discussion is scarcely in place here. Yet, we may note in passing that Coleridge certainly knew of this poem and, in all probability admired it before a word of "The Ancient Mariner" was written. The evidence in favor of this statement, though not absolutely conclusive, is very strong. In a letter dated July 5, 1796, Lamb writing to Coleridge asked: "Have you read the ballad called 'Lenora' in the second number of the monthly magazine? If you have ! ! ! There is another fine song, from the same author (Bürger) in the third number, of scarce inferior merit." [3]

Again, Emile Legouis, in his book entitled *The Early Life of Wordsworth* (p. 421), referring to the time when "The

[3] *Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. I, p. 121. London, 1886.

Ancient Mariner" was in contemplation writes: "Coleridge was just then full of enthusiasm for Bürger's *Leonora* which had recently been translated into English." Legouis, however, brings forward no evidence in support of this statement.

If, on the other hand, we turn for a moment to Bürger and inquire into the sources of his inspirations we find that he was influenced to a considerable extent by the popular poetry of England, and especially by Percy's "Reliques." But according to his own statement he did not get his idea of "Lenore" from this or any other English source. Referring to the foreign influences on his poetry he wrote: "Das harte Mädchen, so wie das Lied an den Traumgott, haben, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, nur einige Stellen aus einem englischen Dichter, ich weiss wahrhaftig nicht mehr, aus welchem, entlehnt. Es ist aber immer auch möglich, dass sie ganz mein eigen sind. Adeline ist, dünkt mich, nach Parnell; das Dörfchen nach Bernard; die beiden Liebenden nach Rochon de Chabannes; das vergnügte Leben nach Grecourt; der Bruder Graurock, die Entführung, und des Schäfer's Liebeswerbung sind nach altenglischen Gedichten in Percy's bekannter Sammlung." [4]

But whatever may be said of the literary relations of Coleridge and Bürger, and of the latter's indebtedness to English "Volkspoesie," it is certain that Mangan owes much to the German poet. In addition to the points of contact which we have already considered, their respective theories of poetry run almost parallel. Mangan's theory has not been definitely formulated. It must be inferred from his actual practice, and from various scattered remarks. With him clearness and simplicity are prime requisites in poetry. "No luxuriance of imagination," he says, "can atone for the absence of perspicuity. A poet of all men should endeavor to make words the images of things." And again: "The best poetry is that which most resembles the best prose." [5] A study of his poetry will reveal the further fact that he considers as fundamental

[4] *Bürger's Werke*, Band III, 192. Göttingen, 1844.

[5] Quoted by O'Donoghue, *Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan*, p. 99. Dublin, 1904.

the principle that literary art, to endure, must deal with experiences common to all men. Even the songs which he sings of Ireland, and which make their primary appeal to his countrymen are but outbursts of an emotion that is world-wide. And the somewhat mystical utterances so frequent in his pages are only colored pictures of phases of life that come within the observation of all men.

Bürger's ideas, though differently expressed, are substantially the same. "Popularität eines poetischen Werkes ist das Siegel seiner Vollkommenheit . . . . So kann ich doch nicht aufhören, die Poesie für eine Kunst zu halten, die zwar von Gelehrten, aber nicht für Gelehrte, als solche, sondern für das Volk ausgeübt werden muss." [6]

And quoting *The Spectator,* No. 70, he thus summarizes his views: "'Human nature is the same in all reasonable creatures; and whatever falls in with it, will meet with admirers amongst readers of all qualities and conditions.' Dies ist ungefähr meine Meinung von Volks-Poesie, und ich glaube zu wissen was ich sage." [7] Besides these points of resemblance, there are in both a frequent use of the narrative form and a constant accentuation of the supernatural, or at least of a non-material phase of existence.

With the exception of the quality of clearness,—which, of course, constitutes a radical difference,—there is little in these requirements that does not harmonize with Poe's expression of the "Poetic Principle." Indeed, even if Poe had not written a line of this essay, the whole body of his poems stands as an exemplification of the principle that poetry should not be circumscribed in its sphere by the limitations of time or place. It should be universal in its appeal. And following out these lines of development with too rigorous accuracy he erred in approaching too closely the extreme towards which he tended. As a consequence his poetry has no local color. It might have been written almost any place and at any time. Until his later years the same was true, in large measure, of Mangan. But his national poetry reveals the presence of the humanizing

[6] *Bürger's Werke*, Band III, 205. Göttingen, 1844. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

elements, while at the same time evincing no lack of appropriate local color.

In considering the relation of Mangan and Poe it seems well to call attention to the latter's admiration of Coleridge, whose "Ancient Mariner," as we have seen, may have been the occasion of that peculiar poetic quality so intimately associated with Poe's name. "Of Coleridge," he writes, "I cannot speak but with reverence. His towering intellect! his gigantic power! . . . . In reading his poetry I tremble—like one who stands upon a volcano, conscious from the very darkness bursting from the crater, of the fire and the light that are weltering below." [8]

The facts which we have thus far considered may be summarized briefly as follows: In the poetry of Mangan and of Poe there exists a peculiar modification of the refrain, over and above a striking similarity of poetic content. A much less complicated form of the same peculiarity is to be found in Bürger and Coleridge as a slight advance on the still more simple refrain found in contemporary German poetry and in the earlier English and Scottish ballads of Percy's "Reliques." Bürger was familiar with this department of English literature, and, according to his own words, was influenced by it. Coleridge, in turn, knew Bürger's best work even before he wrote "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." Mangan not only read the poems of these two authors, but was so attracted by them as to adopt something of the spirit and even of the phraseology of the one, and to translate selections from the other. Finally, Poe was a profound admirer of Coleridge even from his earliest years. The question, therefore, remains: What, if any, is the relation of interdependence between Mangan and Poe?

The dependence is certainly not mutual. The Irish poet owes nothing to his contemporary fellow literary artist in America, for his development of the "singing-over" habit antedates that of the latter by at least five years. "The Raven" was published in the *Evening Mirror* for the first

[8] Letter to B——. *Edgar A. Poe's Works*, vol. VII, p. xxxvii. New York, 1902.

time in January, 1845. It was Poe's earliest exemplification of the very quality which is generally recognized as his peculiar contribution to English poetry. "Eulalie" came out the same year in the July number of *The American Whig Review.* "Ulalume" also made its first appearance in this magazine, but not until December, 1847.

Mangan, on the contrary, had long before turned out specimens of this "curious and beautifully involved diction." In 1839, "The Time of the Barmecides" was published in the *Dublin University Magazine.* In 1840, it reappeared in the same publication, but this time "with embellishments and improvements." The peculiarity in this poem consists simply in the repetition of the last two lines of each stanza. A varying application of the same purpose is found in each of the following poems, all of which were written before it was possible for their author to have seen "The Raven":—"The Howling Song of Al-Mohara," "Twenty Golden Years Ago," and "Night is Falling," 1840; "The Ride Around the Parapet," 1842; "The Wail and Warning of the Three Khalendeers," "The Time ere the Roses were Blowing," and "The Karamanian Exile," 1844. Then almost simultaneously with "The Raven," came "The Wayfaring Tree" and "The Last Words of Al Hassan," in 1845; and finally, in 1846, Mangan's masterpiece, "Dark Rosaleen." While these poems exemplify his development in the particular regard in which we have been considering him, they are not the only ones which might be selected for the same purpose. Neither do they in all cases represent his best literary work; but they are more than sufficient to show that he did not draw the inspiration of his poetical achievements from Edgar Allan Poe.

On the other hand what is to be said in defence of the hypothesis that Poe saw and appropriated the invention of the Dublin poet? In support of such a conclusion, we must repeat, there is no direct evidence, and there is nothing incompatible or even unheard-of in the view that both poets arrived at practically the same results, working altogether independently of each other. But even granting that Poe was familiar not only

with Coleridge and the "Reliques" but with all the other sources as well that were open to Mangan, there still remains a high degree of probability that he knew the poetry of the latter and utilized it.

The *Dublin University Magazine,* in which most of Mangan's poems appeared during the years in question, was well known and frequently quoted in the United States. And it is scarcely conceivable that a man of Poe's keenness and extensive reading should have overlooked anything of merit in its pages. It was not in his nature or temperament to pass over anything new or unusual; and to his credit it may be truly said that nothing which underwent renovation or remodeling in his hands suffered by the process. Poe himself declared that he got the suggestion of "The Raven" from this line in "Lady Geraldine's Courtship:"

> "with a murmurous stir uncertain in the air
> the purple curtain," etc.[9]

But when he asserts in "The Philosophy of Composition" that such a combination of verses into stanzas as that presented in "The Raven," or anything even remotely approaching it, had never been attempted,[10] he makes a severe demand on our power to assent. Had he never read any of the various verses to which we have just referred? Or was a critic of Poe's ability and pretensions unacquainted with a publication so well known and so important as the *Dublin University Magazine?*

Again Poe's "combinations" were accomplished only after Mangan's experiments had been confided to the public. And then, unlike the latter's development, which was normal and gradual, the almost abrupt determination to introduce a new feature into his poetry has all the appearance of a sudden discovery rather than an original invention.

A glance at the history of the poem entitled "Lenore" throws some light on this subject. The title itself is, strangely enough, the same as that which forms the subject of Bürger's famous

[9] *Poe's Works,* vol. VII, p. 288, Virginia Edition. New York, 1902.
[10] *Poe's Works,* vol. XIV, p. 203. New York, 1902.

ballad. "Lenore" did not exist in the present form until its publication in the "Broadway Journal," 1846. Under the title "A Pæan" it was included in the edition of 1831. But here it is made up of eleven four-line stanzas, and bears only slight resemblance to its latest form. "The Pioneer," of February, 1843, presents a version which, with the exception of a change in the order of verses, and a few other details, differs from the final form only in the absence of the characteristic refrain. The poet's idea may be seen by placing side by side the first stanzas of the two last versions. The first runs thus:

"Ah broken is the golden bowl!
The spirit flown forever!
Let the bell toll! a saintly soul
Glides down the Stygian river!
And let the burial rite be read —
The funeral song be sung—
A dirge for the most lovely dead
That ever died so young!
And Guy De Vere,
Hast thou no tear?
Weep now or nevermore!
See on yon drear
And rigid bier,
Low lies thy love Lenore!"

With this compare the following:

"Ah broken is the bowl! the spirit flown forever!
Let the bell toll!—a saintly soul floats on the Stygian River!
And, Guy De Vere, hast thou no tear? weep now or nevermore!
See! on yon drear and rigid bier low lies thy love, Lenore!
Come, let the burial rite be read—the funeral song be sung!
An anthem for the queenliest dead that ever died so young—
A dirge for her the doubly dead in that she died so young."

Now, it is possible that Poe introduced into his verse not the discovery of another, but the invention of his own genius. In literature, however, as in other departments of human activity, we are slow to ascribe to genius a product that can be accounted for by less extraordinary means. He had been studying English poetry from childhood. Did he suddenly discover there some new singing quality which before had escaped his

notice? It is not at all impossible that he did so; but it is far more probable that he read and admired and appropriated the new verse-forms of the Dublin poet, which were lying before his eyes.

But supposing for a moment that he did get inspiration from this source, his appropriations did not consist of blind imitation. His modifications were in some respects improvements on Mangan's forms. This very difference, however, only strengthens the probability of his dependence; for, viewing the verse of both poets in the light of the distinction already made in their respective use of phrase and line repetition, Mangan's contribution clearly holds a middle place between the simple refrain of earlier poetry and the more delicate and "subtle tautology" of Poe's verse combinations.

JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS,
ST. PAUL, MINN.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

The chief dependence of the young child is, of course, on the teacher; if she fail, no text-book can make amends; if her method be faulty, the best conceivable text-book will fall short of good results. And in the hands of a capable teacher any text-book may be lifted above its worst defects. While all this is true, nevertheless it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that a text-book has a legitimate and an important function to perform in the child's unfolding life. When the text-book is faulty, a needless burden is placed upon the teacher and a needless impediment is put in the way of the child's mental development. Moreover, the teacher's method and the method embodied in the text-book employed should harmonize; friction here, as elsewhere, is wasteful. And, as too often happens, when the text-book is constructed on wrong lines, the teacher, in spite of her own better judgment, is likely to grow tired of the struggle and to fall into line with the method embodied in the text-book. She usually finds that to do otherwise is both a difficult and a thankless task. The text-book and its method are known and they fix the standard by which her work is almost certain to be measured.

In the educative process, therefore, it is a matter of the very highest importance that the text-books placed in the hands of the children embody sound method and be as free as may be from violations of the laws governing the child's unfolding life. Now, one of the most pernicious and fundamental errors of the prevalent text-books for primary and grammar grades is the segregation of the various elements in the child's mental content at a time when his chief need is close correlation. The blight of extreme specialization has, in our schools, been carried down to an early period in the educative process and proper

correlation is absent from the very first grade up through the entire system.

The text-books in arithmetic have been constructed for the sole purpose of teaching the child number. That the content of the text-book could possibly minister to the child's mental life in any other way does not seem to have occurred to the compilers of the great majority of the text-books in this department of human knowledge. And yet there is no conceivable reason why the text-book in arithmetic should not minister to the child's growing power in the mastery of language, nor is there any valid reason why it should not give the children, instead of impossible, hypothetical facts, items of real knowledge which would prove valuable to them in their study of geography, history, commerce and industry. As a matter of fact, Professor Smith, has given us text-books in which this latter end has been attained. Those who have used the books are aware of their advantages. But why stop here? The principle might be pushed much further with profit even in arithmetic. And what shall we say of the other branches? Obviously, every text-book in the school should help the child to master written language and whatever the specific topic, every lesson in a primary or grammar grade should be a language lesson at the same time.

It is hard to realize in this busy work-a-day world, where so many demands are being made on the children's time in order that they may be properly prepared to take their part in the complex civilization of our day, that so much of their time should be occupied in memorizing the names of generals and the dates of battles and the lines of shifting political boundaries while they are left in ignorance of the great economic forces which have played such a leading rôle in the development of the nations of the world and in determining national characteristics and in fixing the boundary of empire.

The development of the natural and the physical sciences have in our day completely transformed the world in which we live. The children in our schools must be prepared to enter this arena. If they enter it with a knowledge of nature's

forces and with eyes that are capable of discerning the various applications of these forces to the processes of industry and to the wellbeing of society, they may readily conquer their environment and bend the forces of inanimate nature to their will and enlist them in the service of mankind. If, on the contrary, they enter the industrial arena without such knowledge, their efforts are ineffectual and their lives are likely to be lived out in an ever-increasing subjection to matter and to the forces of the material universe. What are our schools doing to meet this situation? Are the children led into the heart of nature and gradually familiarized with her phenomena and the underlying laws that govern them, or are they fed on scraps of pseudo-science under the name of nature study, physiology for primary grades, etc.?

There is a growing realization of the facts that our children are losing reverence for old age, for their parents, for family and national traditions, for religious beliefs, that there is an enormous increase in juvenile crime in our cities, that there is a general decay of patriotism, a growing tendency to dishonesty in public office, an increasing disregard for law, and that the family is suffering greatly from the loosening of its bonds. But in spite of all this very little is done in our schools to remedy the matter. The social side of the child's life is neglected or left a prey to the hap-hazard theory of each individual teacher. There are no text-books available in which the matter is dealt with intelligently and systematically.

Considerable effort is being expended on the development of the child's æsthetic faculties, but for the most part there is a very sad lack of coördination. We have special supervisors of art and special systems of drawing and painting are pushed with vigor. And the same may be said of the teaching of music and singing. But we have not yet reached the place where the æsthetic element has entered into the life of the school to touch and transform all its processes. Art and music are frequently little more than holiday attire which is put on by the children for a brief period each day and laid aside before the 'serious' matters of the program are taken up.

A great deal of time is spent in reading drills and yet the schools graduate few intelligent readers. The reason is obvious. The prevalent method emphasizes the form and neglects the matter. Our schools seem to be pervaded by a deathless superstition concerning the teaching of literature. The children are given fragments from a hundred authors and it is devoutly believed that these samples will suffice to cultivate a lasting taste for the authors in question. It is taken for granted that the mind of the pupil filled with this multitude of literary samples will be possessed of literary power and will have control of 'good expression.'

In religious instruction the child fares no better. The text-book in use is for the most part a catechism of Christian Doctrine cast in the dryest of didactic forms and completely isolated from all the other subjects of the curriculum. The thought is abstract in the extreme and it is couched in language for which the child has no preparation either proximate or remote. There is no attempt made to build up in the child-mind vigorous apperception masses capable of aiding in the assimilation of the religious thought. The book seems designed solely for the production of a verbal memory product and as if there were a consciousness somewhere that this was the only end possible of attainment. The whole stress is laid on the form of question and answer which will facilitate a test of the capacity of the pupil's memory. On the practical side the work is no better. The content is not shaped so as to lead directly or immediately to conduct or to the formation of habits of thought and action. Back of this method there seems to be an incredible belief in the power of memorized formulae to translate themselves at a later period into vital elements in the conduct of the adult.

A reform in the text-books for the primary grades is urgently needed. The first step to be accomplished is evidently a close correlation of the various elements in the curriculum. Unity in the mental content must be preserved until such time, at least, as sufficient maturity has been reached to devote exclusive attention to the separate departments of human knowl-

edge. It is high time that the children should reap some of the benefits to be derived from the recent rapid developments in genetic psychology and cognate branches.

The Child's First Book.

Religion, First Book, is the first of a series of text-books in which it has been sought to embody in concrete form the educational doctrines outlined in this series of articles. In the preparation of these text-books Our Lord's method of teaching has been kept constantly in view and the principles underlying it have been adhered to throughout. The details and the concrete settings of the lessons have been adapted to the needs of the children of the present generation. In this adjustment differences in mental content and in mental environment have, naturally, been taken into account, nor have the findings of science been ignored.

As the title of the First Book indicates, Religion is the central and dominant element of its teaching. Many of the fundamental truths of religion are here presented to the child in a form suited to his capacity. He is taught to know and to love Our Saviour and through Him he is led to a knowledge and love of the Father. He is taught the Lord's Prayer, not merely as so many words and phrases to be recited night and morning, but the meaning of several of its petitions is developed so as to reach his intelligence and control his actions. He learns to look upon his Father in Heaven with confidence; he learns to love Him and to rely upon His answering love. His intellect, his imagination and his will, as well as his lips, say Our Father who art in Heaven, give us this day our daily bread, lead us not into temptation, deliver us from evil. A large portion of the Apostles' Creed is taught to him in a way that cannot fail to cause the seeds of these divine truths to take root and grow in his life. The following articles of the Creed will be found developed in this little book: I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ,

His only Son, Our Lord, who was born of the Virgin Mary. In the final chapter of the book the Nativity scene is presented and the child's attention is turned towards our Saviour as the future model of his imitative activity.

This is a large religious content to be imparted to the child during his first year at school, particularly if it be borne in mind that according to the principles laid down no truth should be presented to the child until he is ready to assimilate it. And, indeed, if this body of religious truth were presented to the child isolated from his every-day experience and from the other lines of his development, it would be quite impossible for him to do more with it than to convert it into an unassimilable memory load.

Religion, First Book, is not merely the child's first book in religion, it is at the same time his first reader, his first nature study book, and it unfolds the germ of his institutional life and lays the foundation of his aesthetic development along three distinct lines, viz., form, color, and rhythm. But to any one who will give careful consideration to this book it will be at once evident that it is more than a volume containing nature studies, domestic scenes, reading lessons, half-tone and colored pictures, religious stories, and songs adapted to the child's capacity; these are all contained in the book, but they are woven together in such a way as to form integral parts of one whole. It is a First Reader, and its value as such instead of being impaired is enhanced four-fold by the fact that it speaks to the child of home, of the familiar objects of his environment, of his relationship to Jesus Christ and to his Heavenly Father, and that the text is illumined for the child by a series of beautiful pictures which tell the same story while they awaken the child's love for the beautiful, and finally that its lessons are summed up in songs in which are employed simple words and rhythms suited to the child's capacity. In other words, the claim is here made that each of the five essential elements of a Catholic education can be developed better in the young child by being interwoven with the other four than if the attempt were made to develop it separately. The book is named Re-

ligion, consequently, not because it deals with religion exclusively, but because religion is the most important element which it contains and because all the other elements of the child's mental content are made subordinate to religion, both in arrangement of material and in emphasis. Religion thus becomes the basis of the child's education, the germ from which all else is made to unfold, and this is as it should be in a Catholic education where everything should be made to lead to God and be used as a means of attaining eternal life.

In the diagram on the title-page of Religion, First Book, (essentially a star within a circle with an inner circle drawn through the five points of divergence of the star rays) which has been adopted as the motto of this series of text-books, the close interdependence of the five essential elements of a Catholic education has been set forth. These five elements are there named Science, Letters, Aesthetics, Institutions, Religion. Each of these elements is represented by a ray of the star. The area of the inner circle formed by the superimposed bases of the five rays represents the child's development up to adolescence. The outer circle, in which the rays terminate, marks the thirtieth year, or the period at which development along all lines usually ceases. The close interdependence during the first twelve or fourteen years in the child's life of the five essential elements is indicated in this diagram by the fact that the star rays during this period occupy the same area. The growths in knowledge which in the child's mind begin at about the fourteenth year to replace the corresponding development of the earlier period are indicated in the diagram by the five areas bounded by the outer circle and the diverging borders of the star rays.

The term 'Science' as used in this diagram is meant to include the sum total of the child's knowledge of his physical environment together with his established adjustments to the various objects which it contains. 'Letters' includes language, oral and written, together with a knowledge of human achievements transmitted to the child through the instrumentality of language. 'Institutions' includes the child's knowl-

edge of social institutions such as the Home, the Church and the State, together with his established modes of reacting towards them. 'Aesthetics' includes the child's power of recognizing and reacting towards beauty in all its essential forms, while 'Religion' includes not only the child's knowledge of Christian Doctrine, but what is of far greater importance, the building up in the light of Revealed Truth of all his conscious life as a member of the Catholic Church.

Since the teaching of religion is the chief function of Religion, First Book, it will serve our purpose best to consider it in the first instance in the capacity of the child's first book in religion. In this we must consider not only the religious element as such, but all the other elements of the book in so far as they enter into the lessons in religion. The book contains five parts each of which begins with a nature study and terminates in two songs. The nature study prepares the child for a lesson in home duties and both of these lessons are made the preparation and the background for a New Testament scene in which some fundamental truth of religion is presented in a concrete and attractive setting. The five parts of the book deal with the five fundamental instincts which determine the child's attitude towards his parents. The attempt is made to transform these instincts which the child shares with the higher animals and which are in their nature essentially selfish into the unselfish and fundamental virtues of a Christian life.

The child's instinctive reliance upon his parents for love is dealt with in the first part. This essentially selfish attitude is transformed into the natural basis of Christian charity through the contemplation of the self-sacrificing love of the parents. Through this means the child is gradually led into an understanding of God's love for him and gratitude together with an answering love are developed in his heart. Thus appropriate feeling, which is the first essential element in the process of assimilating truth, is developed in the child's consciousness. With his heart full of loving confidence he approaches God as a child would approach the most loving father. In such a soul the germs of Divine Truth readily

unfold and bear their rich fruit of Christian virtue. "Unless you become as one of these you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

A picture series tells the same story that is recorded in the text. The nature studies and the domestic scenes are in half-tones; the Biblical scenes are in color, which serves to emphasize the religious element and to render it the most attractive part of the lesson to the child. Moreover, the half-tone pictures call to the child's memory of past sensory experience and lead to observation and actual verification in his subsequent experience. Hence the half-tones leave a larger room for the personal element in the child's mental operations. The Biblical scenes, on the other hand, are remote from the child's experience, either past or in the immediate future, hence they require the fullest detail and the strongest appeal to the child's senses.

The philosophy underlying the nature study scenes with which each part of this book begins will be dealt with more fully elsewhere, here it is sufficient to call to mind the psychological truth that interest resides exclusively in the twilight zone which separates clear knowledge from complete ignorance. Neither the child nor the man is interested in that which is wholly familiar until it is presented in some new light or in some unaccustomed setting. "Therefore, every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure, new things and old." (Matt. XIII, 52.)

The child learns by living alternately at the opposite poles of his growing mental life. He observes the actions of others and the attitudes of his parents, but he begins to understand their meaning only when he clothes himself in these attitudes and acts them out in a scene of his own making. The child, however, is not interested in the familiar home scenes, nor can he be brought to clothe himself in the parental attitude until there is presented to him, either to his imagination or to his senses, some object upon which he can clothe his own personality. Thus the doll helps the child to develop the maternal instinct by enabling her to clothe herself in her mother's atti-

tude and to perform all those actions towards her doll which she has observed her mother to perform towards her. A younger child sometimes serves the same purpose and the whole household drama may be observed in the play of younger children. Similarly, the teacher's attitudes are frequently copied in the play of the young pupils. But it should be observed that the child's imagination is seldom equal to the task of transforming her mother into her baby for the purposes of play.

Children come from home where the essential relationships between father, mother and children are too familiar to hold their interest and they are led in the nature study which constitutes the first part of each chapter to contemplate these same relationships in the lives of the birds. Here all is new. The scenes are portrayed in pictures which leave the child's imagination free and which appeal to their dramatic and constructive impulses. Advantages, be it noted, which are not present in those nature studies where the theme is first approached in an actual scene in bird life.

Again, the essential truths of home cannot easily be revealed to the child in the home-life of his companions, because of the complexity of its outer aspect which obscures for him the springs of its inner action. In the story of the robins, as presented here, on the contrary, home freed from detail with its essential elements standing out in bold relief fills the child's imagination and finds a ready entrance to his intelligence.

The first nature scene opens with a picture of two robins looking for their breakfast. The written story runs "Here are Mr. and Mrs. Robin. They are on the grass. They give three hops. They give three chirps. They look around and begin again. Good morning, Mr. Robin. Good morning, Mrs. Robin. Are you looking for your breakfast?" In this simple story the child is brought face to face with the elementary duty imposed upon all children of Adam: "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread." The children will read the story with pleasure and dramatize it with delight. Through acting the part of Mr. and Mrs. Robin, the meaning of the story is made to fill their senses and their imaginations, and it is organized in their muscles.

This plan should be followed in each of the lessons of the book. Details will be presented elsewhere. It would be difficult to overestimate the value in the educative process of the truths which Bishop Bellord emphasizes so strongly in his *Religious Education and its Failures,* from which we quote the following: "It is very possible to store impressions in the sense memory and not in the intellect; in the intellect and not in the conscience, and in the affections even and not in the will. Further, it is even possible for the will to have stored its impressions so as to be able to reproduce its determinations and yet fail in carrying them into effect, for the reason that action has not been trained, and that action impressions have not been stored so as to create facility of reproduction."

The second picture presents the robins building their nest. The labor involved is not for the birds themselves but for others. The father and mother robin work to build a home for their little ones. Parental love is the dominant tone and supplies the motive for the labor of the birds. "The baby robins are asleep under mother's wings. They are cozy and warm." In this concrete form there is planted in the child's mind the germ of the great fundamental truth on which all civilization and its institutions rest. Home exists for the children. The parents labor that the children may possess. With this fundamental truth of home life there is planted in the child's consciousness the germ of a second truth "like unto the first," *i. e.,* the love of father and mother for each other. "Their father is on the branch beside the nest. He does not want their mother to be lonely."

Finally, the idea of something higher than home is suggested. "When the day's work is done, he sings a song. It is his evening prayer." This suggestion of an over-ruling Providence is still further emphasized for the child and its meaning brought home to him more vividly by the picture of little Samuel at prayer.

From this study of the home life of the robins the child returns to his own home with eyes that have learned to see things in its hidden depths which would otherwise have re-

mained obscure to him. He now perceives the old familiar things of home in a new light. Having clothed himself in the parental attitude, while playing the part of the father bird or the mother bird in the procuring of food, the building of the nest and in the loving care of the little ones, he is prepared to understand something of the love that dwells in his parents' hearts and he goes out to meet it with an answering love. Moreover, the contrast and background of the robin's home gives him an added appreciation of his own home, of its beauty and comfort, and of the supreme value of its central feature, love. After this there is for him a new meaning and a new sweetness in the nest of mother's arms, which is brought out and rendered explicit in the first of the domestic scenes. Father's welcome home, the second of the domestic scenes, is intended to prepare the children to understand the story of Christ blessing little children. In this lesson the children are made to realize that their true happiness lies in the love and confidence which they bring to their parents and in the answering love which enfolds them. The lesson that is taught in school in this case is put into practice in the home. "They tell him everything they did all day. They ask him for everything they want. They tell him over and over again how much they love him." The habit of bringing to their parents all their concerns and of reposing complete confidence in them in all their necessities and of giving expression to their love having been thus built up in early childhood will not fail to be a safeguard against many moral dangers in later years.

There is another feature of these lessons that should not be lost sight of: they serve to bridge over the chasm between the home and the school. The lessons taught in school receive a fuller meaning in the home and bear a rich harvest of fruit there both for the children and for their parents. The break between the home and the school is one of the greatest obstacles to the child's normal development in school. This is particularly obtrusive in the work of the first primary grade and many means of overcoming it have been suggested. It is

evident that if the child's best interests are to be served the continuity of the home life and the school life must be preserved. In these lessons a long step in that direction is taken and in this the parents are the gainers as well as the children.

In the father's welcome home there is a suggestion to the parents and to the children which, if carried out, can scarcely fail to prove helpful in the preservation of home ties. Home is primarily for the children. It cannot long endure their absence. A father's heart can seldom withstand the pleadings of his child's love and the home that is brightened by the presence of loving, dutiful children is a haven of rest to the weary toiler. Moreover, it is through the relationship of father to child that the child comes into an understanding of his heavenly Father's love for him and of the joy that is the portion of all who love and serve God as a most dear Father. The children are now prepared for the New Testament scene and for the purely religious part of the work, which will be dealt with in the next number of the *Bulletin*.

Current Criticisms of the Public Schools.

The volume of criticism of the public schools that has recently made its appearance in our educational and popular magazines is directed for the most part to the grammar schools and the high schools, but it is evident that the evils complained of are not restricted to our institutions of elementary and secondary education. These institutions labor under many defects which are peculiar to themselves, but there are many deep-seated evils which extend to the entire system including the colleges and universities. And the colleges and universities have limitations of their own which do not so immediately affect secondary education. Dr. James P. Monroe, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in an article entitled The Specialist Blight on American Education, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October, 1908, tells some very plain truths about the present trend of our university life and levels some very sharp criticisms at some features of higher education in

American universities. While Professor Monroe deals directly with practices that are prevalent in our universities, what he says is full of wholesome suggestion for those who are responsible for the policies pursued in our elementary and secondary schools. The article should be widely read and we shall have occasion to make copious extracts from it.

"Specialism is the order of the day. From the professor of Greek down to the 'professor' who shines one's shoes, that man is in demand who is disposed to concentrate all his energies upon the learning or the doing of one thing. Even our households have become infected, for therein is now to be found the very apotheosis of specialization. Even so late as the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, one maid would do substantially all the work of the house; whereas, to-day, the lady who condescends to burn one's beafsteak and to parboil one's potatoes will not enter the laundry or the dining-room, while the other maid (or maids) would join the family in general starvation before so far forgetting her 'place' as to cook a single meal. But what can be expected of the rank and file of the modern world when the leaders of American life, men in the professions and in those higher institutions which prepare for the professions, have seemingly gone mad upon the question of specialization? Like the gypsy-moth, the specialist was imported from Europe, either directly or through young men who went there for medical, linguistic or other higher studies; and many a green tree of scholarship, many a fair, broad field of general culture has been converted by this importation into a naked waste of narrow pedantry."

The specialist has accomplished great things in modern science and the German universities have trained a race of specialists who have pushed forward the boundaries of human knowledge over many new fields of natural truth. The results of their labors have not been barren; the practical applications of the findings of pure science in our own day have lifted many a burden from human shoulders and have brought hitherto undreamed of comforts to the multitude, but the elementary and secondary education of these men was conducted along the

broad lines of culture by teachers who were thoroughly equipped for their work. We have imported specialists from Europe, both directly and indirectly, but in the latter case at least it may be questioned whether we have imported the genuine article. We have begun with the branches and the ripening fruit but have neglected to prepare the root and the trunk. That specialization is necessary to-day every one admits, but if it is to be fruitful it must presuppose in the specialist a broad foundation of general culture. No one is better aware of this fact than Professor Monroe, and he makes his meaning very clear when he says:

"Of course, the time has gone by when any man, no matter how brilliant, can, in Bacon's words, 'take all learning for his province.' But that does not justify the running to an opposite extreme, does not excuse the digging of a hole in the side of a small mound of erudition, getting into the farthest end of it, and maintaining that the tiny patch of sky framed by the mouth of the hole is all of the universe worth while. It is probably necessary that some man should spend his whole life grubbing at a certain obstinate Greek root; but why call him learned, when he is simply industrious? Why reward him with titles and emoluments, and give no scholastic encouragement to the far less erudite man who is nevertheless sending intellectual and moral roots over a wide area of human thought and life?"

Quite true, but it is not as evident that the two things are irreconcilable; they have been combined before now and they are still combined in the really productive scholars of our day. Cardinal Newman stated the case very aptly when he defined a scholar as a man who knows something about everything and everything about some one thing. The living organism gives us the natural law governing the situation. Each organ in the body is differentiated for the more efficient performance of its special function, but were it so constructed that it failed to receive and profit by the special work of all the other organs it would soon lose its efficiency. Definite knowledge gained through the senses and through individual experience consti-

tutes the nucleus which enables the mind to receive and to profit by the work of other minds. And it is the business of elementary and secondary education so to develop this broad cultural basis that will enable the student to receive the light of truth from widely divergent fields and to bring it to bear on the immediate problem of present interest. If in addition to this the student is properly equipped to deal with some hitherto unexplored field of truth, he is entitled to take rank among the builders of science and the teachers of mankind. Society has no emoluments to offer that are too large, no honors that are too great for such a man.

At first sight it might seem that the man who has such a broad cultural training that he may gather into his mind the truths that have been already established in widely divergent fields of human progress is properly equipped to engage in the work of higher education, even though he be totally lacking in the technical equipment which would enable him to add one iota in any line of investigation, but on closer view it may be seen that such a man lacks at least one essential of the proper equipment for fruitful teaching, at least for the fruitful teaching of maturer minds. A recognition of the need of this fecundity in the teacher of mature minds renders it impossible for us to wholly agree with Professor Monroe when he says:

"The curse of American scholarship and of American education is the Ph. D. For in exalting this decoration of the specialist, we are repeating the error of the Schoolmen, who confounded erudition, which dries up the soul, with real wisdom, which expands man into almost the very image of the All-Wise. Yet this hall-mark of erudition is to-day practically essential as a key to a faculty position; and it is so, not because there seems any valid educational reason for it, but largely because it is required in Germany and looks well in the prospectus."

The Professor's acquaintance with the Schoolmen and their work is evidently somewhat limited. These scholars were anything but narrow specialists; they came much nearer to Bacon's ideal of taking all learning for their province. Of course they

were but laying the foundations; their resources were comparatively meager, but it will tax modern scholarship severely to produce men with as broad a spirit, or men capable of accomplishing so much with resources as limited as theirs. But Professor Monroe is not directly concerned with the Schoolmen or their work. His statement that there is no valid educational reason for the Ph. D. degree as an essential requisite for a faculty position in our colleges is, however, a matter which concerns us immediately, and we do not find ourselves in a position to agree with him. It is not the Ph. D. degree but the abuse of it that should be reprobated; it is not the having of a Ph. D. degree but the granting of it to men who are not properly equipped for a position in a college or university faculty that is deserving of censure. Where the Ph. D. degree means what it should mean, it is a guarantee of the specialist's equipment in some one line of research work, but in addition to this it is a guarantee of a liberal education and broad culture, for without this the specialist's training is both premature and injurious. It is, in reality, with this premature and injudicious specialization that Professor Monroe is quarreling and in this we heartily agree with him. Moreover, few who are acquainted with the actual situation will be disposed to question the prevalence of this unwise specialization in our American universities. In order to get the coveted Ph. D. degree, Professor Monroe says truthfully that hundreds of young fellows are starving themselves and impoverishing their parents. "To get it, they are pursuing so-called special investigations, by counting the number of adverbial clauses in Shakespeare, or by sending out questionnaires regarding the proportion of children who twiddle their thumbs. Having scraped together this fatuous information, they are spending much time and money in having it printed, in order that another doctoral dissertation may be added to the dustiest shelves of the college library. And these most precious years of a man's life, these years in which the youth ought to be learning how to broaden his mind and capacity, how to deal with men, how to handle his faculties, his tongue and himself—these the poor fellow is selling

for this mess of pottage with which to feed the trustees of some lesser or greater university. Having been admitted to the teaching staff of the university, the fledgeling Ph. D. if he is to hold his place, must produce something and that quickly. But since his days, as a subordinate teacher, are mainly taken up in such intellect-killing work as correcting thousands of themes or counting the apparatus in the laboratory, how is he to get that breadth, experience and wisdom which alone can make what he is expected to produce of any value to the world? Half-starved physically and wholly starved intellectually and socially, his only alternative is to specialize still more, digging, like a woodpecker, into some wormhole of erudition in the hope of extracting from it a maggot large enough to placate the learned university public accustomed thus to be fed by young Doctors of Philosophy. This digging is politely called research; but it is the sorriest counterfeit of the genuine thing, being but perfunctory and profitless grubbing. True research must be founded upon wide scholarship, upon profound knowledge of men, and upon extensive acquaintance with the world of letters and of things. To compel such callow men as these to specialize is to condemn them to intellectual suicide and in so doing to kill true scholarship."

There is little to disagree with in all this. Specialization without a broad basis of receptive scholarship is not education and it should not entitle any man to a position in a university faculty or to the emoluments of scholarship and above all it should not entitle him to shape educational policies which affect the lives of all our people. That the number of these callow specialized men in our university faculties is very large, and daily growing larger, is the really alarming fact. In this view also we are in entire agreement with Professor Monroe. "But it is these men, as a rule, who become professors and heads of departments, it is they who determine the atmosphere and the trend of the colleges, it is this type of specialist who is setting the standard of learning and of scholarship for America."

It is not in our universities and colleges alone that these dwarfed and narrow specialists exert their influence and set

up their narrow standards. Within the last few decades our universities have assumed the control of education outside their immediate sphere. There is a well-defined movement on the part of the universities to control both secondary and elementary education. This is done in various ways. First through a system of affiliations by which those schools that allow themselves to be governed by the university ideals are allowed to send their pupils without examination into the university. Secondly, universities are assuming control of the professional training of the teachers for the institutions of lower grade. Finally, they are producing the text-books and the professional literature that is going into all our schools. In this way, for good or for evil, the university population puts its stamp upon all our schools and sets up its ideal as that towards which all workers in the field of education must strive. For this reason every teacher and every pupil and every parent who sends his children to a public school of any grade is personally concerned with the character of the men who are chosen to fill positions in our university faculties. That these men must be specialists is very generally agreed, and this not merely because it looks well in the catalogue or because men holding similar positions in Germany are specialists, but because a man who is building the structure of truth in any science speaks to his pupils with authority. The divine fire of enthusiasm which carries him on to successful achievement will light similar fires in the breasts of the pupils who gather around him. No man of mere erudition, however wide, no man of mere experience, however extended, but whose systematic knowledge has come to him wholly from others, can ever take the place of the real specialist. With this contention the Professor will hardly take issue, for he says. "There are only two kinds of simon-pure specialists allowable: the genius who has such a volume of treasure to bestow that every minute of his life should be devoted to dispensing it; and the man who is given the power of concentrated digging and who is vouchsafed no other ability. The latter will grub out the absolutely essential minutiae without which learning cannot advance. The former will call down

from heaven those divine fires which are to keep civilization aflame. The number of these specialists, however, is, in comparison with the university population, infinitesimal; and the great mass of educated men need, not concentration, but expansion, an intellectual highway, not a groove. Of course, every man who hopes to amount to anything must specialize in some degree. He must have a vocation and must strive towards the highest achievement in that specialty, but he must have in addition, avocations to broaden and harmonize and sweeten him; and even his vocation must be founded upon such a knowledge of men and of life that—at least before his fortieth year—he could take up any other vocation and succeed in that."

If Professor Monroe is correct in his statement that the number of real specialists in our university population is infinitesimal, and we suspect that he is not far from the truth, the fact is deplorable indeed. But this would not justify us in despairing of a remedy unless we hold, as the Professor seems to, that the specialist is a genius who is born and not made and whose flight is seldom directed towards this earth.

It is the business of a university to form specialists of both orders mentioned by the Professor, and there is in reality not so wide a difference between them as he would have us believe. Genius comes very near being the power to work. Concentrated grubbing, if it is directed along proper lines and into broadening fields, will seldom fail to produce the real research worker whose life and work are an inspiration to all with whom he comes in contact. But in his production care must be taken to develop his receptive powers first. He must have a liberal education of the right kind that will give him broad sympathies with his fellow men in every walk of life and with the workers in every field of research. If he is allowed to specialize before he has reached maturity in this way, failure and narrowness will be the inevitable results. This is in reality the core of the whole difficulty. We have attempted to make specialists out of a multitude of young men who lack maturity of judgment and the right kind of a liberal education and these

men are now dominating our universities and shaping their educational policies, and what is still more deplorable, they are dominating our colleges and high schools. "The college teaching of literature, for example, is being dried and mummified by specialists until the study of human thought has become a sort of subterranean, philological treadmill, with never a glimpse into the wide, high, lasting things to which literature should lead. College philosophy is, as a rule, but a comparative anatomy of dead and gone systems, never, as it should be, an inspiration to wisdom, leading to the love of and search for truth. And how seldom is the teaching of science a real search into fundamental principles and an exposition of all-embracing truths!" We quite agree with the Professor in this. "'Tis true, and pity 'tis 'tis true." But it is true simply because narrow and uncultured specialists too frequently hold the chairs of science in our universities. It has been taken for granted by university presidents and boards of regents that any man who knows chemistry is competent to teach chemistry, as if any one were competent to teach anything in a university who is wanting in genuine culture and in broad scholarship.

"It may be an exaggeration to say that American scholarship is in a deplorable condition; but every American must acknowledge that we do not produce our due proportion of great men. There are, of course, many excuses which may properly be offered; but one of the fundamental reasons is that we permit our promising youth to specialize too soon. Consequently their scholarship, to paraphrase Bacon, is that of boys, who can talk but who cannot generate. To produce men with the loins from which will spring great contributions to human thought and action we must gradually make over our whole system of elementary education so that youth, instead of being put through vast machines for imparting facts, shall be put into small classes under intellectually strong women, and especially under intellectually and morally strong men, who shall really develop that boy's mind and character. We must then persuade the college authorities not to turn callow undergraduates into a jungle of courses taught by specialists, but to

lay out for those boys really developing and strengthening coherent work which shall make them acquainted, as far as they can learn at that time of life, with men, society, philosophy and genuine wisdom."

But the question is how are we going to get 'college authorities' competent to map out the right kind of education for our youth if they themselves are tainted with the 'specialist blight'? In last analysis our one need is the teacher with a real vocation for teaching and not a hireling, who, from the time he doffed his knickerbockers was pushed through an educational machine with the sole aim of acquiring a Ph. D. degree as soon as possible so that he might be eligible for a position in a college or a university faculty.

But if our colleges and universities are suffering from the wrong kind of teacher, what must be said of our elementary and secondary schools? And if the university presents the spectacle of a 'jungle' of electives, what is to be said of the grammar school that loads its pupils with a multitude of segregated courses? The child-mind is fed on unrelated fragments of truth at a time when its one need is unity. When he should be taught to see the underlying truths that link together the diverse phenomena that fill his senses, he is loaded with facts and verbal statements which leave no room in his growing mind for the food on which his life and future fecundity depend.

The university professor is, alas, too often a narrow specialist whose faculties were blighted by premature specialization. But men of even narrow calibre have abandoned the work of teaching in our grammar schools and they are rapidly leaving the field to women even in the high schools. What chance, therefore, is there that the generation of boys who are being instructed in our elementary and secondary schools will furnish forth their quota of thinkers and teachers, what chance is there that they will be given that broad culture and that divine hunger for truth which should characterize the real specialist 'who will call down fire from heaven'?

In the *American Magazine* for November, William Lee

Howard, M. D., in an article entitled "Helpless Youths and Useless Men, Are they the Result of False Education? deals with conditions in our elementary and secondary schools from a medical standpoint. He tells some very unpalatable truths which should prove helpful in remedying present conditions. The Doctor does not address himself to the technical educationist, but clothes his thoughts in language that cannot be misunderstood by the masses of the people whose children are being educated in the public schools. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between the Doctor and the father of a hopeless graduate of a high school.

"Doctor, what is the matter with my son? Is he stupid or lazy? Is he degenerate?"

"Neither stupid nor degenerate, but helpless because he has grown up to eighteen years of age uninstructed; unskilled in anything that will make for a successful career. He needs educating."

"But, Doctor, he has had the best we could give him; he has just graduated from the high school."

"Doubtless, but consider for a moment the injustice that has been done your son. The curriculum at the American high school is not one for a democratic country; it gives a certain privileged number of youths—a very small number—a preparation for college entrance. But how about the boy who is to start in business, trade or industrial occupation? Does *he* get a four-year course preparatory to this work? You have come to me for professional advice about your son. You say he can find no position that suits him; nothing to do. He has become indifferent and has habits that, you fear, will bring him to no good. . . . Your son is typical of thousands of helpless youths in this country to-day. He has been unfitted for the work nature intended him to do; not fitted for the work he is capable of doing. To send him to college would only make matters worse. . . . What is his present attitude? Discontented; unable to know what he wants. For four years he has been left to wander amid females and their ideas of life. His eyes and hands have been allowed to go untrained; his mind,

instead of being drilled to observe facts and apply their lessons, instead of realizing that man must make proficiency in some line or fail as a producer, he has been absorbing the merry-go-round ideas of girls. He has no serious ideas of life; has a false pride due to his associations and the doughty smatterings of French and Latin imparted to him by female teachers. Of course he won't go into a carpenter shop in this town NOW. He feels that such a step would be humiliating. Think of the false ideas he has absorbed! To work with his hands is beneath HIS social level, so he remains useless and helpless—a parasite. It is from this class we specialists get the dipsomaniac, the despondent, and the useless—the men who go to the dump heap. Whose fault is this? You fathers; every one of you. You send your boy to school—to the public schools—without any care or investigation concerning his tastes, his teachers, or how he is to be made into a useful man. You pay your school tax and think your duty ends here."

Doctor Howard continues in this strain to deal very vigorously with coeducation and the feminization of the teaching staff in the grammar schools and particularly in the high schools. The conditions he complains of are not exceptional. "Look at it now in a common-sense light. When your boy graduated there were in his class nineteen young women and five boys. Naturally the studies were what the girls wanted; not what the boys should have had. The women were well established in physiologic life; the youths adolescents. Don't forget this distinction, this differentiation of the sexes, for it is a very important matter when you are told that the girls go far ahead in their studies. From the first year in the high school the boys begin to drop out. They are dissatisfied. After the second year there are about three girls to one boy. In one school whose graduating exercises I attended last spring, there were fourteen young women and one anaemic, sheepish youth. What training do you think that lad obtained for a start in life? Of course he had heard enough to become a milliner or a dressmaker, but that's about all. If a woman had come to you four years ago and suggested that you send your boy to

a girls' school, you would have sat up and taken notice. The average high schools are girls' schools, to which a few boys are unfortunately sent."

Whatever views one may hold with reference to the policy of coeducation and the feminization of our elementary and secondary schools, no one acquainted with the present school situation will question the fact that we are here confronted with two of the main elements affecting many of the most pressing problems in the field of American education.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Cosmographiae Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller, in facsimile, followed by the four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci with their translation into English; to which are added Waldseemüller's two World Maps of 1507, with an introduction by Prof. Joseph Fischer, S. J., and Prof. Franz von Weiser. Edited by Prof. Charles George Herbermann. Published by The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1907. 8o., pp. 151.

It can safely be said that in recent years nothing more important in "Americana" has appeared in English than the exquisite little volume before us. It contains: *a*) the Latin text with an English version of the "Cosmographiæ Introductio" of Martin Waldseemüller, a German Catholic priest of St. Dié in Alsace, published in 1507 and containing a minute account of the terrestrial globe, its circles, axes, zones, its climates and winds, general divisions, seas, islands, and various surface distances; *b*) an English version of the "Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci," made from a French version dedicated to René II, Duke of Lorraine, and published with the "Cosmographia" as above described. This French version was made from the Latin; indeed it is probable that the true original of these "voyages" was in Italian, and was dedicated to Pietro Soderini, the famous Gonfaloniere of Florence, an intimate friend and fellow-student of the discoverer; *c*) the important Waldseemüller world-map that accompanied his "Cosmographia" and on which for the first time the name "America" was given to the new world by Waldseemüller, in honor of Amerigo Vespucci whose recent voyages (1497–1503), the latter then thought, had done so much to make known these vast regions, also in imitation of the (female) names of "Europa" and "Asia." The "Cosmographia" of Waldseemüller soon spread far and wide "in numberless prints, copies and versions." The great world-map itself was everywhere reproduced in nearly unchanged form for almost a century. It is therefore to this famous book and more famous map of 1507 that we owe the distinctive name of the New World. The original words of the "Cosmographia" are (in this facsimile at p. xxv):

> "*Quarta orbis pars (quam quia Americus invenit, Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam nuncupare licet),*"

and at p. xxx :

> "*Quarta pars per Americum Vesputium (ut in sequentibus audietur) inventa est, quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore sagacis ingenii viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam dicendam, cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina.*

The map, originally printed in one thousand copies, had gradually disappeared and was thought to be lost, though reduced early copies lately came to light and gave a fair notion of its appearance. In 1900 however, an original copy of the map was discovered by Father Joseph Fischer, S. J., in the library of Schloss Wolfegg in Würtemberg, belonging to the Princes of Waldburg. It was soon edited by the discoverer and Prof. Fr. von Wieser (Die älteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika aus dem Jahre 1507, etc., Innsbruck, 1903), and as here reproduced amply justifies the sensation produced by its first publication. The editors rightly call attention to its impressive size, abundant contents and the artistic merit of its adornment. "It consists," they say, "of twelve sections engraved on wood, and is arranged in three zones, each of which contains four sections. Each section measures to its edge 18 x 25½ inches. The map covering thus a space of about 36 square feet represents the earth's form in a modified Ptolemaic coniform projection with curved meridians. On the lower edge, in capital letters, the title is thus inscribed : "Universalis Cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorumque illustrationes." Though neither the name of the author, nor the date or place of its publication are given on this copy, circumstantial evidence proves, without the shadow of a doubt, that we have here Waldseemüller's long lost large map of the earth belonging to his "Cosmographiae Introductio" of 1507. In the construction of this map the author made use of the Ulm Ptolemy of 1486 and some more recent additions (tabulæ modernæ), also of Ezlaub's map for travellers, of maps based on the travels of Marco Polo, and certain sea-charts (cartæ marinæ) of the Spaniards and Portuguese ; notably, however, of the map (portulan) of Nicholas de Canerio (Harrisse, *Discovery of America*, pl. xiv), from which Waldseemüller borrowed the outlines and "legends" for the coasts of the New World and South Africa. We learn also (24–26) that fragments of a globe-map (in solido) constructed by Waldseemüller for his "Cosmographia" are extant at Vienna in the Hauslab-Lichtenstein collection. Curi-

ously enough, at a later date Waldseemüller became convinced that Amerigo Vespucci was not the true discoverer of the New World, and attempted to withdraw from circulation the name America, by which, of course, he meant only the southern portion of the continent. The world-map, however, though apparently never reprinted on account of its great size and the quantity of wood-blocks needed, had been so widely disseminated within a year from its publication that it fixed forever the name of the New World. It is worthy of note that some thirty years later (1538) a Belgian Catholic scholar, the famous Gerhard Mercator, extended the name to the entire continent, and established finally the geographical terms of North and South America, "Americae pars septentrionalis," and "Americae pars meridionalis." The foregoing is taken freely from the thirty pages of very interesting introduction to this work by Father Fischer, S. J., and Prof. Fr. von Wieser, (translated from the German by Prof. L. H. Hunt), in which the reader will find curious and valuable information concerning Martin Waldseemüller (latinized Ilacomilus or Hylacomilus), the little circle of humanists attached about 1500 to the provincial court of Duke René, and in particular the origin and character of the now famous cartographic work that soon spread through every book-market of Germany, and finally of Europe, the portentous name "America." The English version of the "Cosmographia," the first ever made, seems particularly well done, and is by Prof. Edmund Burke of the City College, New York ; nor was it an easy task. Similar praise may be extended to the new English version of "The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci" done by Dr. M. E. Cosenza (for the literary history of these famous letters, see Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 55 sqq.). It goes without saying that all lovers of "Americana" are henceforth deeply indebted to the scholarly "akribie," good taste, and unassuming patient industry of the editor, Dr. Herbermann. He has restored to us in this elegant fac-simile a real "cimelium" of geographical lore, what may well be called the first geographical primer of the New World, the first manual in which the marvellous information of Columbus and his imitators was thrown into popular form, made accessible to the cultivated and literary society of Germany and France, and thence disseminated through Europe. How strange that the all-pervading Humanism of this stirring age should have to its credit, *inter tot alia*, the christening, in due classic terminology, of the vast spaces immemorially hidden from the ken of mankind, awaiting their true human name from the language of Caesar and the pen of a Catholic priest !

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Bibliotheque de Theologie Historique. La Theologie de Bellarmin. Par J. de la Servière, S. J. Paris, Beauchesne, 1908. Pp. xxvii–764. Price, 8.50 frcs.

Cardinal Bellarmine was the most illustrious figure in what is known as the Roman controversy. A special monograph devoted to this champion of orthodoxy is, therefore, most welcome and needed. The general study of Turmel, in which he collects the proofs from Scripture and the Fathers commonly urged by Roman theologians of the past three centuries in refutation of their Protestant and Gallican opponents, left something to be desired ; it was the life-size portrait of the man and the theologian—Bellarmine was equally both—who fought the whole fight, one might almost say, single-handed, and did not come out second best. One of the most commendable features of the present volume, apart from its painstaking reconstruction and judicious, tempered appreciation of the theologian, is the number of interesting sidelights it casts on the personality of the man who had such a checkered career as professor and rector of the Roman College, as chairman of the committee appointed to revise the Ratio Studiorum, as member of the Holy Office which tried Galileo, as leading figure in the debates of the Congregation de Auxiliis, and as cardinal archbishop of Capua.

The author follows the plan adopted by Bellarmine in the "Controversies," and rightly so, since it is in this ripe fruit of years devoted almost exclusively to teaching that the real personal thought of the great controversialist is to be found. Cares of office afterward compelled him to draw upon the reserve fund of information previously acquired and to repeat himself. Bellarmine, the author says, was not an historian, but a controversialist. He claimed no originality. He was a collector of scattered information which he organized for purpose of attack and defense. He was content to seek the common points in which the Catholic schools of thought agreed and so did not take upon himself the defence of individual systems ; except in the case of the controversy on grace where he became a partisan, but a partisan who had something definite and clear to say to both contending parties, namely, that actual grace should be conceived as a transient motion, and not as a quality or act previous to the operation of the soul itself. Bellarmine is sometimes represented as an opponent of subtlety, but he showed on occasion that he could cross swords with the keenest of the dialecticians whom he easily surpassed in other respects by the vast amount which he possessed of positive information. He was loyal in

exposing his adversary's position, so much so, that he was accused of propagating the very doctrines which he demolished. His arguments of reason are drawn from moral rather than metaphysical considerations, and his style, condemned by some and praised by many, was, when all is said, clear, to the point, personal, and interesting. His theory that the civil power is of divine origin, conferred on the people as a whole, and not on any particular individual, caused a flutter among the upholders of the divine right of kings, and grieved the first James of England sorely. At his best on the questions of the Church, the Roman Pontiff, Grace, and Justification, all of which formed the centre of Protestant attack and called forth his best efforts of defence, Bellarmine was a digest of all the information that preceded him and the source of most that was to come into use after his time.

A sketch of Bellarmine's theological career together with the dates and occasions of his works; a bibliography setting forth the sources which he consulted in preparation for his task; a very useful alphabetical index, and a good table of contents accompany the volume and make the access of the student easy to the vast amount of information which it contains. In addition the author points out as he goes along the value of the sources which Bellarmine did not always control with discriminating sense, and shows where quantity of material rather than quality appealed to the great controversialist. Viewed as a whole, the volume is a fair, sympathetic, judicious presentation of the subject, and one which has both use and interest for all students of historical theology.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Kirchliches Handbuch, in Verbindung mit Domvikar P. Weber, Dr. Theol. W. Liese und Dr. Theol. K. Meyer, herausgegeben von H. A. Krose, S. J. Erster Band, 1907–1908, Freiburg and St. Louis, Herder, 1908. 8o, pp. xv and 471.

The Herder house in Freiburg has undertaken, under the aforementioned editorship, the preparation of a periodical work that shall give regularly the latest statistical information concerning the Catholic Church (chiefly in the German Empire), its German membership, general and diocesan; the elements of its growth and the obstacles thereto, the ecclesiastical administration, the secular and regular clergy, ecclesiastical institutions, charities, associations; legislation, ecclesiastical and German-civil, in so far as it affects the

Church ; the missions, domestic and foreign ; finally, the more recent conditions of the Catholic Church in other countries. In other words, it is proposed to publish henceforth a counterpart of the German Protestant "Kirchliches Jahrbuch" that for thirty-five years has furnished all desirable orientation on the general conditions of German Protestantism. The volume before us represents the initial attempt at this grave, responsible, and difficult undertaking, and may be declared an unqualified success. It does not seem possible that Catholic Germany, having once seen the value of such a statistical periodical, can fail to support it with the usual vigor, accuracy, and thoroughness. The work is divided into six parts. Part I presents the actual organization of the general ecclesiastical administration at Rome ; the pope, cardinals, congregations and commissions, prelatitial authorities, diplomatic relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, heads of religious orders and congregations at Rome (names and addresses). Then follows a summary description of the diocesan administration in Germany (bishop, chapter, collegiate churches, diocesan authorities, diocesan institutions). Part II (63–197) furnishes the confessional statistics of the German Empire, and of each of its principal states (Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Würtemberg, Alsace-Lorraine) at the end of 1905, the birth-rate, Catholic and Protestant, from 1875 to 1900, losses and gains (Austritte and Übertritte), the statistics of mixed marriages in 1905 and 1906, parochial life and growth of the priesthood, Catholic professors and students at the German universities in 1907–1908, the condition of the religious orders in Prussia and Bavaria in 1906, the confessional statistics according to electoral divisions. Part III describes (212–284) the charitable life of Catholic Germany, *i. e.*, purely religious charity ; protective associations for the poor, the sick and the young ; charitable institutions ; socio-charitable unions (servants, apprentices, workmen, students, teachers, priests, etc.); associations of a cultural character (Görres Society, German Association for Christian Art, Albertus-Magnus Union, etc.) and of a moral-popular kind (temperance, total abstinence, prevention of public immorality, etc.); finally, the socio-charitable central unions (Volksverein, Frauenbund, Charitasverband). Part IV (285–331) gives an outline of the public life of Catholicism in Austria-Hungary and France during 1907. Part V furnishes a conspectus of Catholic missionary work in Asia, Australia and Oceania, Africa, and the New World ; there is also a comparative study of Catholic and Protestant missions (336–361). In Part VI the reader will find a German version of the important acts of

general ecclesiastical legislation during 1907, also the more important acts of German diocesan legislation, the civil legislation concerning the Catholic Church in the German Empire, and a list of the official diocesan press (Amtsblatt, Diozesanblatt, Pastoralblatt, etc.), also the various collections of diocesan statutes, including the special legislation for the army. A lengthy appendix (395–471) gives the list of parishes and special chaplaincies (Seelsorgebezirke) for every German diocese in 1907. This rapid outline suffices to show the value of the new "Kirchliches Handbuch." It is simply indispensable for any one desirous of a first-hand acquaintance with Catholic conditions in Germany. Let us hope that the editors will be so well supported, officially and unofficially, and the publishers so well encouraged by the demand for the work, that it will at once become an annual publication. In a few years these volumes will be the best mirror of Catholic growth in Germany, and the most reliable work of reference on all the public manifestations of Catholic life in the Empire. Meanwhile, it is a very useful book even outside of Germany, if only for its large conspectus of the Catholic missions, due to the pen of the editor, Fr. Krose, S. J., whose "Katholische Missionstatistik" (Freiburg, 1908) is one of the most important recent contributions to the history of Catholic missionary effort in the last two or three decades.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, or Defence of the Seven Sacraments, by Henry VIII, King of England. Re-edited, with an introduction, by Rev. Louis O'Donovan, S. T. L., preceded by a preface by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. New York, Benziger, 1908. 8o, pp. 479.

It was a happy thought of Fr. O'Donovan to reprint the original Latin text of the famous work in which Henry VIII, yet a Catholic, refuted the monstrous falsehoods of Luther's "Babylonic Captivity," and which won for the royal theologian the pontifical title of "Defender of the Faith" that the English sovereign yet bears (see the pamphlet "Popery on every Coin of the Realm" in *Publications of the London Catholic Truth Society*). Copies of this text had become rare. Equally praiseworthy was it to add an English version by one Thomas Webster, dating from the end of the seventeenth century (London, 1687, quarto, and 1688, octavo) but corrected in orthography and punctuation, and otherwise slightly modified. This cor-

rected version was printed at Dublin in 1821 (also in 1814, Gillow, *Bibliogr. Dict. of English Catholics*, III, 403) as an appendix to "The Commandments and the Seven Sacraments Explained," a work that goes under the name of Rev. John (later Bishop) Hornihold, 1706–1778 (rectè Hornyold, according to Gillow, *loc. cit.*) The Irish editor of this version saw in it an excellent historico-theological defence of the Catholic doctrine explained in the aforesaid work attributed to Bishop Hornyold (London, 8o, 1747–1750, 2d edition, London, 1770). It does not appear that this English version of the "Assertio" was included in either of these editions of the aforesaid work, nor does Fr. O'Donovan indicate any eighteenth-century reprint of the version, which seems, however, to have become popular in Ireland during the first part of the nineteenth century, for in 1836 we meet another Dublin reprint of the aforesaid "Commandments and Sacraments Explained." The same work seems also to have been reprinted at Baltimore in 1858. It does not appear therefore that Dr. Hornyold is responsible for the republication of the Webster version of 1687, but rather the unknown Irish editor of 1814 who first added it to the work of Hornyold (that incidentally Gillow, *op. cit.*, III, 403, says was really written by one Rev. John Johnson). Besides editing this reprint of the Latin original and the aforesaid English version, Fr. O'Donovan contributes a useful synopsis of the "Assertio," and discourses learnedly on its occasion, origin and motive ; authorship ; editions, and versions ; presentation to the Pope ; the title Defender of the Faith—hereditary or personal ; criticism and effects of the "Assertio." In this introduction he has collected and disposed under the above headings many valuable notes concerning the literary history of this curious work. Whoever undertakes a more formal examination of all the problems connected with the "Assertio" will find that Fr. O'Donovan, amid the daily cares of heavy parish work, has blazed the way for him in more than one direction. Indeed, there is in this introduction as much valuable material as could easily be worked up into another book, equal in size to the one before us. It is to be hoped that Fr. O'Donovan will return again to this task in a special work and elucidate fully, not only the special history of this rare text, but also the entire theological defence of Catholic faith in England during the decade of 1520–1530. No serious dissertation has yet appeared on this subject, which awaits a student as willing as Fr. O'Donovan to devote himself with affection to certain bibliographical "minutiae" and dry literary researches that entail hard labor, but are amply rewarded in the end, furnishing as they do a

solid basis for future investigations. The very useful bibliography would have been better placed at the beginning of the volume. To it might be added the small but learned brochure of the late Redemptorist, Fr. T. E. Bridgett, "The Defender of the Faith: The Royal Title, Its History and Its Value" (London, 1885).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Textual Concordance of the Holy Scriptures, arranged especially for use in preaching, by Rev. Thomas David Williams. Benziger, New York, 1908. Pp. 848.

The author says of this work that it is a textual concordance of Holy Scripture, arranged especially for use in preaching; hence it contains only such subjects or headings as are likely to be of practical use, and only such texts as clearly and strongly bear upon the subjects to which they refer. Moreover, it does not aim at being exhaustive, but only at furnishing under each heading a moderate number of texts. He further calls attention to the difference between his work and "The Divine Armoury" of Fr. (Kenelm) Vaughan, and the "Thesaurus Biblicus" of Fr. Lambert. The bulk of his work, he goes on to say, "is the result of frequent perusals of the sacred text and was compiled in the course of seven years, neither by reference to, nor by the aid of, any other work of this or a similar nature." In general the compiler seems to have remained faithful to the limitations he thus put upon himself, and his work is a commendable example of priestly industry and zeal for the salvation of souls. Primarily, of course, it is meant for priests, but it can also render good service in Catholic families as a judicious guide to the reading of Holy Scripture and a help to the intelligence of sermons and instructions. The author says that it is made up of two parts, one moral and the other dogmatic. But in the moral part we meet with Grace, Prayer, Providence, Redeemer, Redemption, that seem out of place according to the aforesaid division. Moreover, while the pagination runs on unbroken, there is no table of contents to show where the doctrinal part begins. This general division and the additional "appendix" might well be exchanged for a strictly alphabetical arrangement; the dogmatic passages could easily be marked with an asterisk or other conventional sign. An index of the titles or headings would aid the ordinary reader to see at a glance whether the subject he looks for is to be found in the book. It is true, a very good

"index rerum" supplies, to some extent, the lack of an index of titles. Not many possess or would frequently use the bulky Concordance of Dutripon (Paris, 1851), or that of the Jesuit Peultier and his confrères Etienne and Gantois (Paris, 1897) ; hence the utility of a work like this. For the publishers it is a creditable piece of bookmaking ; the type is bold and clear, the paper heavy, the binding solid and elegant. The book deserves a wide circulation among clergy and laity as a practical key to the incredible wealth of Holy Scripture with whose praises from the lips of Leo XIII Fr. Williams not inaptly introduces his work to the public.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Greek Fathers. By Adrian Fortescue. The Catholic Truth Society, London, 1908. 8o, pp. xvi and 255.

It is not all the Greek Fathers whose lives and writings are here described, but the chief ones : St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. John of Damascus. In other words we have in this little work a good section of Greek Patrology. Of course such a work calls for a suitable re-setting of the writers in the contemporary life, religious and ecclesiastical, *i. e.* for a certain amount of ecclesiastico-historical narrative, and thus becomes at once a kind of church history of the period, only viewed from the angle of the patrologist. Possibly, the literary interest of the Greek Fathers deserves more space than is here given to them. English works, though not a few are given, might be more abundantly quoted ; unfortunately, however, our distinctively Catholic efforts in this province are too rare. There are, actually, not a few excellent non-Catholic works in our language as well deserving of mention as many non-Catholic works in German. The narrative is fluent and compact, often picturesque, and sometimes offers personal touches and reminiscences. Foot-notes convey much useful information that could not easily be fitted into the text. The literary paragraphs are all meaty, quite accurate and succinct, and are calculated to attract the reader to a more intimate study of the works of the great witnesses to Christian truth in the Greek Orient during the most trying centuries of the formation of Christendom. This work of Dr. Fortescue is a useful vade-mecum for young ecclesiastics in our seminaries, and can be read with profit by those whose seminary days are now far-away reminiscences.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lettres sur les Etudes Ecclesiastiques. Par Mgr. Mignot, archevêque d'Albi. J. Gabalda et Cie, Paris, 1908, 90 Rue Bonaparte. 8o, pp. 324.

The literature destined to affect immediately the formation of youthful ecclesiastics grows apace. Since the excellent "Timotheusbriefe" of Dr. Hettinger and "The Eternal Priesthood" of Cardinal Manning, a considerable "bibliotheca" of such works has appeared, most of which pay great attention to the intellectual formation of the young priest. A special value attaches to such guides when they come from those officially charged with ecclesiastical government and the formation of the priesthood, *i. e.*, from the prelates of the Church. Mgr. Mignot, archbishop of Albi, has in this work collected a number of former discourses and pastorals bearing on ecclesiastical studies. They are entitled : "Etudes littéraires et scientifiques ; La philosophie ; L'apologétique contemporaine ; L'histoire ; L'apologétique et la critique biblique ; La méthode de la théologie. In an exquisite preface the distinguished author reminds his readers that he offers here no formal treatment of the great subjects mentioned ; his pages are really only "libres causeries" destined to arouse legitimate curiosity, to lay before the youthful ecclesiastic the actual status of certain great departments of theology, also the perils that now threaten Catholic faith ; thereby he hopes, "the minds of many will be moved to deeper reflection, to grasp the necessity of thorough examination of the bases of faith, and to embark on the way of solid studies, at once progressive and prudent. Such studies can only aid the priest in his office of catechist and apologist ; they may also serve to quiet certain timorous minds by making clear to them the limits of human knowledge and the essential doctrines that rationalist criticism can never affect." These discourses and pastorals of Mgr. Mignot are solid in content, eloquent in diction, and timely in mental attitude. It is needless to say that they may be profitably read in conjunction with the late pontifical pronouncements on Modernism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, etc. Tenth edition by Clemens Bannwart, S. J. Freiburg and St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908. 8o, pp. xxvii and 628. Price, $1.75.

All teachers and students of theology will welcome this new edition

of Dr. Heinrich Denzinger's "Enchiridion," so well and favorably known as a documentary "summa" of the principal decisions of ecclesiastical authority in matters of Catholic faith and discipline. Since its first appearance in 1853 it has gone through several editions, and since 1883 began to take on a greater importance, owing to various improvements and additions, the ninth edition (1899) being particularly welcomed. In this tenth edition Father Bannwart, S. J., has so added to the serviceableness of this work that his name deserves henceforth to be classed with that of Denzinger as co-author. Large additions have been made to the first section on the "Symbolum Apostolicum" and, of course, the section on the important decrees and decisions of the reigning pontiff, Pius X, is entirely new. All questions and references have been re-examined at first hand; the scripture text is put in italics; the decrees and decisions of pope and councils are redisposed in strict chronological order; the exact modern style of quoting canonical texts is used; cross references abound to all numbers that treat similar subjects; important words or phrases are spaced; each page-title shows the chronology of the material there printed; the decisions of Roman Congregations are briefly summarized. Above all, a systematic index exhibits all the dogmatic, moral, canonical and apologetic subjects treated in the volume, but in such a manner that the reader can at once find all the numbers that the subject calls for, while (a happy innovation) the more important numbers stand out in bold type. An alphabetical index closes the volume and permits the reader to find any name or subject mentioned. The original sources of all decrees, decisions, definitions, declarations, are regularly given in the best modern style; here and there also appear some bibliographical items of more than ordinary value. Finally, a chronological index and an index of the abbreviations used in quoting these documents (index siglorum) leave but little to be desired in the way of "subsidia" for teacher or student. As it stands the work is truly a "speculum" or mirror of the Catholic faith, from the viewpoint of long centuries of theological conflict and development. It is a long cry to this work from the three large volumes of d'Argentré's "Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus, etc.", covering the period from 1100 to 1735. A comparison of the two exhibits will show the great improvement made by modern Catholic theologians in completeness and compactness of exposé, lucid disposition of material, sense of proportion, and of relative importance. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that if a Catholic missionary were lost in the forests of Africa with only the Scriptures, his breviary, Bareille's new commentary on the

"Catéchisme du Concile de Trente" (Montrejeau, 1906) and Fr. Bannwart's edition of Denzinger, he would possess from his point of view the "Wesen des Christenthums," *i. e.*, the richest sources of Christian thought and life, the Word of God and its authoritative interpretation by Holy Church. It may be added that a "Clavis Concordantiarum" enables a comparison between the numbers appended to the documents of this edition and and those used in earlier editions. This is a very important help to Catholic teachers and writers who now meet daily in their authors with references, *e. g.*, to the ninth edition of Denzinger (1899). In view of the foregoing remarks it is plain that in future the only edition of Denzinger that should be quoted in a scientific treatise is this tenth edition. It should, therefore, be in every ecclesiastical library, as one of the indispensable books for which both the publishers and the editor deserve the gratitude of all scholars and scholarly readers.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Ven. P. Ludovici De Ponte, S. J. Meditationes de praecipuis fidei nostrae mysteriis, de hispanico in latinum translatae a Melchiore Trevinnio, S. J. De novo in lucem data cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S. J. Second edition. Freiburg, Herder, 1908. 8o. Parts I–III, pp. 370, 266, 530. $1.10; 95 cents; $1.45.

These three latest volumes of the "Bibliotheca Ascetica Mystica" of the Herder house in Freiburg and St. Louis deserve a place in the library of every Catholic priest. Indeed, so modest is the price of each new volume, and so exquisite the form which this classical ascetic and mystic literature of the Church now takes on, that every ecclesiastic ought to own the entire series. In the past these gems of Catholic spiritual science were out of print, or difficult to purchase; in this new series the best of them will soon be at the disposal of all. We have already called attention to the value of these publications (BULLETIN, 1907, XIII, 304). In the three little volumes before us Fr. Lehmkuhl, himself no mean master of the spiritual life, presents us a new edition of the Meditations of the Venerable Ludovico da Ponte (Luis de la Puente, a Spanish Jesuit, 1554–1624), of international reputation since 1611 when this work was translated from Spanish into Latin at Cologne. The last Latin edition (Nördlingen, 1854), being exhausted, the present edition was in order. In his preface Fr. Lehmkuhl states

briefly the edifying facts of the life of his famous confrère, whose beatification is before the Holy See since 1759. The spiritual excellencies of the "Meditationes" of Da Ponte are so well known that it is unnecessary here to insist on them further than to say that in this new edition they are destined to a renewal of influence on the minds and lives of the younger Catholic clergy, whose predecessors were in no small measure formed to the "viae Domini" by these writings of a great master who was at once the disciple of Baldassare Alvarez the confessor of St. Theresa, and of Francesco Suarez, while afterwards the latter did not disdain to confide his spiritual welfare to the man whom he had initiated into the mysteries of theology.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Last Abbot of Glastonbury and other Essays, by Francis Aidan Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictines. George Bell and Sons, London, 1908. 8o, pp. 329.

The Black Death of 1348 and 1349, by Abbot Gasquet, D. D. George Bell and Sons, London, 1908. 8o, pp. 238.

1. In the first of these works Dom Gasquet reprints some essays long out of print and adds some others. The essay that gives the work its name appeared in 1895, and was soon a rare volume. All lovers of English Benedictine history will welcome it in its new and accessible form. The other essays deal with English Biblical Criticism in the Thirteenth Century, English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century, Two Dinners at Wells in the Fifteenth Century, Some Troubles of a Catholic Family in Penal Times, Abbot Feckenham and Bath, Christian Democracy in Pre-Reformation Times, The Layman in the Pre-Reformation Parish, St. Gregory the Great and England. Dom Gasquet's erudition is vast and various; his narrative style pleasing and familiar, yet dignified as becomes the matter in hand; his choice of subjects timely and helpful; his exposé well-proportioned and rounded. The two papers on English biblical criticism and scholarship in the thirteenth century should be read by every priest and every scholarly person who is interested in medieval Catholic learning; they are in no way inferior to the learned Bishop Stubbs' corresponding account of English Catholic learning in the twelfth century, published in his "Seventeen Lectures on Medieval History."

2. This work of Dom Gasquet was first printed as "The Great Pestilence, etc." (London, 1895), and as such at once took its place

as the classic English account of the awful scourge which fell on Christian Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the general outlines of whose history were eternalized by Boccaccio in the introduction to his Decameron. What Höniger (1882) and Lechner (1884) did for the ravages of this pest in Germany, Dom Gasquet did for England, largely by first hand examination of the episcopal registers of the time, the civil "inquisitiones post mortem," and other archive-materials hitherto little known or little used. The Black Death of 1348 and 1349 with its various recurrences during the latter half of the fourteenth century swept away, it is calculated, about 2,500,000 people in England, and 25,000 ecclesiastics, among them 5,000 beneficed clergymen, canons, parish priests, curates and the like. Together with the Hundred Years War in France (Denifle) and the absence of the popes from Rome (Pastor) this social disaster helps to explain the deplorable condition of religious and ecclesiastical life in many parts of Europe just previous to the Reformation. It lamed particularly, as Dom Gasquet well shows, the great religious orders, several of which were brought to the verge of extinction, and all of which suffered indescribably by the simultaneous loss of multitudes of their oldest and wisest members, in whose place there came, of necessity, youthful, untrained, and inexperienced men, who could only slowly and imperfectly grasp again the original ideals and great traditions of their predecessors. These works of Dom Gasquet, like his Eve of the Reformation (fourth edition), Old English Bible and Other Essays (second edition), Henry the Third and the Church (1216–72), and his classical Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (sixth edition), deserve the widest recognition as historical teaching of a very high order, and Catholic apologetics of a kind that the modern world is not unwilling to listen to and even applaud. It is such works as these that Catholic priests and sisters, and cultivated Catholics generally, should call for at book-stores and help to make known by distributing them as prizes, holiday presents, ordination gifts, even wedding gifts. They are moderate in price and easily accessible. No more serviceable or inspiring present could be made to a young theologian than a complete collection of the writings of the learned Benedictine who has with so much zeal, industry, perseverance and ability shed credit on his ancient order and honored our common Catholic mother.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Espagne Chretienne, par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris, Lecoffre, 1906. 8o, pp. 394.

L'Eglise et L'Orient au Moyen age: Les Croisades, par Louis Bréhier. Paris, Lecoffre, 1907. 8o, pp. 377.

1. These volumes of the "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique" begun some years ago under the inspiration of Leo XIII by the Paris house of Lecoffre (now J. Gabalda et Cie) amply sustain the reputation of the series for fulness and reliability, each volume being, within its limits, an exposé of some period or subject, at once critical and popular in the best sense of both words. Even those well versed in ecclesiastical history may learn not a little from the work of Dom Leclercq on the early history of the Spanish Church, as far as the Battle of Guadalete (711) and the subsequent consolidation of the Arab conquest. There is not a dull page in this masterly outline of the vicissitudes of early Christian thought and life in the Hispanic peninsula, where history and nature have in a remarkable way affected the growth of Christ's kingdom. The reader is at once put on the way of right intelligence of the facts by a preliminary description, brief but orderly and sufficient, of the original sources, ecclesiastical and civil. Only the "summa capita" of a crowded story could be touched in the narrow space of a small octavo, yet nothing of importance seems omitted. The reader will find here the marrow of such larger works as Florez, de la Fuente, and Gams. Spanish Christian literature is treated at length (Juvencus, Prudentius), also the noble figure of Hosius of Cordova, the Western champion of Nicene orthodoxy. Particularly valuable are the pages devoted to Priscillian and Priscillianism; they embody new facts and considerations that ought to enter into our future manuals of ecclesiastical history, now that the discovery (1886) of the original writings of Priscillian permits a more accurate and therefore a juster appreciation of his exact place in Spanish religious and ecclesiastical life. Elsewhere the Visigothic persecution and later domination, civil and ecclesiastical; the peculiar authority and influence of the Councils of Toledo (the Champs de Mars or Wittenagemots of Spain); finally, the causes and events that led to Arab invasion and conquest, likewise the peculiar semi-independence of the subject Christians under the early Arab régime, are told, in a rapid and sketchy way, it is true, but with clearness and truth. The volume is highly commendable both for private reading and for use by professors and students of ecclesiastical history.

2. M. Louis Bréhier, Professor of History at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, presents us in this volume with a highly condensed, but picturesque and accurate résumé of the main events of the great religious movement known as the Crusades, undertaken by the popes for the liberation of the Holy Land from the yoke of Islam, and long guided and controlled by them. In about 350 pages this moving drama, the largest, most eventful, and most resultful enterprise of all medieval life, is brought before us. The allotted space did not permit of more than a sketch ; indeed, it is chiefly the ecclesiastico-historical interest that dominates the choice of matter and the entire narrative. The papacy is ever in the forefront of this warfare, peculiarly its own not only as to purpose and spirit, but also as to means and methods. A preliminary chapter furnishes the reader with an excellent orientation on the historical sources of the Crusades notably richer to-day than fifty years ago, owing to the labors of writers like Langlois, Riant, Röhricht, de Mas Latrie, Tobler and Molinier, Schlumberger, Conder, Tafel and Thomas, Heyd, Marcellino da Civezza, Golubovitch, also the "Société de l'Orient Latin" and the "Revue de l'Orient Latin," to which may be added the "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien" and the "Echos de l'Orient." It may be added that in this carefully written summary Professor Bréhier exhibits a Catholic spirit and temper, and that he does not fail to incorporate here and there numerous corrections and rectifications made necessary by recent successful researches in all departments of Crusade history.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Orthodox Eastern Church, by Adrian Fortescue. Catholic Truth Society, London, 1907. 8o, pp. xxvii and 451 (illustrated).

We are gradually acquiring in English a number of popularly-written modern, reliable, and in a way exhaustive, volumes on many periods and phases of ecclesiastical history. Until very recently, however, almost the only general and trustworthy work on the so-called Greek Church was the great "Photius" of Cardinal Hergenröther (Ratisbon, 1867). To Labourt's "Eglise de Perse" and Pargoire's "Eglise Byzantine, 527–847" (both in the Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique, Paris, J. Gabalda et Cie, 90 Rue Bonaparte) we may now add the excellent and timely work of Dr. Fortescue on the "Orthodox Eastern Church," the conventional name, he reminds us, of those Eastern churches which since the Schism have remained in

union with the patriarch of Constantinople. To us of course, the word "Orthodox" means just what such churches really are not.

But another satisfactory term is not easy to find. "Eastern is too wide," says Dr. Fortescue (p. vi), "the Copts and Armenians form Eastern Churches; *Schismatic* involves the same difficulty, besides being needlessly offensive. We do not in ordinary conversation speak of Protestants as heretics. The name commonly used, *Greek*, is the worst of all. The only body that ever calls itself, or can with any sort of reason be called the Greek Church, is the Established Church of the kingdom of Greece; and that is only one, and a very small one, of the sixteen bodies that make up this great Communion. To call the millions of Russians who say their prayers in Old Slavonic and obey the Holy Synod at St. Petersburg, Greek, is as absurd as calling us all Italian."

Dr. Fortescue divides his long story into four parts. In the first he resumes the vicissitudes of the churches in union with Constantinople previous to the ninth-century schism of Photius—their faith and rites, piety, morals and art. Two preliminary chapters describe the great patriarchates (Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Cyprus), into which the Universal Church was then divided, also in a summary way the relations between Rome and the Eastern Churches in this period. In the second part of his work Dr. Fortescue treats the schism of Photius of Constantinople (815–891), and of Michael Cerularius, likewise patriarch of that city, 1043–1059. In the third part the medieval story of the Church of Constantinople and its dependencies is outlined in four chapters: the Reunion Councils (Bari, 1098; Second Lyons, 1274; Ferrara-Florence, 1438–39); the Crusades and the Byzantine Church; Under the Turk; Orthodox Theology. The fourth part makes us acquainted with the Constitution of the Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Hierarchy, the Orthodox Faith, and Orthodox Rites. In a final chapter he discusses "The Question of Reunion." From his remarks an eloquent and sensible page may well be quoted here:

"Indeed it is an acceptable time. Never yet have the Eastern bishops stood so much in need of their natural arbitrator as now. We have seen how their independence of their chief has ended in the most servile dependence on secular governments; even the unbaptized tyrant who has robbed the Christian East of her lands and degrades the lawful heirs of those countries beneath the rabble he brought with him frcm Asia, even he has to step in to arrange their quarrels. Do they really think that Abdulhamid is the right man to decide what language shall be used for the Holy Liturgy, and what bishop shall reign in the old sees of Macedonia? Do they still, after having felt its weight for over three centuries, prefer his turban to the Pope's tiara? At any rate, the Pope never filched their children, desecrated their churches, nor murdered their bishops. Who is ever going to make peace between Greek and Bulgar, Serb and Vlach? It will not

be the Oecumenical Patriarch; he is the chief offender and the avowed leader of one side. Do the Slavs want a chief who will not try to rob them of their national feeling, forbid their language, and persecute their priests? Such a chief is waiting for them across the Albanian mountains and Adriatic Sea. Let them look at the Uniates and see how scrupulously their rites and languages are kept. Does the Patriarch himself feel the degradation of being continually deposed by his own metropolitans and by the Turkish Minister of Religions? There is a greater Patriarch, whom no bishop can feel it degrading to obey, who stands for the rights of old Canon Law, and whose honour is still in the firm strength of his brothers. And for us Catholics, too, reunion would be the greatest of blessings. We want back the great sees that have stood aloof from us so long. We want the communion of the Christians to whom St. Paul brought the faith at Ephesus and Corinth, the children of the men of Antioch who first were called by the name in which all glory. And we need, too, the righter balance that would be restored by reunion with the Orthodox. In spite of our loyalty to our own rite, and in spite of our natural pride in being not only Catholics but Latins and members of the greatest Patriarchate, we have to realize that the Latin Church is not, has never been, the whole Body of Christ. We may forget the Uniates (it is a shameful injustice to them if we do), but we could not forget one hundred millions of Catholics of other rites. And we need their ideas, their traditions and spirit in the Church as well as our own. Their conservation now means only fossilization; joined to our life it would be a sane and useful balance. Their love of the liturgy and dislike of innovations has something to teach our people. If we regret the too sudden way in which new devotions spread amongst us, the gradual divorce of the people from the real rites of the Church, the slight regard paid to her seasons, the exaggeration of pious fancies above the old and essential things, the abuses in such matters as indulgences, privileges, and special favours against which the Council of Trent spoke, we should find the remedy of all these things in the solid piety and the unchanging loyalty towards the customs of their fathers among Eastern Christians.

And then what a vast body we should make together. Our millions joined to theirs would form indeed a mighty and compact world-Church, before which the new sects would count as almost nothing. One conceives the union of the five Patriarchs stretching across Europe as the most glorious realization of the City of God on earth; and if one remembers all the sheep that are not of this fold regretfully, if one prays that all some day may be brought back to the one fold and the one Shepherd, one thinks then of none with so much sympathy as our brothers across the Adriatic. For with them practically nothing is wrong but the schism. In the case of others one sees so much that would have to be changed—false doctrine, reckless mutilation of the old faith, and rival conventicles. But the Eastern schism has still left us on both sides with the same faith in almost everything. Of course they would have to accept the whole of the Catholic faith. In that no desire for reunion, no spirit of conciliation, can ever make the Holy See waive anything. There can be no compromise in matters of faith. But the Orthodox already have, and jealously keep, practically all that faith. As for the points they would have to concede, one cannot believe that they really think the question of the *Filioque* so vital, nor can they really be so unwilling to admit the special privilege of the all-holy Mother of God, to whom they are so devoted. Infallibility seems a big thing; but in this point, too, it should not be so difficult

to make them see things. If God so carefully guides his Church, how can he allow the chief Patriarch to teach heresy, since he is the leader and judge of all the others? Other bishops can be put right by appeals to Rome: to whom could one appeal from the Pope? There must be a final court somewhere; no one could suggest any other than Rome, and the decision of the final court must be final. That means infallibility. Moreover, what did their fathers think when they continually appealed to Rome in questions of faith? Let the Orthodox think the same."

In their present temper, however, we must not expect too much. The coarse reply of the Patriarch Anthimos to the cordial appeal of Leo XIII is yet vivid in the memories of all. The ethos of the East is unchanging; the same temper that makes for permanency in faith, rite, discipline, institutions, makes also for permanency in other and worse things, sleepless hate, cherished embitterment, indissoluble antithesis of viewpoint, racial, national, religious, ecclesiastical. It would seem that only some great cataclysm, like a new Western conquest of the vast Orient, could affect the solid concrete of opposition that the Latin Church has ever met, and yet meets, throughout the Oriental Christian world.

"Evidently," says Mgr. Duchesne, "they are still sore and hurt, will have nothing to do with us, and are not at all embarrassed in saying so quite plainly." One does not, then, see in the leaders of the Orthodox Church any great desire to heal this lamentable breach. And yet, one asks oneself at the end of the whole story, what real reason can there be for the schism now? One can understand the original causes. Photius was so anxious to remain Patriarch. It was so hard for him to be deposed when the Emperor and all the court were on his side. Cerularius wanted to be a sort of Pope-Emperor himself, and the Crusaders behaved so badly to the Byzantine people. But now, after all these years, who cares any longer for those quarrels? The dusts of ten centuries have gathered over Photius's unknown grave; it is nine hundred years since Cerularius, who had been so rude and insubordinate to his over-lord, went to give his account to the over-lord of all patriarchs. Cannot one even yet let the dead bury their dead? The schism came about through the jealousies and ambitions of the old Roman court on the Bosphorus. And that court and all the Byzantine world has been dead so long. Who cares now for the Cæsar in his gorgeous palace, or for the political rivalries of Old Rome and New Rome? The Turk swept New Rome away; and only here and there a student, peering through the mists of centuries, will call up again the pale ghosts of the men who intrigued and fought, plotted and murdered around the gorgeous halls, the stately basilicas, and the crowded streets of the city whose marble quays rose above the Golden Horn. Her watchwords are silent and her causes are forgotten, as the world moves through the changing ages. But for all of us, for the children of dead New Rome as well as for us who stand around the fisherman's throne in the eternal Old Rome, there is a cause that does not die, there is a great city of God on earth whose towers are built too high for any change to destroy her; and there are words that do not pass away: The

branch that is cut away from the vine shall wither, and : On this rock I will build my Church."

We anxiously await the second volume in which Dr. Fortescue proposes to round out his study of the Eastern Churches, with an account of the non-Greek speaking Churches,—Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, and of the Uniates or various Eastern communities in communion with the Apostolic See. In the meantime great credit is due the Catholic Truth Society of London (69 Southwark Bridge Road, S. E.), for the excellent form in which this work appears. It should be found at once in every Catholic library, public and private, ecclesiastical and lay. Indeed, it is so good a contribution to the literature of the subject, and is so generally reliable, that every library interested in such works ought to possess it.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

BOOK NOTICES.

It is with pleasure that we chronicle the appearance of a new Catholic historical association, the "St. Paul Catholic Historical Society," whose organ ACTA ET DICTA, a collection of historical data regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest, Vol. I, No. 1 (St. Paul, July, 1907), begins its career very creditably with reprints of valuable original documents (letters of Bishop Loras, diary of Bishop Cretin, etc.) and historical papers of local interest by Bishop Shanley, Rev. A. McNulty and Mgr. A. Oster. An introduction from the pen of Archbishop Ireland and the constitution of the society round out the 159 important pages. The motto of the society *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant* (John VI, 12) is aptly chosen. The stirring ecclesiastical and religious life of the Northwest will henceforth have its own archives or depository, where the historian of the future will find authoritative material for one of the most wonderful and consoling chapters in the long history of Catholic missionary work.

In a little pamphlet, LE CONVERTIS D'HIER (70 pp., Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, Paris, 1908, 1 franc), Abbé Croonier, Professor at the Catholic University of Angers, describes in an interesting way and in fine literary language the psychological history of those well known writers in France, who have, of late years, come back to the Catholic Church through different roads, finding in her alone a rest and a direction for their intelligence and the satisfaction of their aspirations: François Coppée through suffering: "la bonne souffrance;" Ad. Rette through the consciousness of his moral weakness; Huysmans through mysticism; P. Bourget through the study of philosophy and sociology; F. Brunetière through the need of firm and immutable foundations for intellectual and moral life. Each one of these portraits presents a good example of concrete and living apologetics.

The religious life, it is well known, can be greatly furthered or greatly hindered by the superiors to whom are entrusted the choicest vocations in the vineyard of the Lord. Very timely therefore, is the new and revised edition of the little work GOLDEN RULES FOR DIRECTING RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, seminaries, colleges, schools, families, etc., by Rev. Michael Müller, C. SS. R. (New York, Pustet, 1909), originally published in 1871. Its sure and moderate doctrine, fed from the approved masters of the spiritual life, is in large measure applicable to all communities, however different in immediate purpose from religious societies. The little work deserves not only a wide circulation, but attentive reading on the part of those who are called to obey no less than on the part of those who are called to govern. *Ars artium regimen animarum.*

Among the New English Ascetical works THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE HAIL MARY, Points for Meditation, by Stephen Beissel, S. J. (St. Louis, Herder, 1908, 8o, pp. 227), is deserving of notice. The author rightly says that

"priests who have used these points for their private meditation will find it easy to develop from them short addresses or sermons." It is not stated that these pages are a translation from the German of the distinguished medieval archaeologist Father Beissel, nor would the fact be easily discoverable, so well done is the version.

Another ascetical work is CATHOLIC LIFE, or The Feasts, Fasts, Devotions of the Ecclesiastical Year (New York, Benziger, 1908, 8o, pp. 199). In some ways it is a kind of summary of the "Liturgical Year" of Dom Gueranger, and gives useful ascetical, historical and liturgical information concerning many of the feasts, fasts and devotions of the Church. Anecdotes and examples enliven the text.

Probably the new reprint of THE TRAINING OF A PRIEST, an Essay on Clerical Education, with a Reply to the Critics, by Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith (New York, Longmans, 1908, 8o, pp. 361), will cause less flurry than did the original, published as "Our Seminaries" (New York, 1896). Apart from a preface in which the author reviews with not undue satisfaction the changes of a decade, an essay on seminary education from the qualified pen of the Bishop of Rochester (*Am. Eccl. Review*, May, 1897), and a final chapter in which the author deals mildly with his former critics, the work does not differ substantially from the first edition. It is dedicated to the venerable Bishop McQuaid, and may now be said to have won its place in the literature on ecclesiastical seminaries and teaching that the last two decades have brought forth, and which is not the least sign of the new religious life that is dawning among Catholics in every land. The work of Dr. Smith, in its new and tasty form, deserves to be read and pondered on, and will no doubt meet with the renewal of attention it richly deserves.

Whoever would enjoy a pleasant sojourn in Greece, ancient, medieval and modern, will do well to take up the excellent volume of his essays which Dr. Daniel Quinn reprints from various reviews in HELLADIC VISTAS (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1908, 8o, pp. 407). They are characterized by varied and reliable historical, artistic, and archaeological erudition, and by a tender sympathetic feeling; are moreover the fruit of wide experience among the Greek people and much travel in that classic land. In this province Dr. Quinn writes with rare skill, as one in whom learning, affection, and equipment are on a level. It is to be hoped that he will eventually try a higher flight, and undertake some work "de longue haleine" in which his many gifts and his varied experience will find ample employment.

An English liturgical commentary on the "Rituale Romanum" including the substance of its ordinances is a not unwelcome addition to our liturgical literature: THE ENGLISH RITUAL EXPLAINED, by the Rev. W. Dunne, B. A., Professor at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, (London, R. and T. Washbourne, 1908, 8o, pp. 164). It permits the faithful to prepare with due knowledge for the visitation of the sick, for the reception of the sacraments, the burial of the dead,

and the most usual sacerdotal benedictions (holy water, pictures, crosses, cemetery, etc.) The commentary is kept judiciously within the bounds of the strictly necessary, while recent important decisions are inserted in their due places.

Of "Franciscana" there is no end, whether learned or popular. Among the latest accounts of the "Poverello" is the STORY OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, by M. Alice Heins, Tertiary of St. Francis, with a preface by Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C. (Burns and Oates, London, 1908). The booklet is illustrated, and can boast of two pages of an introduction from the pen of the aforesaid gifted Capuchin. Mrs. Heins has chosen the salient points of the life of St. Francis. Her narrative runs smoothly and entertainingly, and can be read with delight by the uneducated and by children, while even the learned need not disdain its clear and nervous diction.

The anti-Roman notes with which the late Dr. Coxe disfigured the American reprint of the "Ante-Nicene Fathers" furnish occasion to one of our scholarly priests for an excellent booklet, in which step by step he examines and refutes the often grave errors of Dr. Coxe, THE SEE OF PETER AND THE VOICE OF ANTIQUITY, critical notes on Bishop Coxe's Ante-Nicene Fathers, by Rev. Thomas S. Dolan. (B. Herder, St. Louis, 1908. Sixty cents). The reasoning of Fr. Dolan is trenchant and his defence of the Catholic interpretation of the venerable patristic texts in general very successful. Here and there are misprints, *e. g.* Zozomen for Sosomen (p. 39). When Fr. Dolan says (p. 9) apropos of the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians that "Corinth appealed to Rome" it might have been well to quote the chapter of the Epistle which proves this statement. Of course, if St. Clement interfered unasked in the affairs of the Corinthian community, the inference is natural that he was its superior, and ex-officio authorized to do so. As to the motive that impelled St. Clement to write in the name of "the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth" the Epistle says no more (c. 1) than that the writer "has been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved." The more one reads the Epistle the more one is persuaded that it came to Corinth unasked for; Dr. Bardenhewer (*Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litt.*, I, 103) says that "the Roman Church was made aware of the Corinthian troubles probably through Roman Christians who had been in Corinth, and as soon as possible sought to apply a remedy." While an appeal of the Corinthians to the Roman Church would have been a formal recognition of the latter's authority the unasked for interference of the Romans in the domestic affairs of Corinth could only be justified by the generally acknowledged right of Clement to act in the name of the Apostolic See (Hermae Pastor, *Vis.* II, 4, 3; ed. von Funk, 1901, I, 431).

HARMONICS, "DE DEO," BEING WREATHS OF SONG FROM A COURSE OF DIVINITY, by Rev. T. J. O'Mahony, D. D., D. C. L. (M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., Dublin and Waterford, 1908), is a little volume of 80 pages, containing 28 short poems and a prose appendix of 36 pages. The poems are of the mystical order, and are somewhat difficult of comprehension to the ordinary mind. Some of the stanzas in the Prolusion are specially obscure. Take this one for example:

"As the All-other than we here"—sing
How All-other than we
Is He as Who wholly made being
All first there came *to be*.

The Apologia, however, is very sweet and has some graceful touches. The volume bears the new Irish trade-mark, and is printed and bound in Ireland. It is turned out in a manner that reflects credit on the well-known Irish printing and publishing firm of Gill and Son.

SYDNEY CARRINGTON'S CONTUMACY, by X. Lawson (Fr. Pustet and Co., Ratisbon, Rome, New York, and Cincinnati, 1908, price $1.25), is a charming story of love, religion, and scrupulosity. The interest is well sustained and the characters clearly and firmly sketched. It will be no surprise if we meet the "contumacious" Sydney once more, as at present she has only retired to a convent school for two years' study.

Messrs. Benziger Brothers have produced four very readable books in THE SHADOW OF EVERSLEIGH (price $1.25); DEAR FRIENDS (price 60 cents); THE MARKS OF THE BEAR CLAWS (price 85 cents); and STORIES FOR YOU AND ME (price 75 cents). THE SHADOW OF EVERSLEIGH, by Jane Lansdowne, is a quaintly told story of the evil times that came upon Catholics in England in the days of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. Interwoven in the plot is the history of how a vow, made when Henry was king, to build a chantry chapel was, after long years, at length fulfilled in the reign of Charles II. The supernatural element introduced is so skilfully handled that it seems quite in place and highly probable.

In THE MARKS OF THE BEAR CLAWS the Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J., has given a narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi which is full of life and adventure, and which cannot fail to be dear to the heart of any boy who is lucky enough to have the opportunity of reading it.

DEAR FRIENDS, a sequel to *Althea*, by D. Ella Nordlinger, is a wholesome tale and is calculated to have a desirable influence on the minds of youthful readers. It relies too much, however, on assumed knowledge of what occurred in *Althea*, and is on that account occasionally slightly confusing.

STORIES FOR YOU AND ME, by Mother Mary Salome, is a collection of short tales for children, in which moral lessons and useful information are conveyed in a fresh, crisp, and decidedly pleasing manner.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Library Donations.—The Department of English Language and Literature received from Mr. Logan Bullitt, of Torresdale, Pa., a copy of Saxo Grammaticus' *Danmarks Krøinke* and a copy of *The Germ.*

The Departmental Library of Chemistry received from Dr. Thomas M. Chatard, of Washington, D. C., a collection of valuable scientific books and periodicals.

The new metallurgical laboratory was enriched by a gift of ores from Mr. John Ivers, of Utah.

The Rev. Thomas L. Kelley, of Indianola, Nebraska, presented to the Divinity Library a valuable set of Scripture Commentaries.

The Department of Oriental Languages and Literature received a number of valuable books and manuscripts in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Hindustani from Reverend Joseph M. Gleason, of Tomales, California. Fr. Gleason is an alumnus of the University, and on other occasions has enriched the library with rare Oriental works gathered by him in his travels through the Far East.

Metallurgical Laboratory.—A Laboratory newly equipped with furnaces, and other apparatus for the investigation of ores and minerals will be opened in the Department of Chemistry, February 1st.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology was celebrated on Monday, January the twenty-fifth, by a solemn Pontifical Mass in the Chapel of Caldwell Hall, at which Right Reverend Owen B. Corrigan, titular Bishop of Macra, was celebrant. The sermon was preached by Right Reverend Monsignor James F. Loughlin, of Philadelphia.

Albert College.—The Athletic Association held its third annual reception and dance Wednesday evening, January twentieth, at Rauscher's. The hall was decorated in pennants of various Uni-

versities and Washington Schools. The reception commenced at nine o'clock and afterwards dancing was engaged in. A buffet luncheon was served in the dining room at 11 o'clock. About one hundred and seventy-five guests were present, including members of the faculty, students and friends of the University. In all it was a most delightful affair, and its brilliant success characterized it as the social event of the year, and one long to be remembered in our University circles.

The patronesses were: Mrs. George M. Bolling, Mrs. Thomas H. Carter, Mrs. Richard Croker, Jr., Mrs. William H. DeLacy, Miss Kerby, Mrs. Patrick J. Lennox, Mrs. Charles H. McCarthy, Mrs. Fletcher Maddox, Mrs. Jerome Elmer Murphy, Mrs. Charles P. Neill, Mrs. R. A. Pescia, Mrs. John J. Walsh.

The committee in charge of affairs was: Arthur B. Crotty, chairman; George A. Canale, Joseph E. Kennedy, James Ivers, Jr., and Peter M. Nicrosi.

The entertainment committee was composed of the following men: Robert J. Ballard, Richard S. Burke, John J. Cantwell, Louis A. Crook, Oswald M. Crotty, John J. Daly, Charles A. Darr, J. Rolanrd Devries, Donald Gallagher, Francis M. Kelley, John P. Kenny, Mariano Lora, Frank W. Madigan, Frank A. Mulvanity, Martin J. Quigley, Edward J. Ralph, Diego Ramos, Bernard J. Vincent.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *March, 1909.* *No. 3.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

Published by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Washington, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *March, 1909.* *No. 3.*

A VISIT TO THE FORUM ROMANUM.

Standing on the roadway that connects the Via Bonella with the Via della Consolazione one may mark at the northern end of the Hemicycle, behind the imperial Rostra, and not far from the arch of Septimius Severus a cone-shaped structure of brick. The eye of the sightseer sweeps over it unheedingly, but for one who is thinking of what Rome was and of what Rome is, the insignificant monument possesses an interest of its own, even in the presence of the most imposing group of ruins that tell us of the splendor of Rome's empire. On this pile of bricks was once erected the Umbilicus Urbis Romae, to mark the center of the city whose legions held in subjection the whole of the known world. After standing for some eight centuries at least the monument itself has vanished; when and how no one knows, but most probably beneath the hands of some marble-cutter or lime-burner. Like it, but at an even earlier date, vanished the foreign dominions of Italy; yet still to-day, after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, a civilization spreading wider than the world Rome then knew, may look upon this spot as the *umbilicus orbis,* as the ideal center of its history.

Back to Rome run all the threads of the warp of our civilization; our science, our law, our art, our philosophy, our literature, our language, our religion, all carry us back to Rome. Roman armies and Roman fleets fought for us the battles that decided whether the civilization of the western Mediterranean should be Semitic or Indo-European. After-

wards it was Rome that took over the civilization of Greece with all its wealth of art, literature, science and philosophy, the conquests of Alexander in the far east, the wealth and wisdom of Egypt, the religion of Judæa, welded them into a unit, impressed upon them the stamp of her own legal institutions and statesmanship, and passed the precious heritage on to the nations of northern Europe to be the basis of modern civilization.

In the days when all this was being done for us, in the days of Rome's greatness, the heart of Rome was the Forum. Like the city itself it had risen from humble beginnings, and like the city itself dark days were in store for it. First a burying ground for the towns on the neighboring hill-tops, it next became the market place of the young city, the political life of which was transacted in the adjacent Comitium. With the growth of the power of the city the Forum grew richer in its adornment, while the humbler branches of business—the hucksters, the fish dealers, and the meat-sellers—made way for the captains of industry, the money changers. The capture of Corinth coincides with a new period in the development of the Forum; to it were now transferred the meetings of the legislative assembly, the Comitia Tributa, for which the old Comitium had proved too small. And so, it was in the Forum that were fought the great political battles of the closing century of the Republic, the battles that center round the names of the Gracchi, of Marius, of Sulla, of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar. Here also was delivered by Marc Antony the speech that for its wide-reaching effects is without parallel in the history of the world's oratory; and with the burning of Cæsar's body—the exact spot can still be pointed out—the Forum entered upon the last period of its splendor. For the meetings of the people, no longer of real significance, were now transferred elsewhere, and the Forum served as the site for the monuments of the Emperors. The column of Phocas erected in the year 608 with materials plundered from older monuments by the exarch Smaragdus, in order to curry favor with one of the basest and most repulsive usurpers that disgraced the imperial

purple, stands marking the close of this period. Then comes the time of ruin and decay, when the Forum passed into the Campo Vaccino, and not even the romance of a Goethe could divine what lay beneath. Finally there is the time of the scientific search, beginning towards the close of the eighteenth century and not ended yet.

Since 1898, when the excavations were resumed under Giacomo Boni, the space laid bare has been doubled. It now extends from the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitoline to the Templum Veneris et Romæ beyond the arch of Titus, and from the foot of the Palatine across to the churches of San Adriano, San Lorenzo, and SS. Cosma e Damiano; while in depth the excavations extend not only to the level of the imperial period, but have at points been carried down to strata that antedate the periods of the earliest legends. Within this space every brick and stone is eloquent, and it is not surprising that for all but the most casual visitor a single visit is not sufficient; while for the scholar a lifetime is none too long for the study of what the place can teach. The account of a single visit must be limited, and I have chosen to tell what traces of the entrance of Christianity into the life of Rome have been left upon this scene of Rome's commercial and political life, and of the magnificence of her Emperors.

The path from the entrance leads down into the eastern end of the Basilica that was dedicated forty-six years before the birth of Christ by Rome's greatest conqueror C. Julius Cæsar. Standing among its ruins and gazing across the base of the altar which was erected to mark the spot where, less than two years later, his body was burned amidst the wild outburst of popular grief that drove his murderers from Rome, the eye falls upon a building that dominates the north [1] side of the Forum. The massive stone foundation of the vestibule —from in front of which the steps have long since vanished— towers above the level of the excavations, that have here been

[1] The main axis of the Forum runs northwest and southeast, but it is convenient to follow the custom of speaking as if it ran due east and west.

carried down to the pavement of imperial times. From the floor of the vestibule rise ten lofty columns of unfluted cipollino, still bearing on their Corinthian capitals, nearly sixty feet above their base, the original architrave. Through these appears the front wall of the building, dating, however, only from the time of its conversion into the church of S. Lorenzo. It invades the vestibule, attaching itself to the last column on either side, and destroying two pilasters, of which only the capitals remain. On the sides, however, the walls of the cella are still in place. They are built of massive blocks of peperino, but their marble covering has been stripped away with the exception of the beautiful frieze of griffins and candelabra. Even at a distance the origin of the temple may be read in the inscription on the architrave:

DIVO ANTONINO ET
DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX SC.[2]

As often the case in public buildings, idlers have passed their time in scratching upon the columns pictures of Venus, of Victoria, and of Hercules struggling with the Nemean lion, drawn no doubt from statues in the neighborhood. Among these was found in 1881 the simple monogram of Christ between an omega and an alpha.[3] After a careful search, however, I was unable to find this symbol, nor could the custodians point it out, so that it would seem to have yielded at last to the ravages of time. The forms of the letters served to date the inscription at about the middle of the fourth century. The order of the omega and the alpha has been made the basis for inferring the ignorance of the writer, but has also with greater plausibility been taken to show

[2] The grammarian will note that the length of the *i*-vowels is marked in the second line but not in the first. This shows that the first line is a later addition, made after the emperor's death, when he became a participant in the divine honors he had previously bestowed upon his consort.

[3] Cf. Georges Lacour-Gayet, *Graffiti figurés du temple d'Antonin et Faustine au Forum Romain*, *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 226-248, and Plate vii.

that it was the work of an oriental, of one accustomed to read from right to left. The humble sign—whether meant as profession of faith, pious meditation, or idle scribbling—was the earliest trace left upon this historic ground by the religion whose churches now encircle it.

Almost directly opposite this temple at the foot of the Palatine Hill lies the House of the Vestal Virgins. As it was one of the last strongholds of paganism, one would consider it an unlikely place to look for the earliest marks of Christianity. The chief adornment of its spacious Atrium consisted of the statues of the superiors of the order, the *Virgines Vestales Maximae,* placed upon pedestals that commemorated at once the virtues of the women thus honored and the liberality of the donors. Most of these have disappeared and even the bulk of those that are still to be seen were once upon the verge of destruction. For they were found[4] in February, 1883—the projecting parts hacked off and the fragments used to fill interstices—stacked like cordwood in the Atrium, where they had been left to await transportation to some lime-kiln. On one of the pedestals that now stands against the southern wall of the Atrium, I read again the well-known inscription:

OB MERITUM CASTITATIS
PUDICITIAE ADQ. IN SACRIS
RELIGIONIBUSQUE
DOCTRINAE MEMORABILIS
C (?) . . . . E V. V. M.
PONTIFICES V. V. C. C.
PRO MAG. MACRINIO
SOSSIANO V. C. P. M.

and on the right side the date (June 9th, 365):

DEDICATA V. IDUS JUNIAS.
DIVO IOVIANO ET VARRONIANO
CONSS.

[4] Cf. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome,* pp. 196 ff.

For us the interest of the inscription lies in the erasure of the name. This shows that the vestal honored in the inscription had suffered the punishment of *memoriae damnatio.*[5] Had any scandal of a nature to warrant such proceedings occurred in the cloister of Vesta towards the close of the fourth century, contemporary polemicists against paganism would have been only too eager to report it. So, as not even the slightest rumor has reached us, it is safe to infer that the crime thus punished was none other than the embracing of Christianity, and we may associate the monument with the verses of Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, II, 528:

> Vittatus olim pontifex adscitur in signum crucis
> Aedemque, Laurenti, tuam Vestalis intrat Claudia.

Thanks to the vandalism of the lime-burners, it is impossible to tell whether the statue of the Vestal, who sacrificed her worldly interests to her faith, is among those that still exist, as none of the statues can be assigned to their original bases.[6]

In the order of chronology we should next seek for some trace of the altar of Victory, the removal of which together with the golden statue of the goddess from the senate house marked under Gratian, the final triumph of Christianity. The façade of the Curia as restored by Diocletian coincides with the façade of S. Adriano, and fronts us from the northwestern corner of the Forum. The excavations, however, have been checked at this point by an unwillingness to demolish the church,[7] so that search in this direction is impossible, and we may recross the Sacra Via to a point a little east of the temple of the Diva Faustina, where we find no longer humble

[5] Other instances of this punishment to be seen in the Forum are the erasure of the name of Geta from the arch of Septimius Severus, and of the name of Stilicho from the monument that celebrates his victory at Pollentia.

[6] Since the writing of the above, measurements made by Miss Esther B. VanDeman have shown that the erased name contained more letters than Claudiae. It still remains probable that the Vestal thus punished was a convert to Christianity.

[7] Report now has it that they are about to be resumed.

symbols, nor traces of the struggle with paganism, but the first church dedicated in the Forum, the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

This church was consecrated, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (I, p. 279), by Pope Felix IV (526-530) and probably in the first part of his pontificate, as he is said to have received the buildings from Theodoric, who survived the accession of Pope Felix only seven weeks. Thanks to the adaptation of these buildings to the use of the church at so early a date, large parts of their walls are still in good condition; and, so, in spite of the damages to be mentioned, it is possible to form an idea of the appearance of the buildings at the time of their dedication.

On the Sacra Via stands a dome-like structure of brick, flanked on each side by oblong rooms that end in an apse. These rooms extend further towards the street than the central structure. In the space thus left a hemicycle originally ran from the corners of the rooms to each side of the main entrance. Now, however, its walls have crumbled to about half of their original height—leaving visible only four of the eight niches they formerly contained. The roofs of the side rooms have also fallen, and the walls of these (especially the west room in which trees are growing) have suffered much. The main door, of splendid bronze work, though robbed of its ornamentation, is again in its original place, having been skilfully restored to it since 1879; on each side stand porphyry columns with Corinthian capitals, bearing a richly ornamented architrave, pilfered from some older building. At the entrance to the east room stand on large marble bases, two columns of unfluted cipollino. One of these is broken, while of a corresponding pair, that stood in front of the west room, but the base of one and the socle of the other remain. Of the rest of the decoration of the front not a trace has been found in the excavations. This is due to the exploitation of the site as a marble quarry which was permitted in the seventeenth century. In it disappeared the inscription (*C. I. L.* VI, 1147) which showed that this building was begun by Maxentius as

a Heroon to his child the Divus Romulus; but, by the irony of fate, it was, after the death of Maxentius, dedicated to his conqueror Constantine.

In the rear this structure abuts against an oblong building which takes its orientation, not from the Sacra Via, but from the adjoining Forum Pacis of Vespasian. Following along its eastern wall, where the excavations have been carried down to the level of the imperial times, one may note that the building is of a double construction. The northern end of this wall is built of massive tufa blocks in opus quadratum, and clearly is a part of one of the buildings of Vespasian's Forum. About the middle of this portion is a splendid doorway with threshold, posts, arch, and lintel of large blocks of travertine; at present it is closed with rough brickwork. On the other hand, the southern end of the wall is of rubble, braced with buttresses of opus mixtum. Turning the corner we find the north wall of brick still showing the numerous holes, by which were affixed to it the famous marble map of the city of Rome.

The Forum Pacis is known to have been devastated by fire during the reign of Commodus (191 A. D.), and restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. For the building before us, the facts are especially attested by the inscription, that originally stood over the portico on the west side. Consequently, we may see in this brick and rubble work, all of which is clearly older than the Heroon of Romulus, the work of restoration and enlargement. The original purpose and designation of the building is a matter of dispute. Most frequently it is called *Templum Sacrae Urbis,* a name for which there is no warrant in tradition, and which is in open opposition to the fact, that the plan of the building is not that of a temple. More probably it was the library of the Templum Pacis of which mention is made by Aulus Gellius. In this connection weight must be given to the fact of the early adaptation of the building to use as a church. For, in the eyes of Christians of the sixth century, pagan temples were, to use a modern phrase, 'tainted' buildings; and it was not until nearly a century later that their use as churches began with the con-

version of the Pantheon into S. Maria Rotunda. The use of the Heroon of the Divus Romulus is no violation of this principle; because it is quite probable that, owing to the death of Maxentius, the building was never put to the purpose for which it was begun, and also because this building served merely as a vestibule for the church, and not as a church itself.

The name of the child however clung to the building, but was misunderstood throughout the middle ages and down to quite recent times, as the name of the founder of the city. This error was fostered by the existence in the adjoining library, of a mosaic representing the she-wolf suckling the twins. How soon the error began we have no means of determining. To believe that it is as old as the sixth century may seem difficult, but it affords, perhaps, the reason for the selection of SS. Cosmas and Damian as the patrons of the church. The principle of replacing heathen ideas with such Christian ideas as have points of association with them finds many illustrations. So here the twin founders of the city were to yield to two saints, who like them were brothers and were also united in their martyr's death. At least such was the idea of Urban VIII when he wrote in his inscription:

TEMPLUM GEMINIS URBIS CONDITORIBUS
SUPERSTITIOSE DICATUM
A FELICE III [8]
SANCTIS COSMAE ET DAMIANO FRATRIBUS
PIE CONSECRATUM

and he may serve as an interpreter of the thought of Felix.

The plan on which Pope Felix proceeded was simplicity itself. The cutting of a door converted the Heroon into a vestibule for the church; while the extension built by Septimius Severus became the nave. At its rear was built an apse, which communicated by three arches with the older building

[8] The inscription reads: *Felice III*, but, even if this is not a blunder of the stone-cutter, it cannot outweigh the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

of Vespasian. The latter was also used as a church, and retained its original entrance through the west portico. To enter the church it is now necessary to leave the Forum and seek admission in the Via in Miranda. What is left will well repay the trouble of the visit, although it is impossible to form an adequate concept of the beauty of the church from the present building. For that purpose it is necessary to study the accounts and drawings of Pavonio and Ligorio,[9] and then picture the lofty nave, lighted by fifteen windows placed high in the walls, which were lined with marble, divided by rich cornices, and ornamented with mosaics. But the pope was not satisfied with the preservation of these pagan adornments of the building; the apse was his own work and it required new decoration. The result was the beautiful mosaic still to be seen above the main altar.

In the center is the figure of our Saviour to whom St. Peter and St. Paul are presenting Saints Cosmas and Damian, who hold in their hands their martyr's crowns. At one end stands Pope Felix with a model of the church in his hand, at the other St. Theodore, chosen perhaps as a compliment to Theodoric, the donor of the buildings. Below flows the Jordan, the stream that separates this world from the next. Then comes a band in which the Lamb of God, distinguished by a halo, stands on a throne in the center, towards which come twelve lambs typifing the twelve apostles. Underneath is the inscription:

AULA $\overline{\text{DI}}$ CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS
IN QUA PLUS FIDEI LUX PRETIOSA MICAT.
MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS POPULO SPES CERTA SALUTIS
VENIT ET EX SACRO CREVIT HONORE LOCUS.
OPTULIT HOC $\overline{\text{DNO}}$ FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNU(M)
MUNUS UT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLI.

The simplicity of the composition, the austerity of the drawing, and the richness of the coloring cannot fail to impress the

[9] Cf. De Rossi, *Boll. di Arch. Christ.*, 1867, pp. 61 ff., and Lanciani, *Degli antichi edificii dei SS. Cosma e Damiano, Boll. Comm.*, 1882, pp. 29 ff.

beholder. Even though some allowance must be made for the fact that the mosaics are viewed from a point much closer than was originally intended, it is easy to comprehend the verdict that pronounces them the best specimen of this Byzantine art now extant in Rome. The smaller mosaics on the arch also deserve notice, though they have suffered from the shortening of the arch, a fact which two small modern pictures placed at the corners but imperfectly conceal.

The mutilation of these mosaics is only a part of the damage inflicted upon the church by Pope Urban VIII when in 1632 he attempted its restoration. The plan of reconstruction was most radical; the northern third of the building was abandoned as a church and reduced to a sacristy. The western wall of this portion was destroyed, together with its portico, and the stones were given or sold to the Jesuits for the building of S. Ignazio. The apse was then closed and the remainder of the church divided into two stories, while its decorations, with the exception of the mosaics already mentioned, were destroyed. To appreciate fully the effects of this, one must descend into the lower church. There, under the low vaulted roof, among the crowded pillars that bear the new floor of the upper church, he must search for traces of the beauty of the past. A marble altar, standing on some fragments of Cosmati mosaics, behind it a faint fresco, is all that will reward his search. Elsewhere the little light that struggles through the windows, roughly broken in the walls, reveals only cold whitewash, and a few late tombs. One thinks of the marble linings of the walls, of the cornices and the rich mosaics, of the works of art with which Christian piety had adorned this vault for a thousand years after its dedication, one recalls the destruction of the west wall and portico, and the words of Pasquino recur:

Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.

On the Sacra Via near the entrance to the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, pious tradition seems to have localized the encounter of St. Peter with Simon Magus.[10] The stone on

[10] Cf. Gregory of Tours, Migne, P. L., lxxi, col. 728; Liber Pont., Vita Pauli I; and the Itinerary of Benedict.

which St. Peter knelt was shown with the imprint of his knees, and a chapel was built by Paul I (757-767) in commemoration of the event. About the fourteenth century, however, the stone was removed to S. Francesca Romana, where it is said [11] to be still exhibited with the inscription: *In queste pietre pose le ginocchia S. Pietro quando i demonii portarono Simon Mago per aria.*

Next we may follow the Sacra Via towards the Capitoline Hill, past the temples of the Diva Faustina, and of the Divus Julius, and, turning by the front of the latter building, note the base of the altar erected to Julius Cæsar on the spot where his body was burned. The semi-circular niche in which the altar stands is closed with a roughly built wall of greenish tufa blocks. No better explanation for its construction has been offered, than that it was put up by Christians for the purpose of preventing pagan worship, without destroying a monument of such historical interest. If so, it is an instance, unfortunately rare, of zeal restrained from iconoclasm.

Making our way through what is left of the arch of Augustus, and past the eastern side of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, we come to the Lacus Iuturnae. The pool is fed by two springs that fill to a depth of a little more than six feet a basin something over sixteen feet square. The limits of the basin are marked by sills of travertine that once supported a railing, and in the center of the water rises an oblong base of *opus reticulatum.* Although the marble lining of the basin is now gone, and the remains, which were discovered in 1900, date only from a reconstruction of imperial times, the spot is of especial interest for its association with the early legends of the city. The temple opposite was said to have been vowed to Castor by Aulus at the battle of Lake Regillus, the battle that made secure the foundations of the Republic. English-speaking visitors will also recall Macaulay's description of how the great

[11] At the time of my visit the building was closed on account of the construction of the Forum Museum. Huelsen locates here the traditional scene of the encounter.

Twin Brethren brought the news of the victory to Rome and how,

> "When they drew nigh to Vesta
> They vaulted down amain
> And washed their horses in the well
> That springs by Vesta's fane."

That the nymph of this pool received worship from the time of the occupation of the neighboring hilltops on, there is no reason to doubt; but at what time she was identified with Iuturna is uncertain. Servius tells us that the latter was the goddess of a health-giving fountain in Latium near the river Numicus. Her worship at this spot is attested by its representation on coins at the beginning of the first century B. C. and must be older than the close of the first Punic war when Lutatius Catulus dedicated to Iuturna a temple in the Campus Martius. The veneration in which the nymph was held, is also shown by the fact, that the poets of the Augustan court, represent her as the sister of Turnus, the opponent of Aeneas.

In the present connection, our especial interest in the spot lies in the fact, that it was the scene of a pagan worship, that held on with remarkable tenacity in the face of the triumph of Christianity. That the great Twin Brethren, who help in battle and storm, should also be helpers in sickness, would be expected by any one who is acquainted with their Hindu counterparts, the Açvins. The function, though slightly attested in Greece, seems to have been deeply implanted in the popular imagination, and here we find them as healers associated with the health-giving Iuturna and with Aesculapius, whose broken statue has again been set up in the room behind the pool. Christianity was no longer a young religion before it could stop the belief in the health-giving properties of these waters. The proof is to be found in the mediæval vases found in the pool and now preserved at its rear.

Many tourists toss, somewhere between jest and earnest, a soldi into the Trevi Fountain to ensure their return to Rome. The performance now lacks all ceremony, but Crawford's description may be quoted to show that, even a few years back,

it was surrounded with the characteristic practices of magic. "For they say," he writes in *Ave Roma Immortalis,* p. 146, "that whoever will go to the great fountain, when the high moon rays dance upon the rippling water, and drink, and toss a coin far out into the middle, in offering to the genius of the place, shall surely come back to Rome again, old or young, sooner or later." A friend who is acquainted with Roman traditions, described the purpose of the ceremony to me, as if it were a charm to secure prosperity, especially good health, while upon a journey. Such charms are among the commonplaces of magic rites, and it does not seem an unlikely development that, after the closing of the pool of Iuturna, the belief in the efficacy of her waters should have been transferred to the Aqua Virgo of the Trevi Fountain. With the decline of superstition the practice would limit itself to a special precaution against the danger of death upon a journey. And finally the charm, that would ensure the safe return of the Roman traveller to Rome, could easily pass into a means of compelling fate to grant the boon, that all, who have once visited Rome, crave.

A little to the south and east of the Lacus Iuturnae is a square room, the original purpose of which is unknown. The entrance in the west wall faces a large apse, and various niches are contained in the walls which are of good brickwork. The interest of the building lies in its frescoes, from the most prominent of which it takes its present designation of the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs. The history of these martyrs of Sebaste is too well-known to Catholics to require repetition here. The representation of their martyrdom is the subject of the fresco in the apse.

The background of the base is divided by red stripes, lined with black lines, into five panels of which three are yellow and two pink. Above is a band of blue representing the water, which comes to the knees of the martyrs. Of the figures little is left; towards the right eight heads are preserved, and we can make out that the costume of the saints consisted merely of aprons, alternately red and yellow, that fell from their

waists to their knees. On the bank can be seen the apostate entering the warm bathhouse; and the drawing of this figure gives a favorable impression of the ability of the frescoer. The soldier who was to take his place has suffered more, as only his head, spear, shield, and feet remain. We can see, however, that he was dressed in yellow and represented as seated on the bank. This fresco is the second layer of the decoration of the apse; the first is visible only at the top, where a richly colored frieze may be seen. To the right of the apse, faint traces of three layers of frescoes may be distinguished. The last shows a band about half-way up the wall, from which hangs a tapestry, the folds being marked with red and black lines. This layer is better preserved to the left of the apse, where there were three circular medallions, enclosing crosses from the arms of which hung crowns. At the intersection of the arms of the cross in the central medallion is a picture of Our Saviour, in that next to the apse was a similar representation of the Blessed Virgin, which has fallen since the excavation; while of the third medallion only faint traces were found. The space beneath these medallions is occupied by a lamb and peacock.

On the left wall is a dado of tapestry that may be followed in faint traces on the entrance wall. Above it is another representation of the Forty Martyrs. In spite of the badly damaged condition of the fresco, we can see that it represented the saints in the enjoyment of their reward; for now they are clothed in full robes, of which red and yellow are again the predominant colors, and crowned with halos. The frescoes on the right wall, in spite of the matting coverings, have faded beyond the possibility of recognition. Those who were fortunate enough to see them immediately after their discovery, have identified the subject as the Temptation of St. Anthony.

The Oratory of the Forty Martyrs is closely connected with the church of S. Maria Antiqua, and the question of the date of its establishment depends on the dating of the latter building. The reason of the selection of the Forty Martyrs as its patron saints is also not clear. The story of their martyrdom, beautiful in its simplicity, admirable in its fortitude was sure

to attract the devotion of the faithful. But it is perhaps not by mere chance, that we find this Armenian lake, hallowed by the death of the saints, depicted almost by the side of the Lacus Iuturnae, and that the Oratory of these soldiers of the cross is facing the temple of the Twin Brethren 'who came to fight before the ranks of Rome.'

The southern wall of the Oratory, is a prolongation of a row of pillars that once bore a colonnade, which ran along the side of the Temple of Augustus, and the front of an adjoining building. Crossing this colonnade we enter a large court, which attracts attention chiefly by reason of the large basin (82 x 29½ feet) that runs obliquely from it, under its southern wall, and into the adjoining room. Evidently this was once the basin of an impluvium, and judging from its size, the impluvium of some palace. Most probably we have before us a trace of the work of the mad Caligula, who extended the palace of Tiberius from the Palatine out into the Forum, until the Temple of Castor and Pollux served as its vestibule. Three doors lead into the adjoining building, where we come first to an open space, almost square, surrounded by porticos with roofs which are supported by four brick pillars and four columns of granite. Beyond this quadriporticus lie three rooms of which the central one is considerably the larger. Both situation and plan of the building combine to render certain its identification with the Library of the Temple of Augustus,[12] which was originally built by Tiberius, destroyed in the fire of Nero and restored by Domitian.

We, however, are especially interested in its adaptation to a Christian church. For this purpose little change was required; indeed it is surprising to note how closely the ground plan of the building corresponds to that of a Greek basilica. The central space when roofed—it is not certain that this space was originally left open—became the nave, the side porticos the aisles, and the south portico the transept. The central room enlarged [13] by the building of an apse formed the chancel,

[12] Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 43; Suet, *Tib.*, 74; Martial, xii, 3. 7.

[13] This was not done immediately.

while the smaller room to the left served as a chapel. The room to the right was devoted to the same purpose or used as a sacristy. An oblong choir—*schola cantorum*—was built, taking up almost the entire nave and extending into the transept. The remnants of its walls are of interest, as showing how recklessly works of art were employed for the commonest building materials. Besides fragments of porphyry and marble, I noted the torso of a statue of a youth, a block of rough amethyst as large as a child's head, a relief probably from the Temple of Castor and Pollux, a Corinthian capital, and the lower part of another statue.

But it is the decoration of the church that forms at once the greatest attraction to the sight-seer and the greatest increase of our knowledge. Previous to the unearthing of S. Maria Antiqua in the spring of 1900, our knowledge of the mural art of the sixth to the tenth centuries was derived chiefly from mosaics in a few favored churches. From these ruins it is now possible to gather a concept of the general scheme of decoration of a church, such as the mass of the faithful used for their devotions. It is also interesting to note the blending of Greek and Latin influences. The art is Byzantine, but subject to the effects of its surroundings; the saints honored come from both the west and the east of the church, and the inscriptions that identify them are composed sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Latin, while the church itself is a compromise between the Greek type of the consistent carrying through of a single scheme of decoration, and the western type, where numerous side chapels receive each a separate treatment.

Although the original pavement of *opus spicatum* is still in good condition, it was overlaid partly with colored marble, partly with grey travertine, and in the transept with mosaic. The walls and pillars were adorned freely with frescoes that were frequently renewed. Space forbids any detailed description of them, but the reader may be referred to the paper by G. McN. Rushforth, in *Papers of the British School at Rome,* I, 1-123.

In the left aisle the lower portion of the wall is covered with

a representation of tapestry hangings, above which is a picture of our Lord seated on a throne and surrounded by twenty of His saints, each of whom has his name written in Greek. Still higher are two rows of oblong pictures representing scenes from the Old Testament, the subject of which is explained in Latin inscriptions. These were balanced in the right aisle by similar representations from the New Testament, but unfortunately the decoration of this aisle is in very poor condition. In the nave frescoes may be seen on the wall of the *schola cantorum* and on the pillars, among which the picture of St. Solomon, on the southwesternmost pillar, is of especial beauty. The best preserved frescoes, however, are in the chancel and the chapel to its left. The sides of the chancel show again the tapestry dado, this time surmounted by medallions containing on a yellow background the heads of apostles, above which are pictures from the New Testament. The rear wall is of especial interest, because it shows the successive stages of the adornment of the room.

In the apse there is a figure of Our Saviour standing and surrounded by cherubim, while His Blessed Mother presents to him Pope Paul I (757-767), who is designated as still living by the addition of a square blue nimbus. An inscription of John VII (705-707) is all that can here be seen of the under layer. Above the apse is a representation of the crucifixion, forming the climax to the series of illustrations of the New Testament on the side walls. This seems to have been the only adornment received by this portion of the wall, but on each side of the apse three layers of frescoes may be traced. The first, which was prior to the construction of the apse, represented the Blessed Virgin, robed much like a Byzantine empress, seated on a throne, and holding the Infant Jesus. Beneath was an imitation of richly colored marbled incrustation. The second layer shows to the right of the apse an Annunciation, unfortunately in very poor preservation. Little remains except the heads of the Blessed Virgin and the angel Gabriel, but the beauty of the latter surpasses in artistic perfection all the frescoes of the church. To the left of the apse

are visible two fathers of the church who were balanced by two corresponding figures to the right of the apse. Each carried in his hand a scroll on which stood a Greek inscription; these have been identified, and all prove to be among the *testimonia patrum* quoted in the acts of the Lateran Council (649), and thus furnish a definite date for these frescoes.

The third layer, which is contemporary with the decorations of the side walls, was arranged in bands. At the bottom was the usual dado of tapestry, and above it in white letters on a red background: *Sanctae Dei genitrici semperque virgini Mariae.* This inscription, of which only a portion remains, was completed on the right side of the apse by the name of the dedicant. Here the plastering had fallen away but fortunately we can still identify the donor from other sources. Above the inscription probably stood four Fathers of the Church, and above these four bishops with nimbi. The one on the right is designated as Pope Martin I (649-655), while a square blue nimbus marks the figure on the extreme left, as that of the reigning pontiff. His name has crumbled away, but as he must be later than Martin I and before Paul I (cf. above the description of the frescoes of the apse), he is certainly to be identified with John VII (705-707), of whom the *Liber pontificalis* says: *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genitricis qui* (!) *Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter fecit.* Above may be seen a crowd of people adoring Our Saviour upon the cross, another band of inscriptions taken from the Messianic prophecies, and finally a group of angels filling the space beside the crucifixion.

The frescoes of the side chapel have been far better preserved as the roof of this room has never fallen. On the side walls is depicted in detail the martyrdom of St. Quiricus and his mother St. Julitta, each scene being accompanied by a Latin inscription. A niche on the rear wall has preserved for us in especially good condition a Crucifixion which is at once the most interesting and the most beautiful of these frescoes. Our Saviour, clad in a long, grey garment, is represented as still living; His head is surrounded with a nimbus,

which contains a cross, and each of His feet is nailed separately to the cross in the Greek fashion. The inscription above His head is in Greek, though the designations of the other characters are in Latin. To the left of the cross is Longinus, piercing Our Saviour's side with a spear, and to the right a soldier offering Him the vinegar. In the right foreground is St. John, carrying in his left hand a copy of the Gospels and with his right hand raised in benediction. His posture and the absence of emotion from his features show that the artist has taken a separate figure of the saint and added it to his picture without attempting to adapt it to its new surroundings. Of the corresponding figure of the Blessed Virgin this is only partially true, as she is slightly turned towards her Divine Son, and there is an attempt to represent her grief both in her features and her attitude. Beneath the niche is a row of figures, the Blessed Virgin in the center seated on a throne with Sts. Peter and Paul standing on either side, next to whom are Sts. Quiricus and Julitta, while the row is closed by two figures who are marked as living. The one on the left is Pope Zacharias (741-752), while on the right is the donor of the paintings, Theodotus, the uncle of Pope Hadrian I, holding in his arms a model of the church he had adorned. The accompanying inscription refers to it as the church *Sanctae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae quae appellatur antiqua* and thus precludes any controversy about the identity of the church. Among the other frescoes of the chapel may be mentioned, that on the front wall where a man, probably Theodotus, holding two candles, kneels before Sts. Quiricus and Julitta, and the representation of St. Armentius and three women, with the touchingly simple inscription: *quorum nomina Deus scit.*

Of the date of the conversion of the building to a church we have no record. Marucchi assumes the earliest possible date the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, but the monuments themselves point to a later period. The last fresco in the apse was the work of Paul I (757-765), this was superimposed upon a fresco of John VII (705-707) which

in turn covered a fresco completed shortly after the Lateran Council of 649. Beneath this lies another fresco, and if we allow to it the same time as its successors, we reach the conclusion that the decoration of the church began about 600. The building may, of course, have been in use for a time before the decoration began. But, as no object can possibly be connected with the church that is of an earlier date than the inscription of Amentius, the goldsmith, which is dated 572,[14] it is extremely unlikely, that the conversion of the building into a church took place before 550 A. D. Of the later history of the building the *Liber Pontificalis,* II, 14, records of Leo III (795-816) that he erected in this church: *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo pens. lib. ccxii.* Not long after, perhaps in the earthquake of 847, the ruins of the palace of Tiberius came crashing down from the Palatine and overwhelmed the church. Leo IV then transferred the title of Sancta Maria Antiqua to a church (now S. Francesca Romana), which he built on the Sacra Via in the ruins of the Templum Veneris et Romae, but popular usage fastened on the new church the name of S. Maria Nuova. The story of the change is to be found in the *Liber Pontificalis,* II, 158: *Ecclesiam autem Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae que* (!) *primitus Antiqua nunc autem Nova vocatur quam dominus Leo IV papa a fundamentis construxerat, sed picturis eam minime decoraverat, iste beatissimus praesul* (*i. e.* Nicholas I) *pulchris ac variis fecit depingi coloribus.*

The outer court of the old church was, however, accessible and continued in use, though with increasing difficulty, until, probably after the sack of the city by the Normans in 1084, the building was finally abandoned. The site now acquired the reputation of being haunted, and was known as the Infernus. With it was associated a Christianized adaptation of the early legend of Marcus Curtius' sacrifice of his life in the abyss, that had opened in the Forum at the spot where the foundations of the Lacus Curtius may still be seen. Con-

[14] The extremely interesting sarcophagus of the early fourth century found here was used a second time.

sequently, there was built here in the thirteenth century, a church entitled *Sancta Maria libera nos a poenis Inferni* or more shortly S. Maria Liberatrice, the demolition of which was the price that we had to pay for the recovery of S. Maria Antiqua.

The history of this church has already carried us far past the period of the entrance of Christianity into the Forum, and we must discontinue, although the story of the Forum under the control of Christianity is an inviting chapter of its history.

George M. Bolling.

EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

I. Sixteenth Century.

To the student of history it is by no means surprising that, in the distracted condition of Ireland during the last half of the fifteenth century and the whole of the sixteenth, the arts of peace did not make much progress at that period in that country. The remarkable lawlessness that prevailed during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III; the turmoil and party strife engendered by the appearance of two impostor-claimants to the throne of Henry VII in the persons of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; the grievances represented by "coyne and livery" and "black rent," coupled with the suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of church lands, under Henry VIII; the bitterness of sectarianism during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary; the terrible persecutions and confiscations which followed the Desmond rebellions and the revolt of Ulster, and the various atrocities which are veiled under the phrase "the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland"—all tended to keep the quondam island of saints and scholars, the sometime University of Europe, from profiting by and sharing in the advancing civilization of the times.

Scarcely a greater proof of this backwardness could be found than the fact that, despite the wonderful impetus which the invention of printing by movable types had given in most European countries to the production, multiplication, and dissemination of books, a period of some seventy-four years elapsed between the date of the introduction of printing into England by Caxton and the appearance of the first book printed in Ireland. That a printing press was set up even then would be, the condition of the country always borne in mind, a cause of some wonder, did we not know that its establishment was due to the political and religious exigencies of the party of

ascendancy rather than to any enthusiasm on the part of the nation at large for the new art.

Despite some speculative reasons that have been advanced to prove that printing was done in Ireland at an earlier date, it is now, in the absence of any actual records, generally accepted that the first Irish printing press was set up in Dublin in 1550, in the reign of Edward VI, and that its earliest production made its appearance in the following year. The title of this work was *The Boke of the common praier and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the use of the Churche of England.* This book was a verbal reprint of Grafton's edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*—the First Prayer Book of Edward VI —and bears for colophon *Imprinted by Humfrey Powell, printer to the Kynges Maiestie in his Highnesse realme of Ireland, dwellinge in the citee of Dublin in the great toure by the Crane. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, anno Domini* MDLI. This work is described by Dr. Rutty, of Dublin, in a letter of June 28th, 1744, to Dr. William Clark, of London, as a large quarto or rather folio in black letter; by Dr. Cotton, writing in 1832, it is set down as " a folio, a book of very great rarity," and he adds that " a fine and perfect copy may be seen in the library of Trinity College, Dublin." There is no copy in the British Museum, but in Emanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy which at one time was the property of Archbishop Sancroft (1616-1693). The Trinity College copy measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ by 7 inches; that in Emanuel College is $11\frac{3}{20}$ by $7\frac{3}{10}$ inches.

The Book of Common Prayer has had many vicissitudes. It is to a large extent a translation of the Catholic Liturgy, from the Breviary, the Missal, the Ritual or Manual, and the Pontifical, with the omission or alteration of those parts which were objectionable to the reformers or which in their superior wisdom they deemed superstitious, and the substitution or addition of other forms instead. Already in 1540, during the reign of Henry VIII, the liturgy had been revised by a committee of divines, and their work, further revised by a Convocation in

1543, appeared in the latter year under the title of *The King's Primer*. As a matter of fact, this was the first English Book of Common Prayer. That title, however, is usually given to the liturgy which was the work of Cranmer, Ridley, and eleven other divines, and which, fully sanctioned by Church and State, came into use on the feast of Pentecost in 1549. This First Prayer Book of Edward VI, which Powell reprinted at Dublin in 1551, differed materially from the King's Primer. It contained offices for Communion in both kinds, with offices for Sundays and Holydays, for Baptism, Confirmation, and Burial; and prescribed Prayers for the Dead and the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, Consecration, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Visitation of the Sick. In a second edition, in 1550, the ordination services were added. A Calvinistic feeling was, however, growing, and to meet this, Cranmer, with the aid of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, prepared a new version, in which there were several alterations and additions and several noteworthy omissions, among them being the omission of certain prayers for the dead. This liturgy, sanctioned by Parliament if not also by Convocation, came into operation on the feast of All Saints in 1552, and is known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. It marks the highest point of Puritanism ever attained by the liturgy of the English Church. In Mary's reign, the English Prayer Book was banned, and the Latin Missal substituted. This in turn was set aside by Parliament under Elizabeth, and in 1559 the third Book of Common Prayer was published. It was based on the Second Book of Edward VI, with alterations rather in a Catholic direction. The liturgy was further revised in the reign of James I as the result of the Hampton Court Conference, and the fourth Book of Common Prayer was published in 1604. A translation of this book into Irish, without the Psalms, appeared in 1608, and reprints of it in English were made in Dublin in 1621 and in 1637. In the last-named year the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland, generally known as Laud's Book, was published at Edinburgh. The attempt to force its adoption on Scotland produced the Solemn League and Cove-

nant with all its momentous consequences. The 1604 edition remained current in England until 1643, when its use was entirely forbidden by the Long Parliament, and from 1645 until 1661 it could not be employed unless at the risk of dire pains and penalties. On the restoration of Charles II a number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines met at the Palace of the Savoy in London—forming what is known as the Savoy Conference—for the purpose of revising the Book of Common Prayer; but, though they sat for four months, the points of difference were too many and too acute to admit of any agreement. The Episcopalian party, however, decided on some changes, which both Convocation and Parliament sanctioned, and the new version, the fifth Book of Common Prayer, appeared in 1662. This was the last edition in which any change was made by authority of Church or State in the liturgy of the Church of England, although it is true that certain services were discontinued by the late Queen Victoria by Order in Council, and that sundry slight changes have been effected in comparatively recent years. On account of a clause in the Act of Conformity, 13, Car. II [1662] requiring every Dean and Chapter in England and Wales to obtain under the Great Seal of England a true and perfect copy of that Act and of the Book of Common Prayer, this fifth book is generally called The Sealed Book of Charles II. It was reprinted in Dublin in 1664, 1665, and 1666, and frequently since. This Book was common to England and Ireland until the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869; but in 1870 a synod held in Dublin agreed on a separate Prayer Book for Ireland. This is in essentials the same as the Anglican Prayer Book, the principal difference being the omission of lessons from the Apocrypha and of certain rubrics and forms, and the addition of one question and answer in the Church Catechism.

Humphrey Powell, who printed the First Prayer Book of Edward VI in Dublin in 1551, had been a printer in Holborn Conduit, London, in 1548, and two years later he went as King's Printer to Ireland, presumably under royal patent, for we find that in July, 1550, a warrant was issued by the English Privy

Council "to deliver XX li. [twenty pounds, sterling] unto Powell the printer given him by the King's Majestie towards his setting up in Irelande." Moving from "the great toure by the Crane" to a residence in St. Nicholas Street on the south side of the River Liffey, Powell continued to carry on his business as a printer for some fifteen years after 1551, and it is said that his productions were, from the typographical point of view, "most creditable to the early Irish press." Besides the *Book of Common Prayer,* three other specimens of Powell's work have come down to us, namely, two proclamations and a *Brief Declaration of certain Principal Articles of Religion.*

The first proclamation—the forerunner of many another for which Dublin Castle was responsible—was against a personage no less redoubtable than Shane O'Neill, John the Proud. Shane O'Neill was one of the most formidable opponents that the English power ever encountered in Ireland. For a long time it was the fashion in certain quarters to pretend to regard him as a half-savage, but the verdict of history has been very different. Deficient in personal morality, and lacking those qualities of long-suffering patience and powers of organization which were the essential characteristics of his great kinsman, Hugh O'Neill, Shane was nevertheless a skilled leader in the field, and he proved himself a fine administrator in time of peace. His father, Conn O'Neill, had been created Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, and had thereupon agreed to drop the title of The O'Neill, to which he had been duly elected, and at the same time Conn's son, Matthew—illegitimate at best and doubtfully Conn's son at all—was created Baron of Dungannon, with the right of succession to the Earldom of Tyrone. Both arrangements were extremely distasteful to the clan O'Neill, and when Shane, one of Conn's legitimate sons, grew to man's estate he determined to fight for his rights and the rights of his clan. In 1551, in a dispute which arose between Conn and his son Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, the English took the side of Matthew, and carried off Conn to Dublin, where, though not actually imprisoned, he was kept, sorely

against his will, for more than a year. In revenge for this enforced detention of his father, Shane devastated Louth, one of the counties of the English Pale, in 1553, but he was ultimately defeated by an English army near Dundalk. In 1556 he went to Dublin, made his submission to the Deputy, and received pardon. His expedition in 1557 against the O'Donnell's of Tyrconnell ended so disastrously that the spirit of any one but Shane would have been broken. His star, however, was speedily in the ascendant again, for in 1558 his rival, the Baron of Dungannon, was killed, and in 1559 his father, the Earl of Tyrone, died, and Queen Elizabeth, on the representation of Sir Henry Sidney, who was then Deputy for the Earl of Sussex, decided that Shane should be allowed to succeed to his father's title and estates. On the advice of Cecil, however, she soon changed her mind, and in 1560 declared that the young Baron of Dungannon, Brian, son of Matthew, was the rightful heir to Conn, and that the lands of which he had been dispossessed by Shane should be restored; and she commanded the Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, to compel Shane to show the obedience due from a subject. So important did it seem at this juncture to crush Shane that Elizabeth herself wrote to several Irish chieftains asking for assistance against him, and a powerful confederacy of O'Reilly's and O'Donnell's, O'Madden's and O'Shaughnessy's, with Sorley Boy McDonnell of Antrim and his Scots, all aided by the English forces, was formed to compass his downfall. In face of odds apparently so overwhelming, Shane first sent to the Queen a statement of his grievances and of his claims; and then early in 1561 he invaded the Pale, turned aside and defeated O'Reilly, and finally carried off Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife from the monastery of Kilodonnell. He threw Calvagh into prison and subjected him to even grosser indignities. In retaliation for the invasion of the Pale and the defeat and contumelious treatment of the English allies, Sussex took Armagh and left a garrison there. Against this invasion of his territory Shane put in a vigorous protest. It was about this time that the proclamation declaring him to be a traitor and a rebel and

offering a reward for his head was published. It contains 212 lines and is undated, but the date is fixed as being June 23rd, 1561, by the covering letter in which the copy, now to be found in the Public Record Office, London, was sent to England. The proclamation was issued by the authority of "the Right Honble. The Earl of Sussex, Lord Lyeutenant General of Ireland with the assent of the Nobility and Councel." But the Castle fulmination was powerless at first to check Shane's onward career. His reply to it was to inflict a crushing defeat on Sussex and his army near Armagh. Another devastation of the Pale was followed by an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Sussex to have Shane assassinated by a servant, one Neal Grey. After this Shane refused to have any dealings with Sussex, but the Earl of Kildare, who was sent to Ireland from England specially for the purpose, induced him to go to London to submit the matters in dispute to Elizabeth in person, guarantees being given for his safety. His spectacular appearance at the English court accompanied by his gallowglasses has been often described. He behaved with great dignity and even haughtiness, so that a courtier spoke of him as "O'Neill the Great, cousin of St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world beside." Shane found that his suit did not make much progress, and he was detained in London, despite his remonstrances, from January until May, 1562. The wonder is that he was allowed to get away at all; but the death of Brian, the young Baron of Dungannon, recently recognized as Earl of Tyrone, made it good policy for Elizabeth and her advisers to allow Shane to return home, on certain conditions. Once safe in his native fastnesses Shane set these conditions at nought, and proceeded to attack the surrounding chieftains, the allies of England, as vigorously as ever. Peace was at length made in 1563, and Shane was confirmed in the title of The O'Neill with unquestioned and supreme power in Ulster. During this peace he governed his territory so well that the Brehon law was actively executed, robbery and violence were put down with a strong hand, commerce with the continent was encouraged and developed, the land became fertile and pro-

ductive once more under the care of the husbandman, and many dwellers of the Pale migrated to Ulster for the greater security to be enjoyed in the territory of The O'Neill. But Shane was too powerful for a subject. Sir Henry Sidney, who was sent to Ireland as Deputy towards the end of 1565, was determined to crush him, and took active measures for that object. The downfall of the northern chief was, however, to come from another quarter. On the shores of Lough Swilly in 1567 he met his Waterloo, being defeated with the loss of 3000 men by his ancient foes, the O'Donnell's. From that stricken field he fled to the protection of his sometime allies but more recent foes, the Scotch McDonnell's of Antrim. They received him kindly at first, but the memory of the defeat he had inflicted on them at Glenflesk in 1565 still rankled in their bosoms, and in a brawl that arose O'Neill was set upon and done to death. His body, which had been flung into a pit, was afterwards disinterred by one Captain Piers, who cut off the head, carried it to Dublin, and had it placed on a stake on Dublin Castle. Piers received the 1000 marks reward offered for Shane's head, and thus the proclamation, after so many years of turmoil, war, and slaughter, at length had its complete realization.

The second proclamation to which reference has been made was issued by " the Lords Justice and Counsell." It bears date August 16th, 1564, and was against " the rebels of the O'Connors." It contains 78 lines, and it also is to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

The last of Powell's printing that we know of is *A Brefe Declaration of certein Principall Articles of Religion; set out by order and aucthoritie as well of the right Honorable Sir Henry Sidney Knyght of the most noble order, Lord presidēt of the Coūcel in the Principallitie of Wales, & Marches of the same, and general deputie of this Realme of Ireland, as by Tharchebyshops, & Byshopes, & other her maiesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme.* The only copy of this pamphlet known to exist is to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains eight unpaged leaves, and measures 7 by 5⅛ inches.

With this *Brief Declaration* Humphrey Powell disappears from view, and we hear of him no more for ever. It is not to be supposed, however, that he was idle between 1551 and 1561, and again from 1561 to 1564 and from 1564 to 1566; the only assumption we can make is that what he printed during those apparently vacant periods has not survived. One work that may with considerable conjectural probability be assigned to him is the printing of the Statutes for Sir Henry Sidney, a task to which later reference will be made.

A work of a highly controversial type purports to have been printed at Waterford during the reign of Mary in 1555. It was written by John Olde, an exile for the Protestant religion under Queen Mary, and bears for title *The acquital or purgation of the moost Catholyke Christen Prince, Edwarde the VI, Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, &c., and of the Churche of Englande reformed and governed vnder him, agaynst al suche as blasphemously and traitorously infame him or the sayd Church, of heresie or sedicion.* It is dedicated thus: "To the nobilitie and to the reste of the charitable Christen laytie of Englande, John Olde wisheth grace and mercy from God the Father, and from Jesus Christe the common and only Saveour of the worlde, with the gifte of perfite faithe and earnest repentaunce." It is neatly printed in black letter, and has the quotations in italics. On the recto of the last leaf it has the following colophon in Roman type: *Emprinted at Vvaterford, the 7 daye of Novembre, 1555.* Ames and Dr. Cotton agree in the belief that, despite the colophon, this work was not printed at Waterford. The former leans to the opinion that it was privately printed in England, on the ground that he had no assurance that any press was set up so early at Waterford, and that it must have been as dangerous to print such a book openly there, during Queen Mary's reign, as in England. Dr. Cotton's reason for the rejection of Waterford is simply that he cannot claim for that city "so early an acquaintance with the mysteries of the art of printing." Neither reasoning seems entirely satisfactory in face of the explicit statement contained in the book itself.

Another, though smaller, treatise, is believed to have been printed at the same time and place as Olde's work, because the letter, paper, and presswork exactly correspond. This second work bears this formidable title: *An epistle wrytten by John Scory, the late Bishope of Chichester, unto all the faithfull that be in pryson in Englande, or in any other troble for the defence of Goddes truthe: wherein he dothe, as well by the promises of mercy as also by the nsamples of diverse holy martyres, comfort, encourage, and strengthe them patiently for Christes sake to suffer the manifolde cruell and moste tyrânous persecutiōs of ye Anti-christian tormentours; exhorting them to contynue in faythfull prayers, innocency of lyfe, patience, and hope, that God maye the rather deliver them, restore againe the light of His Gospell to Englande, and confounde all the proude, beastly, and develishe enterprises of Anti-christes garde, that doo imagine nothing els but ye subversion of the Gospell of Christ, and contynually thurste for the bloud of all due Christians. In the world ye shall have tribulatiō: but be of good cheare, I have overcom the worlde, John XV. Anno 1555.* It bears the following dedication: "Unto the faythfull and most valeānt souldiours of the great Captain, the Lorde Jesus Christ, that be in prison in England, or any other where in banyshmēt and trouble for the defence of Goddes Worde, John Scory willingly a banished man for the same Worde, wisheth from God our Father, the grace, comfort, and strength of His Holy Goost thorowe our only Mediatour Jesus Christ." At the end it has: "Apoc. 22, Veni, Domine, Jesu cito. Anno 1555," without printer's name or place. It is printed wholly in black letter, with the marginal references in italics. Both Olde and Scory's works are in the Bodleian Library.

Yet a third Waterford publication used to be mentioned in the catalogue of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the entry being: "*Archbishop Cranmer's Confutation of unwritten verities,* 8vo., Waterford, 1555." This book, however, is no longer to be found there, the story being that it and many other rare works were stolen from the library by a confidential

servant in the early years of the nineteenth century. This statement is made on the authority of Dr. Cotton, the present writer not having had the opportunity of personally verifying it.

Sir Henry Sidney, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1565, and who held the celebrated tumultuous Parliament which assembled at Dublin in January, 1568-9, ordered all the statutes enacted in Ireland from their first institution down to his own time to be collected and printed. That this was done we have proof in the *Chronicles of Ireland,* by Vowel, printed in Holinshed, 1586, in which the writer says: "Whereas there were manie good lawes and statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid up and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and utterlie unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and everie man ignorant in the lawes of his owne countrie, he [Sir Henry Sidney] caused a thorough view, and a review to be made, and then a choice of all good statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution; which, being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation." This collection of laws is assumed to have been printed at Dublin during one of Sidney's administrations. Of this, however, we cannot be quite certain, for no copy appears to be extant. If the printing was done in Dublin and early in Sidney's Irish career, the printer was probably Humphrey Powell.

This same Vowel, alias Hooker, who, by the way, was uncle to the celebrated Richard Hooker, author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity,* made a most interesting compilation which appeared in 1572 without printer's name or place of printing, but which, from certain internal evidence contained in the "Epistle Dedicatory," is with some inherent probability thought to have been printed in Dublin. Its title is *The Order and Usage of keeping of the Parlements in England, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman.* Vowel had been a member of that disorderly Irish Parliament of 1568-9 to which reference has been already made. There was so much commotion and interruption in the discharge of business for want of order and regularity that a formal request was made to the Speaker for

the reformation of conduct so unseemly. The greatly harassed Speaker promised to do his best in the matter, and, for that purpose, took counsel with those who were acquainted with the procedure of the English Parliament. Among those so consulted was Vowel, who promised to make full inquiry, and undertook to have the standing orders of the English Parliament set forth in print. With that end in view, he crossed to England, and was elected as a member for his native city of Exeter to the Parliament held at Westminster in 1571. The result of his investigations was the book, the title of which has just been given. It is thus dedicated: "To the right honorable his very good Lord, Sir William Fitz-William, Knight, L. deputye of Ireland, John Vowel alias Hooker, with all humbleness and due reuerēce, wisheth a happy successe and a prosperous gouernmēt to th' encrease of God's honour in true Religion, the Queenes maiesties seruice in due obedience, and the administration of the publique welth in Justice, Equitie, and Judgement." The dedication is dated: "The third of October, 1572." He thus tells Fitz-William how he proceeded to carry out his promise to the Speaker of the Irish Parliament. "I thought it then a moste fit time for the acquittall of my said promise, wherefore diligently I did observe, consider and mark all maner of orders, usages, rites, ceremonies, and all other circumstāces, which either I sawe with eye, or found regestred among the records of that assembly [the English Parliament]. And having written the same: I did then confer with the exemplars and presidents of tholde and ancient Parlemēts used in tymes past with in the said Realme of England, whereof I found two, the one was that which King Edgar (or as some say, King Edward the Confessor) used, thother, which was in use in time of Kīg Edward the first. The forme as wel for antiquitie's sake, as also for a presidēt to the good gouernmēt in tholde yeers: I have annexed to these presents, thother, in sōe things agreeable, and in many things disagreeable, both frō the first and the last; I have omitted. This which now is in use being it which is onely to be folowed and used." Following the dedicatory epistle he sets down "The olde and auncient order of keeping of the

Parlement in England, used in the time of King Edward the Confessor." This recital occupies sixteen pages. Next he sets down "The order and usage how to keep a Parlement in England in these dayes, colected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman, one of the citizens for the Cittie of Exeter, at the Parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini Elizabethae Reginae decimo Tertio, 1571." This disquisition runs to thirty-one pages, and is reprinted verbatim in his *Chronicles of Ireland,* inserted in Holinshed, 1586. The whole book is a quarto. There is a copy in the British Museum, where its place of origin is given conjecturally as Exeter, and its date 1575.

The first font of Irish type used in Ireland was presented by Queen Elizabeth to John Kerney, Kearney, or O'Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. O'Kearney tells us himself that the type was provided "at the cost of the high, pious, great, and mighty prince, Elizabeth." From the *State Papers* (Irish Series) we learn, under date December, 1567, that the queen had expended a sum of £66. 13s. 4d. "for the making of carecters for the testament in irishe," and this was probably the set of type which she sent to Ireland. At all events, from the font presented to him by Elizabeth, O'Kearney caused to be printed at Dublin in 1571 a book which was entitled an *Irish Alphabet and Catechism.* Besides the Catechism and some prayers, it contained the elements of the Irish Language and Archbishop Parker's celebrated "Advertisements" for church practices and ritual. The title page is translated as follows by Gertrude Burford Rawlings in her *Story of Books* (New York, 1901):

Irish Alphabet and Catechism.

Precept or instruction of a Christian, together with certain articles of the Christian rule, which are proper for everyone to adopt who would be submissive to the ordinance of God and of the Queen in this Kingdom; translated from Latin and English into Irish by John O'Kearney.

Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?
Arise, cast us not off for ever. Ps. xliii, ver. 23.

Printed in Irish in the town of the Ford of the Hurdles, at the cost

of Master John Usher, alderman, at the head of the Bridge, the 20th day of June, 1571.

With the privilege of the great Queen.

1571.

Only three copies of the work are known to exist. One is in the British Museum, another in the Bodleian Library, and the third in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral. No printer's name is given, but the printer was probably O'Kearney himself. O'Kearney was assisted in his work of translation by his intimate friend and companion, Nicholas Walsh, who at the date mentioned was chancellor of St. Patrick's, and who was consecrated bishop of Ossory in February, 1577.

It is to be remarked that the font used in printing O'Kearney's *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* is not entirely Irish, many of the letters being ordinary Roman or Italian. This font continued to be used in several works during the early years of the seventeenth century, and is found as late as 1652 in Godfrey Daniel's *Christian Doctrine.* As might naturally be expected, the Irish seminaries abroad had a better supply of Irish type. A new Irish type was cast in England by Moxon and is said by Mores (*Dissertations upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries,* London, 1778) to have been used for the first time in Bishop Bedel's translation of the Old Testament in 1686, but it would appear that it was used at least five years earlier, in 1681, in the Irish translation of the New Testament, which was printed by Robert Everingham at the charge of Robert Boyle, the great natural philosopher.

Apropos of attempts to have a version of the Bible made for the use of those inhabitants of Ireland who understood only the native tongue, it may be of interest to note that O'Kearney and Walsh appear to have also collaborated in a translation of the New Testament into Irish, for, in the records of the Acts of the Privy Council, under date August, 1587, we find it stated that this joint work was then in existence in manuscript, but was never printed partly for want of suitable type

and skilled printers and partly on acount of the cost. The conclusion which, on a review of all the facts, suggests itself is that O'Kearney's *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* was printed as a trial of the new type, that the type was found " inadequate for the larger work, and that for some reason there was a difficulty about supplying more or finding anyone to undertake the printing." [1] Hence the delay in the appearance of an Irish version of the Scriptures.

It is generally supposed that the *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* was the first book printed in Irish type, but this credit has also been claimed for Bishop Carswell's translation of the Scottish Prayer-Book, which was printed in Edinburgh in 1567 by Roibeard Lekprevik for the use of the Highlanders of Scotland in a certain form of Gaelic which was common at that period to Ireland and Scotland. The type used, however, in this latter publication is not Irish or Gaelic but Roman, so that we seem justified in allowing O'Kearney's work to hold its pride of place.

There did, however, appear in 1571 a poem in Irish, which is therefore contemporary with the *Alphabet and Catechism.* Its place of origin was Dublin. It is a religious poem of 22½ stanzas of 8 lines each, printed in broadside in three parallel columns. An original copy is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and in that form may be inspected in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The title has been thus translated by Mr. John McNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League: *A poem this, by Philip, son of Conn Crossach, in which is Shown the Awful Description of the Day of Doom, and the Manner in which Christ will come to Judgment, and the Words He shall say thereat.* The printer was probably O'Kearney.

In 1587 one William Farmer, a " Chirurgion," wrote *An Almanack for Ireland.* There is some doubt as to whether or not it was printed in Dublin, as the copy in the Bodleian

[1] *Story of Books*, p. 135.

Library is supposed to have been printed in London. At all events it was, doubtless, the earliest almanac printed in or for Ireland, and is so mentioned by Harris in his *Additions* to Ware's *Writers of Ireland,* 1746.

The list of prints produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century is closed, appropriately enough, by two proclamations. The first is dated the 12th June, 1595, and was issued in the name of the queen against the Earl of Tyrone (that is, Hugh O'Neill) and his adherents in Ulster. It was printed by William Kearney, Queen's printer, " in the Cathedrall Church of the Blessed Trinitie " (now Christ Church). It is a single sheet, and contains 67 lines. That there were good grounds for the proclamation from the Government point of view will be readily realized when it is remembered that it was issued when O'Neill had formed his great Northern confederacy, and in the very year of the battle of Clontibret—at a time therefore when suspicion of the Ulster leader had deepened into certainty, and the greatest uneasiness as to the outcome was felt by those responsible to the queen for the government of Ireland. The second proclamation issued by " the L. Deputie [Mountjoy] and Councell " was dated 22nd November, 1600, and was also against " Hugh Neale, called O'Neale." It was printed by John Franke (or Franckton) " at the Bridgefoote," was a single sheet, and ran to 50 lines. Unlike the preceding proclamation, the body of which was in black letter, this one was in Roman type. Both are to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

This completes the list of printed matter of which we have knowledge as having been produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century. To that century Ware assigns forty-two Irish writers, the authors of some one hundred and four books. Not one of these works purports to have been printed in Ireland, all showing such places of origin as Douay, Antwerp, Zurich, and Venice. Hence the list we have had so far to deal with is a rather exiguous one; but we shall see that in the seventeenth century there was a very vigorous output of books, pamphlets, proclamations, and other publications from various Irish centres.

P. J. Lennox.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT.

Part I. History.

Prologue.

In the year 1585 Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the last survivor of the ancient hierarchy of England, died an exile in Rome. For forty years the dwindling flock of English Catholics had no Bishop; and for nearly a hundred years no Catholic priest could live in the country save at the peril of the sentence for high treason. From the fatal day of the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1559, there was neither College nor School for the adherents of the old Faith, nor Seminary for the education of the clergy, nor religious houses for men or women called to the practice of evangelical perfection. The Catholic religion was doomed to extinction with a resolution and foresight almost unparalleled in the history of the Church. English youths and maidens could only be educated across the seas. And thus it happened that in a couple of generations the Catholic Church in England lost its poor and middle class, for the simple reason that no Catholic instruction could be offered them.

Still, through the munificence of royal benefactors, and the unfailing persistence and endurance of our ancestors, the Faith was saved. A movement for the education of a new race of clergy was initiated by Dr. Allen and his devoted band of Oxford graduates, who, in 1568, established the renowned College at Douay. Colleges were founded at Rheims in 1578, at Rome in 1579, at Valladolid in 1589, at Seville in 1592, at St. Omer's in 1594 and at Lisbon in 1624.

The various orders of religious men likewise founded houses abroad. In the early days of Queen Elizabeth the Bridgettine nuns of Syon House fled the country, and after many hard-

ships and wanderings finally settled at Lisbon in 1594, where they remained 240 years. Between 1598 and 1665 many English convents of Benedictines, Poor Clares, Canonesses of St. Augustine, Franciscans and Reformed Carmelites were established and flourished in Paris and Flanders.[1]

The revival under James II brought disastrous reaction in its train. In the reign of William III, astute legislative enactments were passed with the view of effecting the gradual and painless extinction of Catholicity in the realm, and a premium was placed on apostacy. The darkest days had come. The glorious age of the martyrs was but a memory, and Catholics, in order to save their property, abandoned the Faith for which their fathers had suffered imprisonment and death. Religious fervor cooled, and vocations were fewer. Yet still there were found those who worked and hoped. Here and there a Catholic school might have been met with even in the gloomiest days of the 18th century. But a new era opened when the dauntless Bishop Challoner suggested the establishment of Sedgley Park School, near Wolverhampton, which was opened in 1763.[2]

From the days of James II a School existed at Silksted, near Winchester, whence it was removed to Twyford. It died out in 1745, to be revived at Standon in 1753; from there in 1769 it was transferred to Old Hall, near Ware in Hertfordshire.[3]

The Relief Acts of 1778 aroused wild opposition, first in Scotland and then in England, which culminated in the Lord George Gordon riots in 1780. But wiser counsels at length prevailed, and in 1791 Parliament granted religious liberty, without, however, conceding political emancipation.[4]

[1] Dodd's *Church History of England.* Tierney, IV, pp. 102 seqq.
The Angel of Syon. Dom A. Hamilton, 1905, pp. 6–7.
Annals of the English Benedictines of Ghent, by the Abbess of Oulton, Staffordshire (privately printed), pp. 1, 2.

[2] *The History of Sedgley Park School* by Husenbeth. 1856, pp. 9–10.

[3] *St. Edmund's College, Old Hall* by B. Ward. 1893, cc. i-iii.

[4] *A Short History of the Catholic Church in England.* C. T. S., 1897, pp. 473–479.

In the meantime events had been moving swiftly on the Continent. The Revolutionists executed Louis XVIII early in 1793, and war followed between France and England. The French Republican army marched through Flanders, and in a few months all the English Colleges and Convents in France and Belgium (except the Benedictine Convent at Ypres) were broken up, and their inmates dispersed.

This calamitous state of things abroad, and the tolerance granted to Catholics at home, turned the thoughts of our leaders, both lay and ecclesiastical, to the dire necessity of making immediate provision for the wants of education within our own shores. The refugees from Douay formed the nucleus of the two great Colleges of St. Edmund's, Old Hall, and St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw, both founded in 1794. The Jesuits from Liège settled at Stonyhurst, and the Benedictines from Douay were welcomed at Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury.[5]

The Founding of Oscott.

The College of Oscott is a purely native institution. Already in the year 1793, and before the publication of the decree of spoliation directed by the Government of the Revolution against British subjects, Bishop Talbot, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, contemplated the establishment of a Seminary for the education of his clergy. At the suggestion of Dr. Kirk, —at that time President of Sedgley Park School, and serving the mission of Oscott,—he turned his eyes to the secluded vale of Oscott. Oscott had been the abode of a succession of worthy pastors since the time it was the home of the confessor of the Faith, Andrew Bromwich (condemned to death at Stafford in 1679, but afterwards reprieved) who died there in 1702.[6] The priest's house was spacious, and had been fitted up and used some years previously as a girls' boarding-school.

At the same time, and with the knowledge of the Bishop, a

[5] *The Oscotian*, December, 1882, pp. 191–194; July, 1883, p. 57 seqq.
[6] *The Oscotian*, July, 1883, pp. 79–88.

committee of gentlemen, including Lords Stourton and Petre, were in consultation about the establishment of a College where the sons of the nobility and gentry might receive a suitable Catholic education.

Both the Bishop and the lay committee desired to have the services of Dr. John Bew, recently come over from Paris. Dr. Bew had been educated at Sedgley Park, Douay, and at St. Gregory's, Paris, where he was for a time President. He had had the advantage of considerable experience in educational matters, and by his superior abilities and attainments speedily won the confidence of all who met him. Dr. Kirk advised Bishop Talbot to secure the coöperation of Dr. Bew, who was accordingly placed in charge of the Oscott mission, with the object of forming the projected Seminary. Although the accounts begin in February, 1794, the first student of the new institution did not arrive until May, and two others shortly afterwards. Sometime, however, before the autumn the Bishop and the lay committee had agreed to combine their respective schemes, and in the month of October a joint circular was issued making known this decision, and announcing that a mixed college would be opened on November 1st, when the necessary alterations and additions had been completed.[7]

The government of the College was a compromise. The Bishop of the Midland District had authority in all spiritual matters, and also the right of appointing the President. The lay governors took into their hands the administration of financial affairs, and in conjunction with the President, directed the education of the lay boys. The prospectus drawn up undoubtedly by Dr. Bew, appeared in October and again in November, 1794. The educational system was conceived on a comprehensive plan, embracing all the features of a liberal education without a separate professional or commercial department. It was professedly classical, including French and German, and not as we should say 'modern.' The prospectus sets religion in the foremost place, as being the 'most important

[7] *The Oscotian*, July, 1883, pp. 66 seqq.

element of education.' The teaching of Religion would receive particular attention throughout the whole course of studies. The work would be carried on daily, and would extend from 'the elements of the Catechism to the Evidences of Christianity.' Other details of the programme are the classes of Rhetoric and Philosophy,—where the appropriate duties of different conditions of life were to be fully detailed in a course of Ethics, and those principles would be there established on which Conduct throughout life must be regulated,—the learning by heart of selected passages from the different authors, the practice of composition in various languages, especially English, monthly and quarterly examinations. The discipline of the College was conceived in such a way as to 'promote efficiently the strictest morality, self control, good manners and bodily vigor.' The staff entrusted with the responsibility of this programme was amply sufficient for the number of pupils. The President had for his assistant the Rev. Thomas Potts, who had been educated at Douay, there also he had taught classics. After his return to England he had occupied for thirteen years the post of chaplain to Francis Fortesque Turville, Esq., at Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. Assistant lay masters were engaged, presumably for French or German, and among them were French *émigrés*. The formal opening of the College, then capable of receiving sixteen students, took place on November 1st, 1794, with three ecclesiastics and two lay boys.

The early growth of the institution was slow and disheartening. The first three church students abandoned their project; and many of the lay boys remained but one year. In 1797 the number had reached eighteen. After this the accommodation was increased so that sixty could be received, and the total went up to thirty-five. Still progress remained unsatisfactory, and the financial condition caused embarrassment. Eventually, in the year 1808, the lay committee offered the entire establishment, buildings and furniture together with liabilities reaching nearly £600, to Dr. Milner, successor to Bishop Talbot as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District. Dr. Milner

accepted the offer of what was in substance a valuable possession, and henceforth the College became the absolute property of the Bishop of the Midland District, and bore the name of St. Mary's College.[8]

Bishop Milner and the "New Government."

The "Old Government," as it was styled, came to an end after a precarious existence of fourteen years, but not without producing rich and noble fruit. The "New Government"—with the Rev. Thomas Potts as President, the Rev. Thomas Walsh (spiritual director from Sedgley Park) as Vice-President, and the Rev. Francis Quick, a zealous and intelligent convert, as Procurator,—happily commenced its career on the feast of the Assumption, 1808. The Bishop remodelled not only the staff, but the domestic arrangements, the discipline, the studies, the religious and liturgical observances. The number of students soon rose to forty-eight, of whom seven were ecclesiastics.[9]

Under the masterful direction of Bishop Milner the College developed rapidly. Year by year structural changes and additions were made to meet the increasing requirements. The "Laura" for the accommodation of the older ecclesiastical students was erected in 1809, the chapel enlarged in 1810, sometime in the summer of the same year the library of books at Harvington, Worcestershire, belonging to the clergy of the Midland District, was transferred to Oscott, the colonnade and Exhibition-room built in 1816, the new wing containing 'Milner's rooms' in 1819, the Sacred Heart chapel in 1820,—the first in England,—the Holford Farm purchased in 1820 for the sum of £4,213. In 1822 the number of students reached some sixty or seventy boys not including divines.

The two Presidents, the Rev. T. Potts (1808-1818) and

[8] *Life of Bishop Milner* by Husenbeth, p. 157.
Life of Mgr. Weedall by Husenbeth, c. iii.
[9] *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, p. 129.

the Rev. Thomas Walsh (1818-1825) were the pliant instruments of Milner's influence. The Rev. Henry Weedall had occupied a distinguished position in the College since his arrival as a boy in 1804. He had been prominent in the athletic pastimes of the boys, eminent in his studies, a model of regularity and piety. He held the office of Vice-President under the Rev. T. Walsh, and when in 1825 the latter was named coadjutor to Bishop Milner, the reins naturally fell into his hands. The following year the great Milner died, and Walsh succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the District.

The appointment of Weedall was in every way a happy one. A man of rare refinement and delicacy of feeling, with a natural dignity and unruffled self-control, he proved himself through many trying circumstances an ideal President for lay boys, and one who commanded the confidence of parents to an extraordinary degree. He had the wisdom to develop the resources which the energetic administration of Milner and his assistants had bequeathed him. He had the sagacity to perceive that suitable expansion was impossible in the contracted and secluded area of the Old College. Already in 1830 it was full to overflowing; even the new exhibition-room had to be used as a dormitory. At this juncture Dr. Kirk, then in charge of the neighboring mission of Lichfield, submitted plans for a new college, drawn up in concert with Mr. Potter, the cathedral architect, together with suggestions for raising the requisite funds. The project was accepted, clergy and people accorded it a generous welcome, and a munificent benefaction, which at the time came into the hands of Bishop Walsh, relieved him from further serious anxiety.[10] A site about two miles distant from the 'Old College,' on an eminence, covered with gorse and heather, with a wide, smiling valley before it, was purchased, and in three years the new buildings were completed at a cost of £24,000.

The general design recalls the old Gothic Colleges of Oxford.

[10] *The Buildings, Museum, Pictures, and Library of St. Mary's College, Oscott*, by Canon Greaney. (Privately printed 1899), pp. 6–7.

From the long and stately front of four storeys with its high central tower two wings fall back and are connected by an ambulacrum. The unity of plan is admirable, and in the space of seventy years few additions have been necessary, while harmony of style has been preserved even in the remotest portions of the extensive outbuildings.

In the year 1837, before the College was finished, Augustus Welby Pugin, then a young man and a recent convert, came to the 'Old College.' His book on "Contrasts" appeared the year before, and had just been read in the College refectory. Weedall welcomed him, appointed him professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and commissioned him to complete the chapel of the New College.[11]

The furniture of the principal rooms, which had been designed by Pugin, the richness of the new Gothic vestments, the decorative work of Pugin, the splendid ceremonial, appeared like a heavenly vision to the six hundred visitors assembled at the opening of the Chapel on May 31st, 1838. A year later the Marini Library, consisting of some thousands of volumes, was purchased at Rome by Dr. Wiseman then Rector of the English College, and presented by Bishop Walsh to the College, the total cost being nearly £4,000. John, Sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, presented a collection of two hundred oil paintings in addition to other princely gifts. But in the hour of his crowning success Weedall was appointed in 1840 to one of the newly created Vicariates. But "he had no wish to lose the vantage-ground on which he stood, and from which he could command the coöperation, in such services as might remain to him, of the many Catholics who had successively been trained up under his eye. He was quietly exerting an influence through the whole English Church, and Oscott was a centre more favorable to its extension than that which was offered to him elsewhere." [12] The blow was as crushing as it had been unexpected. He left for Rome to pray the Holy

[11] *The Oscotian*, July, 1887, pp. 182–188; July, 1905, pp. 107–114.

[12] "The tree beside the waters." Funeral sermon by Dr. Newman, p. 17.

Father to relieve him of a burden for which he was so unfitted. He had "sacrificed," as he said in his appeal to the Holy See, "time, health, studies, everything to the successful establishment and management of Oscott." His petition was granted, but on his return to England, he found that he had been superseded by Bishop Wiseman in the administration of the College he had loved and served with a life-long devotedness.[13] Into the pathetic story of his retirement we cannot enter here, but must sketch as briefly as may be the grand and spacious times of Bishop Wiseman's presidency.

Bishop Wiseman and the Converts.

The coming of Bishop Wiseman inaugurated the most brilliant period in the history of Oscott. A European fame had preceded him, and the memory of an impressive retreat preached by him at the College in September, 1839, had made his personality already familiar.

When he reached the lodge gates on September 9th, 1840, the horses were unharnessed and his carriage drawn up by the boys to the entrance. He was conducted to the Chapel. A Te Deum was chanted, after which all the company proceeded to the library, where amid enthusiastic cheering, Bishop Walsh announced that Dr. Wiseman was the new President. Dr. Wiseman chose as his Vice-President the Rev. Charles F. H. Logan, D. C. L., a gentleman of gracious manners and scholarly attainments. He was received into the Church in his youth, and had studied at the English College, Rome.

With a soul simple and childlike, Wiseman had all the grandeur of a mediaeval churchman. The interests that absorbed his mind were not bounded by the woods of Oscott, or even by the limits of the Central District, but by the shores of England. Our fathers had been narrowed by generations of retirement and obloquy. Their faith was strong, their lives honorable and stainless; but they hardly spoke the lan-

[13] *Life of Monsignor Weedall* by Husenbeth, 1860, cc. xiv, xv.

guage of their countrymen, and had had no opportunity of learning to understand or to sympathize with their religious difficulties. No such limitations hampered the new ruler of Oscott. No local or collegiate traditions checked in him the aspirations which to many of his colleagues seemed over sanguine. He probably knew nothing of the history of the house he was called to govern; but he believed firmly that it had a destiny far higher than that it was pursuing when he entered within its stately walls. "Never," he wrote in 1847, "never for an instant, did I waver in my full conviction that a new era had commenced for England . . . To the promotion of this grand object of England's hopes I devoted myself . . . Among the providential agencies that seemed justly timed, and even necessary for it, appeared to me the erection of this noble College, in the very heart of England. Often in my darkest days and hours, feeling as if alone in my hopes, have I walked in front of it, and casting my eyes towards it, exclaimed to myself, 'No, it was not to educate a few boys that this was erected, but to be the rallying point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church, which has commenced and must prosper." [14] Within a year of his appointment he wrote the following words to his intimate friend and coöperator in the cause, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle: "Let us have an influx of new blood, let us have even a small number of such men as write in the *Tracts,* so imbued with the spirit of the early Church; . . . let even a few such men, with the high clerical feeling which I believe them to possess, enter fully into the spirit of the Catholic religion, and we shall be speedily reformed, and England quickly converted. I am ready to acknowledge that, in all things except the happiness of possessing the truth, and being in communion with God's true Church, and enjoying the advantages and blessings that flow thence, we are their inferiors . . . I have long said it to those about me, that if the Oxford Divines entered the Church, we must

[14] Quoted in *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman,* Wilfrid Ward, I, pp. 347–8.

be ready to fall into the shade and take up our position in the background." [15] He threw himself with all the sympathy and energy of his strong nature into the Tractarian movement, and opened communications directly and indirectly with its leaders. Anglicans were sure of a welcome at Oscott. Sibthorp was the first convert received at Oscott in October, 1842.

Le Page Renouf was confirmed at Oscott and stayed there from 1842 to 1846. Rev. G. Talbot was received and entered divinity at Oscott in 1843. St. George Mivart came after his conversion in 1844 and remained till 1846. Bernard Smith, M. A., also arrived in 1844 and remained till his ordination in April, 1847. In the August of 1845 W. G. Ward, J. D. Dalgairns, F. Bowles, R. Stanton, paid Wiseman a visit. On October 9th Newman, Bowles, and Stanton entered the Church at Littlemore through the ministry of Father Dominic. "Newman came to Oscott," writes Wiseman, "on the Eve of All Saints with Messrs. St. John and Walker, and was followed by Mr. Oakeley. On All Saints, Newman, Oakeley and the other two were confirmed, and we had *ten* quondam Anglican clergymen in the chapel . . . Newman stayed with us Sunday and half of Monday, and he and all his party then expressed themselves, and have done so since, highly gratified by all they saw and felt." [16]

Many years afterwards when raised to the Cardinalate, Newman touchingly referred to his visits to Oscott in the reply to an address presented to him in 1879 by the clergy and laity of the diocese of Birmingham. "I recollect, for instance," he said, "thirty-six years ago, with what anxiety Dr. Wiseman, then coadjutor Bishop, exerted himself, when I was living near Oxford, to bring me within the safe lines of Holy Church, and how when I had been received by Father Dominic . . . I at once found myself welcomed and housed at Oscott, the

[15] Quoted in *The Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, by E. S. Purcell, Macmillan, 1900, Vol. I, p. 290.

[16] Wiseman to Murray. Quoted in *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, Ward, I, p. 433.

whole College, boys, I may say, as well as the authorities of the place, receiving me with open arms, till I was near forgetting that I must not encroach on their large hospitality. How many kind and eager faces, young and old, come before me now as they passed along the corridors or took part in the festivities of St. Cecilia's Day, or assisted at more directly sacred commemorations during the first months that I was a Catholic, and afterwards, when Dr. Wiseman had called us from Oxford to be near him." [17]

In the same year the two Marshalls visited the College. The year following J. Brande Morris, M. A., H. Formby, M. A., and D. Haigh, M. A., entered the course of divinity at Oscott. H. M. Walker, M. A., and Thomas Wilkinson (the present Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle) entered in 1847. E. E. Estcourt, M. A., came in 1849. Most of the above spent at least two years reading for the priesthood. In the eyes of Wiseman, Oscott had become the centre of a great revival. Thither he welcomed all whose faces were turned to better and brighter days. He could sympathize with the ardent genius of Pugin, though brought up himself under the exclusive influence of classic models; he made known the fulness and the gorgeousness of liturgical services in which he took a peculiar delight; he worked encouragingly with those, who, like Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, were laboring for the restoration of the ancient chant; and no one enjoyed more keenly than he, the profuse richness of florid ecclesiastical music. But his apostolic earnestness for the conversion of England was yet wider and deeper than his ardor for the glories of worship. He found at Oscott Father Ignatius Spencer, who had been summoned by Bishop Walsh from the mission which he had created at West Bromwich, to the office of Dean and spiritual director at Oscott about the commencement of May, 1839. Spencer burned with an overflowing zeal for the conversion of England to the ancient Faith.

When the simple, uncouth and saintly Italian Apostle

[17] *The Tablet*, September 27, 1879, p. 407.

Father Dominic came over in November, 1840, Oscott received him; but the time was not ripe for his work, and he left disappointed, but returned the next year and remained at Oscott to learn English, from October 7th, 1841 to February 17th, 1842, when he removed to his first Passionist foundation in England, at Aston in North Staffordshire. When all were opposed to the strange innovations of Father Dominic, Wiseman stood by him, and was justified by events.[18]

Wiseman tells us how he introduced Newman to the Old College in a letter to Dr. Russell of Maynooth at the end of 1845. "I have good hopes that he (Newman) will transfer his establishment to our Old College, which seems made for such a community. We went over it very minutely, to see what arrangements could be made. The difficulty is the abandoning so important a post as Oxford; while, on the other hand, he feels the importance of giving his young friends a good Catholic training and education, which cannot be done at Littlemore.[19]

In the February of 1846 Newman and his community removed from Littlemore to Oscott. The Old College, at Christie's suggestion, Newman called St. Mary's Vale, or afterwards Maryvale. There they were later joined by Faber and the Wilfridians, from Cotton Hall, North Staffordshire. They remained at Maryvale, studying their theology and attending to the needs of the mission until 1849, when they restored the College to the Bishop, and took up their residence at the mission of St Anne's, Birmingham.[20]

The old chapel built in 1778, with the embellishments and additions of Milner, 1810-1820, stands just as it appeared nearly one hundred years ago. The Sacred Heart chapel, the first in England, where Milner used to say Mass, and "Mil-

[18] *Life of Father Dominic*, by Pius Devine. Washbourne, 1898, cc. xxi-xxxi.

[19] *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, by Ward, I, p. 433.

[20] In 1851 Bishop Ullathorne placed the Old College at the disposal of the Sisters of Mercy. The visitor of to-day will see the College as it stood in the time of Milner, with the exception of the "Laura," which was demolished as useless, and the Exhibition-room which was destroyed by fire in 1860.

ner's Rooms" are still there; and the rooms of the College are remembered to this day as the President's room, the Divines' room, the Refectory and so forth.

Wiseman was loved by the boys, admired, nay revered, by the converts, distrusted as a visionary by the old Catholic tradition of the house. He charmed the divines by his occasional theological conferences. He made the College known and respected throughout England, giving an historical importance to its position in English Church history such as it must ever retain. He was active in the ecclesiastical concerns of the District, preaching sermons and consecrating churches. He was busy with his articles for the *Dublin Review,* for he had an article in nearly every number during the time that he was at Oscott.[21] He received guests frequently and visited much; he corresponded with the leading men in the religious movement of the day. He transformed the Church services and enriched them with music. He was indeed all this and more without, however, being a successful administrator of the College.

Dr. John Moore and the Gothic revival.

In August, 1847, on the death of Dr. Griffiths, Dr. Wiseman was appointed Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District. In August, 1848, he became coadjutor on the translation of Bishop Walsh to that District. In the February of the following year Bishop Walsh died, and Wiseman succeeded him.

The rule of Oscott had in the meantime devolved upon Wiseman's chief assistant, the Rev. Charles F. H. Logan, who formed a new staff of good though undistinguished workers, but resigned the responsibilities of office at the end of the school year.[22] Bishop Ullathorne, the successful pioneer of the

[21] *Dublin Review,* April, 1896. Our Diamond Jubilee. The Oscott copy of this number mentions Wiseman as the writer of articles between 1840 and 1845 when the *Dublin* itself in the Appendix, pp. 471–476, gives no information.

[22] Dr. Logan died at Clifton, December 1, 1884, at the age of 86: *The Tablet,* December 13, 1884, p. 942.

Church in New South Wales, succeeded to the government of the Midland District on July 28th, 1848, and summoned an old Oscotian, the Rev. John Moore, to the guidance of the fortunes of the College. The new President, created Doctor of Divinity at the commencement of his administration, had proved himself a zealous missioner and a wise director of souls. He reluctantly accepted a position for which he believed himself unqualified, declaring that he was born to obey rather than to command. His tastes were eminently ecclesiastical, and he was imbued with an exuberant love of Gothic ideas. During his presidency England witnessed the restoration of the hierarchy, and in July, 1852, the College was honored by the assembling of the first Provincial Synod of the new hierarchy within its walls.[23]

A large oil painting by James Doyle, brother of the celebrated "Dickey" Doyle, of *Punch,* representing a session of the Synod in the College chapel, now hangs in the front cloister. The leader of the Oxford movement, J. H. Newman, then seven years a Catholic, addressed to the Fathers of the Synod from the pulpit of the College chapel the wonderful and ever-memorable words of "The Second Spring."

Still external renown did not indicate any measure of financial prosperity, and with numbers diminished to almost a third of what Wiseman found in 1840 on his enthusiastic installa-

[23] A memorable and distressing incident of this period was the committal of Dr. Moore and Bishop Ullathorne to Warwick gaol. They happened to be trustees of a charitable fund drawing its income from some eighty shares in the Monmouthshire & Glamorganshire Banking Company. The Bank failed with heavy liabilities. In settlement of the claim against them as shareholders, Dr. Ullathorne and Dr. Moore agreed to pay £1,000 which they had borrowed for the purpose. But further claim was made amounting to £3,800. They had done all they could, and were willing to surrender all their personal property, the total value of which was £200. This offer was refused, and in April, 1853, Bishop Ullathorne was arrested at his residence in Bath Street, Birmingham, and Dr. Moore at Oscott College, whence they were conveyed to the County gaol.

The Birmingham Journal, of the day remarked: "These two gentlemen are now in custody, never having received one farthing for the onerous liability which they have unconsciously incurred. They have no alternative, therefore, but to pass through the Insolvency Court, as the only means of obtaining their discharge." Quoted, *Oscotian,* Jubilee Number, pp. 80–81.

tion, Dr. Moore urgently requested the Bishop to be allowed to resign his charge in June, 1853.[24]

The Return of Dr. Weedall.

At this crisis in the history of the College, Bishop Ullathorne recognized that there was a man at his command upon whose name, devotedness, experience and influence he might reckon to restore what had been lost. He therefore called Dr. Weedall from his simple missionary duties at Handsworth, to the direction of St. Mary's College. Though in his sixty-sixth year he consecrated all his remaining strength to the resuscitation of the life and vigor of the institution he had served so long and with such unqualified success. The name of Weedall rallied the friends of the College, and it flourished once more. He chose a staff of men bred amid the traditions of Oscott,—pious, able and true; and they worked loyally with him to the end. In 1854 Pius IX conferred on him the Prelacy; and twice during his administration, in the summer of 1855 and 1859, the Provincial Synod of the English Bishops was held at Oscott. With the restoration of the College to a condition of prosperity, his task was done, and after a tedious and painful malady he died on the 7th of November, 1859,—the first of Oscott's Presidents to die in office. His body was laid to rest in the crypt beneath the altar of the College chapel he himself had built.

In the circular letter in which Bishop Ullathorne announced his death to the clergy of the diocese, he made use of the words which justly sum up his services to the College: "In his vigor of life he raised that College up in its splendor, and at the

[24] He spent the remainder of his days as chaplain to the community of Sisters of Mercy at Handsworth, and pastor of the mission, in which office he lived as a saint and died the death of the just on June 21st, 1856, in his fiftieth year. "Let me have a simple monument," he said to his brother shortly before his death, "just a stone to keep the rain off. John Powell knows what I should like. And let me be carried to the grave by sixteen poor men; one set of bearers is not enough."

voice of obedience left it prospering; at the same voice of obedience, he returned again to it in its hour of difficulty, and expended on its service all the energies of life that yet remained to him. God blessed his work."

Though the noble pile of buildings which form the College is itself the worthiest memorial of this most distinguished of the sons of Oscott, the gratitude of his pupils and the appreciation of his friends erected to his memory the beautiful "Weedall Chantry," designed by Peter Paul Pugin, and completed in January, 1862, at a cost of £800, the greater portion of which had been defrayed by subscriptions. Dr. Newman preached his funeral discourse at Oscott, giving it for a title "The tree beside the waters." "We are taking," he said, "our last farewell of the remains of one of the old school,—of that old school of Catholics which has characteristics so great and so special. . . His was an unselfish spirit, which labored, and then let others enter into his labors." Pp. 21-22.

Northcote's Time.

Dr. George Morgan, a gentlemanly and scholarly Oscotian of the old type, succeeded Mgr. Weedall, with the Rev. James Spencer Northcote, M. A., an Oxford convert of some five years' standing, as his Vice-President. Catholics were beginning to feel the deficiencies and inconveniences of their long isolation, and the speedy advancement of the young M. A. of Oxford, a man of presence, piety and literary distinction was assured. Accordingly on the retirement of Dr. Morgan at the close of the summer term in 1860, Northcote succeeded him at the age of thirty-nine, and was formally installed on July 10th.[25]

Northcote, who even less than Wiseman, was bound by the traditions of Oscott, set about remodelling the studies on the plan of the leading English schools. He increased the number

[25] Dr. Morgan closed his useful though uneventful career on November 20th, 1861, in his sixtieth year, through heart failure, at the mission of Scatterford, Gloucestershire.

of professors, thus rendering less necessary the assistance of the untrained divines in the work of the classes, and in a short time gathered around him a first-rate staff, which stood with him during his long administration of seventeen years. Among his colleagues should be mentioned the Rev. Edmund Knight, son of Sir Arnold Knight,—his bright and amiable Vice-President (afterwards Bishop of Shrewsbury), Rev. Walter Martin, the pattern of prefects; Rev. H. B. Davies (afterwards Canon) his first prefect of studies, an Oscotian of long and varied experience and distinguished as a student, an athlete and a professor of the higher classes; Rev. John Hawksford (afterwards President) and Rev. William Stone, a most devoted son of the College,—both excellent Prefects of studies,—and professors like the Rev. Charles Meynell, D. D., Rev. Henry Walker, M. A., and Rev. W. H. Bodley, M. A. Nor should we forget laymen like Charles Jeffries, one of the finest classical scholars in the country or Robert S. Moody, M. A.

In addition to the private examinations for which particular boys were prepared, he introduced public Collegiate examinations. Himself a good classical scholar, he always took one of the higher classses, and impressed those about him with a love of work and a taste for scholarship, as may be seen for example in his Oscott sermons. Other external professional assistance was secured, the boys being examined by Oxford 'Dons,' and the staff of the Birmingham Oratory School. Dr. Northcote used to lecture splendidly, especially on recreative subjects. He was a schoolmaster of a broad and enlightened type,—above all things an ideal priest, in all things gentlemanly and high-spirited, full of dignity, yet affable and playful, and a true bond of union among the staff and in the College at large.

Shortly after he had entered upon his duties he encouraged the foundation of the Oscotian Society, one of the first of its kind; he enriched the College with many beautiful and costly gifts. Towards the close of 1862 an outbreak of scarlatina appeared, which after subsiding, again recurred, so that it was thought advisable to send the boys home. In 1866 he had to undergo the painful ordeal of the Fitzgerald *v.* Northcote trial,

in which he was the defendant in a case brought by Judge Fitzgerald for an alleged assault upon and the unlawful dismissal of his son from the College the previous year. Fitzgerald, one of the senior students, had been dismissed as being the prime mover in a conspiracy, the object of which would render intolerable the lives of the Church students in the house. His pocket-book containing evidence had been taken from him by the Prefect, and for a short time before his depatrure, he had been locked in his room to prevent his holding any communication with the other boys. After a three days' hearing a verdict was given for the plaintiff, damages being assessed at £5; and for the retention of the pocket-book, 1s. The verdict carried costs, amounting to nearly £800; these, however, were paid almost entirely by the generous subscriptions of friends.[26]

In 1868 the College suffered a distressful visitation of diphtheria, to which five of the household or dependents succumbed, and in less than two years, from one cause or another, eight or nine deaths of students, servants, or professors occurred within the College precincts.

During Northcote's period of office the Academic Hall, the last of Weedall's projects, was erected, and on account of his generous donation of £1000 on leaving the College in 1877, it has since been known as "The Northcote Hall." He likewise constructed the gymnasium, the swimming bath, the cricket ground and the pavilion. But while he had the advantage of a splendid presence, his health, never robust, yielded eventually to the strain of unceasing application, and after more than one break-down, he was compelled to resign in July, 1877.[27]

Northcote held office longer than any other President without

[26] *Report of the Trial: Fitzgerald v. Northcote and another.* Burns, 1886.

[27] He retired first to Stone, then to his former mission of Stoke-on-Trent, where he worked for nearly thirty years longer, though during the latter years of his life his limbs were rendered useless by paralysis. The Golden Jubilee of his priesthood was celebrated with unusual honor twenty-eight years after he quitted the College. He died on March 3rd, 1907, and after the solemn Requiem at Stoke, at which Dr. Barry, a quondam pupil delivered an address, his body was conveyed to Oscott, where it lies in the cemetery he opened in 1863, under the shadow of the chapel.

an interruption. He maintained the best traditions of the College, and made it a great public school, worthy for its tone, its discipline, its piety and its scholarship, to take its place with any school in the country. Still, while it is true to speak of this presidency as "The Golden age of Oscott," it is also true that a certain decline set in from this time. The epidemic of diphtheria affrighted parents, and the trial gave notoriety without increasing prestige. After these misfortunes the College never regained the position it had previously held. Add to these causes of decline the increasing competition among Catholic colleges, the diminution of the contingent of boys from Ireland, and the gradual withdrawal of Church students on account of the establishment of the Diocesan Seminary at Olton.[28]

The Closing Years of the Mixed College.

No more devoted Oscotian could have been chosen to succeed Dr. Northcote than the Rev. John Hawksford, an able and experienced teacher of boys, and a man of strong principle and transparent candor. He had known Oscott from a youth, and had lived and taught there for a space of twenty-five years. Continuity with the prosperous age of Northcote was ensured by retaining men who had worked under his guidance. Dr. Barry was called in to teach theology, and the Rev. William Greaney, who had distinguished himself in various departments when a divine, was invited to assume the manifold responsibilities of the Vice-President. The school-work prospered steadily; much was done for the domestic convenience and comfort of the household; the festivities and solemnities of collegiate life were maintained at a high standard; the Roman Society and Cardinal Newman visited the College. The distinctive and permanent feature perhaps of this short period was the formation of the Ecclesiastical Museum by the Vice-President, which opened a new era in the influence and interests

[28] *Oscotian*, July, 1907. Northcote Number.

of the place, and people began to learn what an accumulation of art treasures had been imperceptibly growing since the inauguration of the New College in 1838. But ill health brought on in the service of the College caused the President to place his resignation in the hands of the Bishop on October 4th, 1880.

After a rest of some months he received the appointment of Rector of the parish of St. Austin's, Stafford; but he soon found that at the age of fifty-seven, it was impossible to change the habits and tastes of a lifetime, so he asked to be allowed to take up his residence as a simple professor at St. Wilfrid's College, Oakemoor, North Staffordshire,—the successor of Sedgley Park School—where in 1883 he became President, an office which he held for twelve years. He then resigned, but only to continue his vocation of teaching till his death on December 17th, 1905.[29]

Dr. Edward Acton, an Oscotian and son of a distinguished student of the Old College, entered upon office in October, 1880, ably seconded by his friend the Rev. Joseph J. Daly. He brought together a strong and loyal staff of clerics and laymen. His rule of something over four years furnishes a true type of sustained, vigorous collegiate activity and development. The provisions of earlier times left little room for material expansion, but the Northcote Hall was completed, the beautiful chapel redecorated, and the *Oscotian Magazine* revived.

Unfortunately Dr. Acton's tenure of office came to a premature end through a division in the local cabinet, in consequence of which the President felt called upon to tender his resignation on January 1st, 1885.[30] The Bishop without delay entrusted the care of the establishment to the Very Rev. Joseph H. Souter,—the President of St. Wilfrid's—a man of wide and varied experiences in financial and educational matters. He brought with him not only some external resemblance to the great Weedall, but also a personal attachment to him, and

[29] *Oscotian*, April, 1906, pp. 98–103.
[30] See *The Tablet*, March 11, 1899, p. 382.

a keen appreciation of his spirit. Once more the College was equipped with a staff that will bear favorable comparison with any of its predecessors; and in the theological department it may be described as excellent, having such men as Dr. (now Mgr.) Schobel, Dr. McIntyre, Rev. F. W. Keating (now Bishop of Northamption) and the Rev. J. Hopwood, afterwards President of St. Wilfrid's. The Rev. John Caswell,—who had received his training under Dr. Northcote, and had well won his spurs as tutor of the younger boys, and especially as spiritual director under subsequent Presidents,—accepted the position of Vice-President. The judicious management of Canon, now Monsignor Souter cleared off all outstanding liabilities, and in paying off the last instalment to the Bishops who represented the interest of the old Midland District in the institution, he secured the College and its dependencies as the exclusive property of the Bishop of Birmingham. In July, 1888, the Golden Jubilee of the College was celebrated with all solemnity and grandeur, on which occasion appeared the Jubilee number of the *Oscotian,* an indispensable book of reference for the history, students and professors of the College.[31] The number of boys at Oscott in July of the Jubilee year was but eighty-five; but nothing daunted, the valiant staff pushed on, hoping for better days as the result of their striving. Undoubtedly, the actual financial condition of the establishment was sound. The annual Syllabus of the year's work shows evidence of unremitting earnestness. The Archbishop of Cabasa, Dr. Ullathorne, who had been living in retirement at the College for some years, closed his long and eventful career on St. Benedict's day, 1889, at the age of eighty-three.[32]

All went on smoothly and cheerfully, till the month of June, when the following letter from the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Ilsley, came as one of the great surprises of life to most of those residing in the College.

[31] See *The Tablet,* July 28, August 4, 1889, pp. 138, 177.
[32] *The Tablet,* March, 1889, pp. 464, 502.

Bishop's House, Birmingham,

June 20th, 1889.

My dear Monsignore,

During the last few months various circumstances have combined to direct my attention to the subject of the education of our aspirants to the priesthood. As the matter is one which vitally affects the College over which you preside, it is my duty to make known to you the conclusion at which I have arrived.

Ever since the Seminary of St. Bernard was founded in 1873, we have felt the difficulty of supplying the material for the two schools of theology at Olton and at Oscott. Of late the anomaly of maintaining a double staff and two bodies of students has been only more apparent; and the conviction has been forced upon me that sooner or later the unification of the two schools was inevitable. When therefore it became necessary to choose between the two, the advantage was manifestly on the side of Oscott, and Oscott has been selected as the permanent home of the Diocesan Seminary. It was founded, as you know, primarily for the purpose of educating priests for the Central District. It is true it was also intended to serve for the education of the laity; and this double purpose was subsequently approved by the Holy See as a provincial arrangement until such time as we had means to establish separate schools for clergy and laity. But we can no longer plead inability to maintain a diocesan seminary according to the mind of the Church. Now the mind of the Church is clear. She will have aspirants to the priesthood provided with such an education and training in a congenial atmosphere and with such surroundings as will afford a reasonable hope that they will come forth not merely possessing the requisite technical knowledge, but thoroughly imbued with the priestly spirit, and fully equipped for their work. Hence she will not tolerate the existence of a lay college within the walls of a seminary, especially in a country like this where colleges for the laity abound.

This decision will, I fear, cause you serious disappointment, and give pain to your excellent body of clergy and students,

and to many friends of the College outside who may fail to see why it cannot continue to discharge its two-fold function as heretofore. But my duty to the diocese, and loyal obedience to the dictates of the Church in the discharge of that duty, must outweigh every other consideration. And it is this sense of duty alone that has nerved me for the painful task of closing to the laity the doors of my own Alma Mater, and erasing from the roll of Catholic Colleges one which can boast such a record of useful service, and one with whose history, extending over well-nigh a century, are bound up such distinguished and honored names in every profession and sphere of life.

Let me say in conclusion, that this resolution has been taken not without mature deliberation and consultation with the Cathedral Chapter and other friends of the College.

You are hereby authorized to take such measures as, with due consideration for the interests of all parties concerned, you judge expedient for giving effect to this decision.

I pray God to bless you, and remain, my dear Monsignore,

Your devoted servant in J. C.,

✠ Edward, Bishop of Birmingham.

The Right Rev. Monsignor Souter.

On receiving the above communication from the Bishop of the Diocese, the President of the College, Mgr. Souter, addressed a circular letter to the parents of the boys.

St. Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham,
June 21st, 1889.

Dear .....

The enclosed letter from the Bishop of Birmingham will explain why I have to notify to the friends of St. Mary's Oscott, that the College is about to be closed to lay students.

It is no part of my duty to discuss the wisdom of the decision that has been come to. I have merely to state that, in accordance with his Lordship's directions, after the present term St. Mary's will be open to receive ecclesiastical students only.

Naturally, nothing remains for me but to tender my resignation, and to thank the parents and friends of the students who have during the past five years been confided to my care, for much personal kindness and even friendship which I have met with at their hands. I owe it to them to say how much I regret that it should be deemed necessary to close this old "historic College" to their sons; and I owe it to myself and to my Collegiate staff to affirm that nothing in the internal condition of the College, or of its studies or of its finances, has contributed to a change which so many will deplore. On the contrary, never has there been more harmony among the officials, never more activity in the matter of public examinations, or greater ease as regards the financial position of the College than at present.

It is further due to myself to state that when, on occasion of our Jubilee celebration last year, the Oscotian Society signalized the event by the munificent donation of £1000 to the College, I had not the faintest suspicion that we were on the eve of so important a change in the destinies of St. Mary's.

Under the somewhat trying circumstances in which I and those who are associated with me are suddenly placed, we have thought it advisable to close the academic year without Exhibition or Society Meeting. It has cost me much to come to this decision; but I feel that you will agree with me that it is not open to me to adopt any other course.

Once more thanking you for the confidence placed in me,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

J. H. SOUTER.[33]

[33] The above letters were published in *The Tablet*, June 29, 1889, p. 1005, and among the notes of the week we find the following paragraph which will contribute to a more complete understanding of the situation.

"The news that the name of Oscott has been suddenly wiped out from the list of the Catholic Schools of England, will be received with universal regret. Elsewhere we publish a letter from the Bishop of Birmingham announcing his decision to Mgr. Souter, and a letter from Mgr. Souter breaking the news to the friends of the College. The disadvantage of division and the waste of power caused

The boys left on July 22d, and on July 30th the annalist of the College wrote in the ponderous tome which Weedall had begun in 1830: "Here endeth the record of St. Mary's College, Oscott. R. I. P."

In the following article we shall deal with the educational work of Oscott in the past, and of Oscott and its work as at present constituted.

HENRY PARKINSON.

by the existence of two ecclesiastical seminaries in a single diocese are obvious. And the decision of the Bishop, painful as it will be to many, was probably made the more easy by the fact that the numbers of the boys at Oscott had been dwindling for years. From its normal number of 100 students the College had been reduced to 60. Many of its old friends had deserted it for newer schools, and we understand that out of all the Catholic families of the diocese there were found only two to send their sons to Oscott. Recognising these facts, the Bishop has resolved to sacrifice sentiment and tradition, and excluding lay students make Oscott the permanent Diocesan Seminary. That many will hear of this step with a passionate regret is a foregone conclusion; that every one who cares for the story of English Catholic life will feel sorry for the need of it is also certain; but we doubt whether any one who weighs the reasons and has not let his judgment be clouded by memories will greatly quarrel with this decision which the Bishop and the Chapter have taken." *l. c.*, p. 1006.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

It has been too often assumed that the child's first book should deal exclusively with the formal art of reading. Content was ignored and verbal drills with occasional illustrations in black and white of the meaning of words filled out the pages of the child's first book. Syllables were built out of letters and words built out of syllables, then followed a series of attempts to build sentences by adding a single word at a time. The dreariness of these books is quite enough to discourage the most robust appetite for reading, and yet, these books were supposed to give the child a love for reading and to awaken his imagination and fire his enthusiasm.

Of late years many writers of primary books have attempted to change this and to take content into account, but the content was for the most part fragmentary and devoid of enduring interest for the child. Moreover, in many cases a compromise with the old system was resorted to, especially in the first book. Again, the content in most instances was decided upon wholly on the ground of the child's present interest. Now, it was supposed that the child is not interested in anything so much as play, and hence play was made to furnish forth the chief content of the first reader. Even when nature study was drawn upon to furnish material for the first reader there was very seldom continuity and little more was attempted than to aid in sharpening the child's power of observation.

Of course the child must be taught to read, but the content should supply interest. Moreover, if the art of reading is to be taught properly, the child must be taught to think in the written symbol from the very beginning and this can only be done where the content is drawn from his most vigorous apperception masses. His first written vocabulary should stand for

mental possessions that are the clearest and the strongest and the best organized. In a word, the child's first book should be much more than a first reader, and while attention must be given to the systematic building up in the child's consciousness of a written vocabulary, it must not be forgotten that the most important part of the work is concerned with the right selection of material. Now, it is our contention that religion should furnish the chief material for the child's first book. Religion is fundamental or it is nothing, and the child's need is precisely the fundamental. At the age of six the normal child is unable to deal with the abstract or with the complex, but this does not justify the conclusion that some writers of primary books seem to have arrived at that the child-mind calls for the detail, for the trivial and for the fragmentary. For him it is the mountain range in the distance. Nothing is too big for the child-mind if it is put in simple lines and it is only the big that interests him permanently. The thoughts that are presented to him in his first book should be the germs from which the whole of his conscious life will unfold as naturally as the plant unfolds from the seed. The child's first reading book should, therefore, be preëminently

The Child's First Book in Religion.

Every one with the slightest experience knows that the child of six is unable to comprehend anything that is presented to him in abstract terms. That God is a spirit who cannot be seen with bodily eyes; that He has one nature and three Divine Persons; that He created Heaven and earth and all things out of nothing are statements quite beyond the child's grasp. He can reach a knowledge of God only through a knowledge of Jesus Christ. "All things are delivered to me by my Father; and no one knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal him." (Luke, x, 22.)

In Religion, First Book, the nature study and the home

scene with which each chapter begins are so constructed as to prepare the child's mind directly and immediately for a knowledge of Our Lord. It is important that Our Lord be presented to the children as soon as possible. He must be presented to them in His humanity in order that their imaginations may lay hold of Him and that their hearts may warm with love towards Him. But it is not less important that He be presented to them as He is, that is, as God the Son, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and through whom they are to gain a knowledge of God the Father, Creator of Heaven and earth.

The home idea developed in the preliminary lessons is utilized to bridge over for the children the chasm between the human and the Divine. This, it will be remembered, was also Our Lord's method. He taught us to say, "Our Father, who art in Heaven." He taught us to ask of our Heavenly Father just those things on a higher plane that children are accustomed to ask of their earthly fathers, and He taught us to yield to Our Heavenly Father that love and obedience which natural law exacts of every child towards his father.

The way in which the home idea is made to accomplish this end in Religion, First Book, may be seen by an examination of the lesson entitled "The Home of Jesus" (page 16). "The birds have a pretty home in the trees. They are happy and sing sweet songs. We have a happy home with father and mother. We love it better than the robins love their nest. But the home of Jesus is more beautiful than our home. It is Heaven. Jesus came from Heaven where His father lives. He came to show us the way there. When Jesus was on earth He lived in Nazareth."

The idea of the bird's home developed in the preceding lesson serves to make the child appreciate his own home the more. And both the birds' home and his own home are presented to the child as the figure and the prophecy of the greater and more beautiful home of Jesus in Heaven. The plan of these lessons is, consequently, the same as that on which the parables of Our Lord were constructed. "Behold the lilies of the

field how they grow; they toil not neither do they spin. But I say to you that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these." "And which of you if your son ask for bread will you reach him a stone? . . . . And how much more your Heavenly Father?"

Christ always ascended from the tangible and concrete to the spiritual and the invisible. He always took human love as a type of the Divine. And the love of the animal for her young He did not disdain as a type of parental love, either in man or in God. "How often would I have gathered you under my wings even as a hen gathereth her chickens."

When Our Lord is apperceived by the child through the means of the home idea, the next thing to be accomplished is to develop in the child's mind the idea of Christ's Divinity. Now, this is foreshadowed for the children in the fact that His home is in Heaven. He had only a temporary abiding place in Nazareth when He lived on earth. He is brought near to the children in His humanity by the fact that He had a home just as they have, only more beautiful, and by the further fact that He came from His Heavenly home out of love for us and to show us the way there. His Divinity and the fact that He is the Son of God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, is indicated by the statement that He came from His Heavenly home where His Father lives. The child having thus attained in simple outline to the thought of the humanity and Divinity of Christ is given the germ of the idea of Christ's mission in the statement that He came from Heaven to show us the way there.

In this simple lesson the germs of the great fundamental truths of Christianity are implanted in concrete form in the child's consciousness. Our next step must be to develop these same truths in the mind and heart of the child and to render them functional in his conduct. This is attempted in the subsequent lessons of the chapter. In the lesson "A Welcome to Jesus" (page 17) the idea of Creation is made use of to develop in the child the consciousness of the Divinity of the Father and the Divine Sonship of Christ. "The birds welcome

Jesus because His Father gives them their sweet songs. His Father teaches them how to fly and how to build their nests. He fills the hearts of the birds with love."

Here the things that the child has learned to know and to love in the nature study are employed to bring home to him the fact of Creation. The Father of Jesus creates those things which the child knows best and through this the child is led into the thought naturally that He creates everything else also. This idea is suggested to the child together with the corresponding duty of gratitude on the part of the creature in the lines "The trees wave a welcome to Jesus because His Father makes them big and strong. The roses and lilies open their hearts to Him. They fill the air with sweet smells because His Father sends them the sunshine and the rain." In this lesson it will be noticed that the fact of Creation is first allowed to occupy the child's mind and then it drops into the background to give place to the gratitude of creatures towards the Creator, for it is here we wish the child's consciousness to rest, and it is through this gratitude, expressed in the child's conduct, that he will grow into a fuller realization of the mystery of Creation. "Because thou wert faithful over a few things I will place thee over many." "Not he who sayeth Lord, Lord shall enter the kingdom, but he that doth the will of my Father."

In Lesson VII of the Baltimore Catechism the question is asked "Why is Jesus Christ true God?" and the answer is given "Jesus Christ is true God because He is the true and only Son of God the Father." In the lesson "A Welcome to Jesus" which we are considering, the Father of Jesus is presented as the Creator of all those things that the child knows and loves. Thus the Divine Sonship of Jesus is presented in a concrete and germinal form instead of in an abstract form which could not be assimilated by the child. But the lesson does more than this. It presents all creatures as welcoming Jesus and the reason which the child is led to discern back of this welcome is the fact that the Father of Jesus created them. The child is led by his imitative impulses, which are dominant in those early years of his life, to make suitable return to his Creator.

Furthermore, Jesus coming from His beautiful home in Heaven to show us the way there is to the child an example of love that extends beyond the home circle and this exerts its gentle persuasion on the child's heart and leads him into a love for fellow man. A mere statement to the child that he should love his fellow creatures has little meaning to him and produces little or no effect in his life, but an example such as is here presented appeals to the child's imitative tendency and through this means it is readily organized in his life. In short, these two brief lessons implant in the child's heart the two-fold commandment of the New Law and this is reinforced and further developed as the lesson proceeds. "Jesus loves the sunbeams and the breezes. He loves the sky and the stars. He loves the birds and the flowers. He loves the sheep and the shepherd." In a word, Jesus is presented to the child as loving all God's creatures because He recognizes in them His brothers according to the measure of their perfection, for He is not made to love them all equally. He loves most those who stand nearest to Himself in perfection and so the climax is reached in the line "He loves all who work for others." But however perfect in this respect any creature may be, he still falls short of the Divine Model, for "No one is so kind and gentle as Jesus."

In the subsequent lesson, "A Secret," the relative excellence of creatures is further developed. The birds, the trees and the flowers welcome Jesus as He approaches or as He passes by, but they are unable to follow Him, to learn of Him or to imitate His example, all of which it is our privilege to do. In this lesson the child is taught to look upon Jesus as his teacher and to take His words to heart. "Wherever Jesus goes the people follow Him." They are made glad whenever they hear His voice or look into His face. He gives the secret which He brought from Heaven to every one who loves Him." Here the child learns the necessity of loving Our Lord in order to receive the gifts which He brings from Heaven and in order to understand the lessons which He came to teach. The fruit of the lessons learned at the feet of Jesus is shown to the child

in the following sentences: "When we learn this secret we love one another. Then joy grows in our hearts like a beautiful flower. It fills our lives with sweetness." Here the reward of virtue is presented not as the motive for the child's actions but as the consequence of actions which spring from love of God. It is the lesson of the Master translated into the child's mode of thinking: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you." This lesson is rendered particularly attractive to the children by the beautiful colored picture of Jesus teaching from the boat. In this picture is summed up the story of the two lessons. Here are the flowers and the trees, the sunbeams and the rippling waters. Here are the sheep and the shepherd, and those who work for others and whom Jesus particularly loves. Here are the people who were made glad when they heard the voice of Jesus and the people to whom He is giving the secret which He brought from Heaven. Here are the men and the women and the children. But He is chiefly concerned with the men and women. The rapt look on their faces shows how deeply their hearts are stirred by the words of this Divine Teacher. The children are present but the hour is not for them. They must wait their turn. In the next lesson, "The Tired Teacher," the children are made to realize that Jesus has a message for them also. Nor is it that He talks to them when He has nothing else to do. Their claim on Him is recognized and responded to in spite of fatigue. "One day, long, long ago, Jesus taught the people until He was very tired. Then His friends made Him rest." In this the children receive a much needed lesson in thoughtfulness for others, particularly for their parents and teachers. Young children are essentially selfish. They take every thing and give nothing in return so long as they are under the sway of instinct. Until they are taught otherwise they do not realize that the giving costs their parents or their teachers anything. This realization, it is needless to say, lies at the root of Christian character. It will not do to substitute for it mere obedience to external rules of courtesy. Such obedience may be secured through fear or

hope of reward but it fails to be virtue unless it springs from the heart. It is through development along this line that the child will come in time to realize all that he owes to his earthly parents and to his Saviour, who gave Himself up to death on the cross that we might have life everlasting.

In the subsequent lesson the aim is to bring the children close to Our Lord in their feelings by associating Him with thoughts of their own parents and of all that is brightest and sweetest in the world around them. "The grass is green. The sun shines brightly. The birds sing sweetly. There are pretty flowers every where. The children play and sing with their mothers. Some of them pick flowers to give to their fathers when they come home from work. After a while they all go over to where Jesus is resting. His friends tell them to go away and not to trouble Jesus, but Jesus hears them and says: "Let the little children come unto me and forbid them not."

Incidentally this lesson contains a suggestion to the mothers that may in some cases prove valuable. If the children were accustomed to pick flowers to give to their fathers when they come home from work, or when this is impossible to show in some other tangible way that they were thinking of father and watching for him, home would be a happier place than it often is at present. Thus, while the home lessons that preceded the Biblical lessons are intended to prepare the children to comprehend the higher spiritual truths, the religious lessons should in turn send the children back to the home scene strengthened and reinforced in many ways.

The picture of Jesus blessing little children and the written story descriptive of the scene are such as will captivate any normal child and rivet his attention. The lessons will fill the hearts of the children to overflowing with love and gratitude to Jesus and prepare them to receive the lessons which He teaches them in the story that follows. "They all ask Jesus to take them to see His Father and His home. He tells them they must wait a while and do some work for Him on earth. He tells them to be good to every one. He tells them to love

their parents, and then He will take them and all they love to His Father's home, and they can stay with Him and His Father forever and ever. He teaches them to say 'Our Father,' etc."

In this lesson the children's duties towards their parents and towards their neighbors are insisted upon and reinforced by all the power of the ascendency which Jesus is gaining over their young hearts. They are taught the necessity of working out their salvation here on earth and they are promised the reward of eternal life for fidelity and obedience to the will of their Heavenly Father, and finally they are taught to lift up their young hearts in prayer and to petition their Heavenly Father for all they stand in need of.

We are now in a position to examine what has been accomplished in the eight brief pages of this lesson in religion and to compare it with the results of the prevalent methods of teaching Christian Doctrine. Abstract terms and abstract concepts have been avoided throughout. The truths taught are embodied in imagery and phenomena that are easily within the child's reach and that have for the most part been thoroughly developed in the child's consciousness. Repetition is necessary to the child, but if it is to be effective it must be repetition that does not stale. The child at this age is interested chiefly in action. Static descriptions cannot hold his attention for any length of time. In presenting the idea of Creation it will be observed how often it has been repeated, but each time in a new setting and in action rather than in any passive embodiment. Again, the Divine Sonship is not presented in a single statement which the child is required to repeat over and over again until it is engraven on his memory, but each statement of Creation carries with it the thought of the Divine Sonship, for it is the Father of Jesus who gives the birds their songs, who makes the trees grow, who sends the sunshine and the rain, etc.

In like manner, the truth that the child acquires is not allowed to remain inactive in his mind until it becomes encysted there and prevented from bearing its proper fruit in conduct. The natural consequences of the religious truths, as

far as human conduct is concerned, are presented to the child over and over again in forms that reach him through his imitative tendencies. Thus he is not told to act in such and such definite ways, but his impulses are laid hold of and moulded so that he shall desire to act in the right way. There is a wide range of doctrine and of moral teaching compressed within very narrow limits in this lesson, and yet because it is presented in a form suitable to the child, little difficulty will be experienced in giving the lesson to very young children and in giving it in such a way, too, as to render it immediately effective in moulding their feelings, their thoughts and their actions.

Glancing back over the pictures and stories of which this part of the book is made up, it will be observed that they are all parts of one parable, that the natural elements, however conspicuous, are used chiefly for the purpose of lifting up the minds and hearts of the children to the contemplation of the highest spiritual truths. Here creatures are used, as they should be used in a Christian school, to captivate the minds and hearts of the children and to lead the little ones to the foot of the throne of grace. What begins in play terminates in prayer. In playing robin building a home the child is given an opportunity to express the things he has seen and heard and his imagination is filled with delight by the play, but this is only that it may lead him into keener perceptions and into a more willing fulfillment of his duties towards his home and towards God.

Finally, the entire lesson is summed up in the four stanzas of the song which follows. The first stanza emphasizes the thing that is of chief value in the life of the birds; the second stanza does the same for human life; the third stanza attributes all that is of value in the life of the birds and in the life of men to Our Saviour; while the fourth stanza is the call to the higher life which sums up all that is of value on earth or in heaven. The children are expected to memorize this song and to sing it frequently. Song is the child's natural mode of expression and when the song is of such a nature as to reach his intelligence and touch the springs of his feeling there are few other

means so powerful in lifting truth into the life of his mind and of rendering it fruitful in his conduct. A second song is added to give variety but its purpose is the same, viz., to sum up the stories and to organize them in the child's life. Of course the songs are intended to be taught as rote songs. It is admitted by all who are engaged in the work of teaching music to little children that the first requisite is to give the child the feeling of what he is to sing. If it fills his imagination and warms his heart, he will sing as naturally as a bird sings and with as little danger to his voice, but this topic will be dealt with elsewhere. The Church has always recognized the value of song and she has incorporated it into her ritual where it holds a conspicuous place.

The remaining four parts of Religion, First Book, are constructed on the same lines as the part we have just analyzed. The sequence of the lessons in each part is the same; the principles underlying the method are identical and hence there will be little difficulty experienced by any teacher in furnishing an appropriate commentary. A brief outline of these parts will suffice here.

Providence is the theme in the second part. The father bird and the mother bird feeding their young find joy in working for others and in giving rather than receiving. In the domestic scene the lesson of the two mothers develops parental love and generosity. The superiority of the human over the animal world is developed in "A Family Breakfast." In "Feeding her Birds" the complexity of home is developed to some extent. The father working in the garden, the mother feeding her children, the various occupations of the children and their love and care for one another are brought out here, and the dependence of the chickens upon man, of the lower upon the higher order of beings, is also suggested. In the Biblical lesson the compassion of Our Lord for the hungry multitude is brought into the foreground by the miracle of the loaves and fishes and the answering gratitude of the multitude is placed before the children as an example for their imitation. The two songs that follow are the complements of each other. The first sums up the things

for which we should be grateful to God, the second is a hymn of thanks. The theme in the first part of the book might be summed up in Our Father who art in Heaven; the theme of the second part in Give us this day our daily bread; and the theme of the third part in Lead us not into temptation.

The timidity of the young robins in leaving their nest, their growing familiarity with the lawn which leaves them a prey to curiosity, a temptation which leads them into danger, from which they are rescued by their parents, is the drama as presented in bird life. This is repeated in the life of the little girl who is timid when the chick is first placed in her hand, but through familiarity she grows bold and runs into danger by seeking to make friends with the goslings. She is rescued from danger by her mother. It is not difficult to recognize in these little dramas the foreshadowing of temptation, sin and forgiveness, or the story of the fall and the redemption of the race. The same theme is developed again on a higher plane in the Biblical story and in the picture of Peter sinking. The storm at sea adds the further element that when we are loyal to duty God is with us and we need have no fear.

The theme of the fourth part is Deliver us from evil; it is meant to teach the children the truth that in the hour of trial and disaster Jesus is our refuge.

In the fifth and last part of the book the children are prepared for the mystery of the Nativity. The humanity of Christ is emphasized. Christ in coming down to earth to show us the way to Heaven became like one of us so that we might more readily follow His example. The greatness of this event in human history is suggested to the child by the preparation of the world for Christ's coming and particularly by the preparation of Mary Immaculate to be His mother. The children are told about Mary and Joseph and Guardian Angels and finally the Nativity scene completes the story. The Adeste Fideles and a Lullaby sum up this part and complete the book.

This theme is continued in the opening chapter of Religion, Second Book, in which the Annunciation scene is used to teach

the children that their Heavenly Father sent down this perfect child to Mary, the most perfect of the children of men, because of her perfect obedience to His will.

We may sum up what has been said of Religion, First Book, in its capacity of the child's first book of religious instruction by saying that it contains five parables in each of which a scene from bird life is used to develop a corresponding scene in human life and to teach the child his duties in relation to the truth presented. The two scenes are then used as the natural basis of the corresponding supernatural truth and supernatural virtue. The movement in each case is the same as that in Our Lord's parables. The truths are thus presented to the child in such a way that they fill his senses and lay hold of his imagination; they are lifted into the structure of his conscious life and find expression in his thoughts, words and deeds. In other words, the truths are not carried by the child as a memory load, they have become a joyous part of his life.

Reading.

The Atlantic Educational Journal for January, 1909, contains an article from the pen of Thomas M. Balliet, Ph. D., Dean of the School of Pedagogy in New York University, on *Reading,* which deserves to be carefully studied by all primary teachers. A great deal of the poor work that is so generally complained of at present, particularly in our public schools, may be traced, in some measure at least, to the failure of these schools to teach the pupils to read properly. I do not allude to artistic oral reading, which is, of course, something very much to be desired, but to the way in which pupils learn silent reading as a means of acquiring knowledge from books. Psychology has done much to improve our methods in the various departments of educational work but its message in this department seems to be very generally unheeded. The teacher frequently proceeds on the assumption that the one thing to be accomplished for the child is to give him the ability to recognize the letters of the alphabet and their varied combinations

into words and sentences. It does not seem to occur to him that the printed forms are but the means of revealing the thoughts that lie back of them. What in the nature of the case is but a means is made the end of the child's labors in the mistaken supposition that things will right themselves as the pupils pass up through the grades. The fact that thousands of pupils issue from the schools with some ability to recognize words and little ability to grasp the thought beneath them has not been sufficient to make these teachers pause and question the validity of their work. And when blame for the finished product of the grammar school is meted out the real culprits who started the pupils on a wrong course in the primary grades frequently escape notice. But let us listen to Dr. Balliet:

"Teaching a child to read, because it is done in the primary school, is popularly supposed to be a very easy thing; and yet there are more unsolved problems in it than are involved in the teaching of the foreign languages, mathematics, or sciences in the high school. It is not a question of the 'word method,' 'sentence method,' 'phonic method,' and other so-called 'methods'; there are involved intricate questions in psychology which remain yet to be solved."

The first problem that should be solved by the teacher is to place means and ends in their proper relationship to each other and to ascertain whether it is wise or even permissible to reverse this natural relationship in order to give the child a start. "Why do we teach a child to read? The mere process of learning to read has no special educational value. The value of reading lies in what is read after the art is acquired. . . . . We must appreciate the fact in teaching reading that learning to read is solely a means; and unless we have in mind the real end, we may easily defeat this very end by wrong methods of procedure. Archbishop Whately once said that he 'knew a man who aimed at nothing and— hit it.' Again, why do we teach a child to read? In order that he may easily and quickly absorb the sense of the printed page and do it with all necessary accuracy. It is the mastery of books, the ability quickly and accurately to master the thought of the printed

page, that should be the chief aim in teaching a child to read. We may view method in teaching reading in the primary grades from the standpoint of the child learning to read, in which case we judge the method by the rapidity of his advancement. This has been the universal custom up to the present time. We may, however, view method from the standpoint of the adult, inquire first how the adult ought to read and then adopt the method in the primary school which develops the power, or the habits, of reading desirable in the adult."

Once the case is stated in these words it is somewhat difficult to understand why there should be any hesitancy in choosing between the alternatives. In every other department, as indeed in every phase of life's work, the end is the thing that is constantly kept in view in determining methods and means. The work of the school as a whole is to prepare the child for successfully coping with the conditions of the environment which he must enter on leaving school and the efficiency of the schools must be judged wholly on this basis. Mental development along any line where development may be secured is not a legitimate aim in the process of education. Education is a social institution whose chief function is to adjust the child to his environment and whatever does not contribute to this end should find no place in the school. Dr. Balliet is, therefore, on lines of practical common sense which at the same time represent the highest educational wisdom, when he essays to answer these two questions:

"How should the educated adult read? How may we train children to read in that way? The educated adult in reading recognizes words, phrases and short sentences as wholes; and there are those exceptional people who say they can take in whole paragraphs, if short, as a unit. This latter statement needs careful experimental investigation before it can safely be accepted. But no educated adult spells out his words when he reads, except occasional unfamiliar words; the smallest unit is an entire word. Now, this habit of recognizing words as wholes without being clearly conscious of their parts is a desirable reading habit in the adult. It makes for speed in

reading. But of two habits of doing the same thing, the one acquired first tends to persist rather than the second. This is a familiar psychological fact, therefore, the habit which ought to last through life should be acquired first. The adult must have the habit of seeing words as wholes, but he must also know letters and their sounds so that he may be able to make out the pronunciation of new words by himself. In teaching a child to read we should, therefore, develop first the habit of seeing words and if possible phrases, as wholes; and only when this habit has been fairly well established should we analyze the words into letters and their sounds. This would seem to indicate that the sentence and word method judiciously combined are to be preferred at the beginning to the phonic method now so widely used. Phonics must be taught—the only question is whether at the beginning or later. I should say later—during the second and third year of school."

The truth so clearly stated here cannot be too strongly insisted upon. When language is learned from the rules of grammar it always remains stiff and artificial as a means of expression and as a means of acquiring thought. It is now generally conceded that the child should grow into an easy mastery of his language before he takes up the study of its grammar. The latter is a process of analysis and of reasoning; the former, a process of natural growth. You can make the parts of a manikin and put them together, but the result is a manikin. A man grows in a different way. And where the child's power to read is a growth, it does not come from combinations of letters into syllables and of syllables into words. This thought is closely allied to the one which the Doctor develops next.

"Another desirable reading habit in the adult is unconsciousness of the printed page. Absolute unconsciousness of the printed page is, of course, impossible; I mean that minimum degree of unconsciousness which, because the reader is deeply absorbed in the thought of what he is reading, leads him to overlook faulty punctuation, incorrect spelling, inverted type, etc. In reading a vivid description, say, in Ivanhoe, one may

see the picture in his imagination as if it were painted on canvas, and be entirely oblivious of his surroundings and almost wholly unconsciousness of the page before him. This habit of unconsciousness of the page in reading makes for speed and for thoroughness in grasping the thought. All needless consciousness of the page robs the mind of just so much power to grasp the thought. Needless consciousness of the page in reading is therefore a waste of mental energy; and to teach a child to read so that he will read in his adult years with a minimum degree of consciousness of the printed page is equivalent to doing the proverbially impossible thing in education—furnishing him brains. It sets mental power free to be used in comprehending what is read. . . . Words are like window panes —they are things to look through, not things to look at. The more invisible they are, the more perfectly do they serve their purpose. Any method in teaching a child to read which makes him needlessly conscious of words, which fosters in him the habit of needlessly scrutinizing them or of analyzing them needlessly into their component letters or sounds, develops the proof-reader's habit of mind, and may make the process of reading a needlessly conscious one all through life. The child must, of course, scrutinize new words sufficiently to remember them, but any analysis or inspection of words beyond what is necessary for this purpose is unquestionably bad. Again, the sentence and word method seem at the beginning to be preferred to the so-called ' phonic method ' which has its place later. Everything which in later life should be done unconsciously, should be taught in the school unconsciously or with a minimum degree of consciousness. It is bad doctrine to say that such processes should be raised to consciousness and then be made unconscious by practice. The difficulty is that in most people such processes never become unconscious. The child learns to pronounce and to speak his mother-tongue mainly by unconscious imitation and he speaks it unconsciously; the adult learns to speak a foreign language by a process that is keenly conscious, and he is seldom able to speak it without watching his speech. . . . . Illustrations from school and from life might be multiplied

indefinitely to show how important it is to teach unconsciously, so far as possible, what must in life be done unconsciously. Reading is one of these things. The phonic and alphabetic methods, used at the beginning, are likely to lead to a wholly unnecessary degree of word consciousness in reading. The fact that they give the child early the power of finding out the pronunciation of new words by himself, does not necessarily recommend them. If they develop the habit of looking at words instead of looking through them, this result would show not in the primary grades, but in the middle and upper grades of the elementary schools where it is attributed to other causes."

The phonic method which is so frequently found at present in the primary grade instead of the alphabetic method of a previous generation is more effective in the attainment of the end sought, but the end sought is very decidedly a vicious one. It is to give the children power of language without content. Give the child the empty forms first, engrave them on his mind, and by and by he will get the thought! But, alas, this method places before the child's mind a veil of words through which he is condemned for the rest of his life to see real things darkly. The fact that so many boys who escaped from school in their childhood have come to the fore-front in the intellectual struggle of maturer years has often been commented upon. There are doubtless, many reasons for this apparent anomaly, but there can be no doubt that we are here dealing with one of them. When the boy's mind unfolds in immediate contact with nature and with real things before he learns to read he is likely to read for content rather than for words, and he is also likely to spend precious little time in poring over primers and first readers. How completely the line of thought presented by Dr. Balliet has been ignored in the work of the primary grade will be manifest by even a casual examination of the typical primer or first reader where the content is almost wholly ignored and stress laid on mere words. Even a picture of a dog and cat in color can hardly lend much dramatic interest to the content of such a page as this: "See the cat the dog *See the cat the dog* see dog cat See the dog See the

cat." Word drill is the sole aim. Where the primer is constructed along rational lines and where it takes into account the psychology of the child-mind, the content is made dramatic and interesting from the very first page of the primer and the child is made to experience the delight of what comes to him through the medium of words and the art of reading. But for this there must be continuity instead of fragments; there must be action instead of passive description. Talking down to the children must be avoided, for they are scarcely more interested in sermons than are their elders. Word drills, spelling, and phonograms must be relegated to their proper place as means to an end. They must be brought into requisition after the habit of reading for thought's sake is well established and care must be taken at all times not to allow these accessories to displace the thing of chief value. But if this is to be attained several changes will be rendered necessary in our standards. Mere ability to recognize words and pronounce them must not be set up as the standard of work in the first grade. Here, as elsewhere in the system, we shall have to insist upon the content as of more value than the form.

Dr. Balliet developes a third characteristic of a good reading habit in the adult, namely speed. He is referring, of course, to silent reading. The application of what has been said is so obvious that I pass it over in order to reach what, to many a primary teacher, will seem an objection to the method which he advocates, namely, the case of the dull pupil.

"It ought to be said that speed in reading is of special value only to the persons who have a great deal of reading to do; persons who are not engaged in intellectual work and who in any event, would read but little, can afford to read that little slowly. This suggests that bright pupils and dull pupils should not be taught by the same method in reading. With dull pupils, and especially with the high grade feeble-minded, the phonic method, and even the alphabetic method, may be used with other methods from the beginning. They have to analyze words and scrutinize them carefully, else they will not remember them at all. Every primary teacher can testify to this; but to oblige

bright pupils to go through all this analysis and to make them keenly conscious from the start of the elements of words, to develop in them the habit of needlessly scrutinizing words under a mistaken idea of thoroughness, is in many cases, to make them slow readers and to handicap them seriously for life's work. What briefly, is the place of phonics? It seems to me it should follow at least about a year's use of the sentence and word method; and then there should be no more phonic analysis than is necessary to give a child the key to the pronunciation of new words. Any 'thoroughness' beyond this is bad. Therefore the unit of phonic analysis should be kept as large as possible. The 'phonogram' idea, which is not new, but which has in recent years been made popular, is a very good one. Combinations like 'ing' and 'ight,' etc., should never be analyzed into their separate sounds. Indeed, only a limited number of the easier elementary sounds should be taught separately; the rest should be taught in combination. This is true until the pupil is ready to use the dictionary, when somewhat more must be done."

With this view of the use of phonics we are in entire harmony, as may be seen by a study of the books for the primary grades which we have prepared for use in our schools. It may be well to add a thought in which, I am sure, the Doctor would agree, and that is, that the drill work should be kept separate from the reader. The blackboard and chart are the proper places to present word analysis, phonics, etc. Every reasonable means should be employed to preserve for the child the freshness and the delight of the story and the song. Difficult words or difficult intervals should be presented to the children separately and not until they are thoroughly mastered should they be allowed to attempt the finished product in the book.

With one statement of Dr. Balliet's we must take issue. Where he refers to dull pupils, he suggests a method at variance with that which obtains in the case of normal pupils. The doctor's knowledge of these unfortunate children must be comparatively limited or else he must have written this passage thoughtlessly: "This suggests that bright pupils and dull pupils

should not be taught by the same method in reading. With dull pupils, and especially with the high-grade feebleminded, the phonic method, and even the alphabetic method, may be used with other methods from the beginning. They have to analyze words and scrutinize them carefully else they will not remember them at all. Every primary teacher can testify to this."

Now, there are three things wrong in this statement: First, there is abundant reason for the conviction that is fast gaining ground among the best authorities in this field that the dull and high-grade feeble-minded should be treated as nearly like normal children as possible; secondly, the phonic and word method, if permissible at all in the first grade, should find its place with the very brightest pupils, they are practically impossible with the dull and backward children; thirdly, to compel these poor children to "analyze the words and to scrutinize them carefully" is to defeat their every attempt to learn the difficult art of reading. The testimony of "every primary teacher" is hardly valid in a case of this kind, at least until "every primary teacher" shows incomparably better results in dealing with these children than they have shown in the past, for to their ignorance in this very matter is probably to be traced the backwardness of a great majority of these children.

This problem is attracting more and more interest from all students of education and it will be dealt with in these pages in subsequent issues of the *Bulletin*. Some of the elements of the problem have been set forth in popular form in *The Making and the Unmaking of a Dullard,* but here let me suggest to those interested in the matter a work which has recently issued from Columbia University, *The Psychology of Mentally Deficient Children,* by Naomi Norsworthy, Ph. D., from which we quote.

"It is certainly true that the more like ordinary people these feebleminded are treated the more like people in general they will become. As they tend to be more immature than other children they are open to suggestion for a longer time. They should have schools, churches, entertainments, trades and the like just as ordinary people do. They need not be mixed in

with people in general but in every case they should be made to feel as nearly like other people as possible."

That the difference between these people and normal people is one of degree rather than one of kind is very generally admitted to-day. Dr. Fernald, of the Institute for the Feebleminded at Waverly, Mass., says: "In theory the differences between these various degrees of deficiency are marked and distinct, while in practice the lines of separation are entirely indefinite and individuals as they grow to adult life may be successively classed in different grades." Dr. Norsworthy adds: "These lines of division are hair lines and indefinite. . . . There seems to be nothing peculiar and special which marks an idiot off from people in general and by which he can always be known." And again, "But it seems that these children are not so very different from other children and that consequently there is no reason why their education need be. As Dr. Fernald points out, 'As compared with the education of normal children it is a difference of degree and not of kind. With these feebleminded children, the instruction must begin on a lower plane, the progress is slower and the pupils cannot be carried so far.' . . . . If the idiot is simply at the extreme of the ordinary distribution of ability and is characterized by a sluggishness of disposition which may affect both mental and physical advance and development, then what he needs is stirring up, encouragement and, if need be, even forcing in the mental field as well as in the physical."

We need not here deal further with the fact that the dull and high-grade feebleminded do not differ in kind from normal children but only in degree, or upon the evident conclusion to be drawn from this that the methods to be employed in the one case should be essentially the same as in the other. Adjustment there must be, but here, too, it is a question of degree. But in what direction must the adjustment be made? Surely we must not modify the method of teaching the brighter children in the direction of less objective stimulation and more subtlety in order to make it serviceable for the dull or feebleminded. To quote from Dr. Norsworthy once more: "In the present-day criti-

cism of the modern educational methods are three points which to my mind have vital bearing on the education of the feeble-minded in the field of physical, mental and industrial training. In the first place, our best educators believe that but a short time should elapse between an act and its result, and that in most cases the result should be definitely pleasurable if the act is a desirable one. The younger the child, the greater the force of this rule." One might add here the duller and the more backward the child the greater the force of this rule.

Now, applying this principle to the method of teaching reading to the beginner, it is evident that the content of what the child reads should yield meaning in terms of sense and muscle and pleasurable stimulation to the imagination, and this immediately. It is from this association that the word is lifted into the permanent organization of the mind. Where this is not the case and where the child is made to learn language for its own sake first by alphabetic methods and phonics the attempt is made to lift written language into the structure of the mind before it is used to yield pleasurable content and thus the result is too far removed from the act.

The second point developed by the Doctor is closely related to this and deserves careful consideration for many other reasons as well as for the light which it sheds on the problem under discussion. "The second point of note is the influence brought to bear by the psychology of memory on our methods of teaching. The memory of any event or fact depends upon two factors, the native retentiveness of the brain substance itself and the number of associates which the particular fact has in terms of 'brain paths.' The former factor cannot be improved. Every individual is limited so far as memory is concerned by the kind of brain with which he was endowed at birth. If it is easily impressed and also one which retains this impression, other things being equal, that person will have a good memory. This being true, it seems rather a poor way to improve the memory either of ordinary children or of defectives, to employ the method of repetition, so endeavoring to hammer a fact home by mere brute force. The better method, certainly, would be

to work along the line of the second factor determining memory, namely, to increase the number of associates. The more clues there are connected with one fact, the more likely will it be that that fact will come to mind when wanted. Now, this method seems particularly applicable to the defective class of children in the light of what we know of the brain development of the feebleminded. Hammarberg found—and no one has contradicted his statement—that the brains of defectives as wholes or in parts were poorly developed, not so much in the sense that the cells were smaller or necessarily ill-shaped, but that they lacked the arborizations and the multitudes of associative fibres which go to make up a complex cortex, a cortex of the kind which is accompanied by intelligence. . . . . Physiology shows that a high rate of intelligence goes with a complex cortex, that the existence of many associations and the like is paralleled by an increased arborization; but which is cause and which is effect no one knows. However, we do know that any one may increase his memory in any line simply by increasing the number of associates in that field. The resulting suggestion is not to depend only upon repetition to fix facts but to let the same fact be met in a dozen ways instead of simply in one. Of course, in the case of some of the lower grades of defectives, the process would have to be very slow and very simple. But certainly what the defectives need is an increased power of association in its broadest sense; and when nature has provided two ways of securing such power, one of which is much narrower than the other, it behooves us to use both and certainly not to neglect the broader of the two.

"The third point of modern criticism which was mentioned as particularly adapted to the defectives grows directly out of this and concerns the facts or associates to be given to the children in school. Shall we consider them simply as storehouses and pack away in their brains every thing that they may possibly need at some future date? Or shall we consider them as living beings, living as children a life as full and rich as they ever will as adults, and hence give them in school and home facts which they really need and in the way in which they will need them."

It is scarcely necessary to comment on this passage. Its bearing on the method of teaching reading and on the nature of the child's first book is so obvious that no one can miss it. The material of the book must throb with present interest for the child and language must be learned in its true relationship to this interesting content, that is, as a mere means which obliterates itself in order to leave the mind in immediate and undisturbed possession of the food that is to enter into its structure and lift it to the plane of control over physical and mental environment. All this is preëminently true of the young child and especially of the dull and backward child. As the children grow in power and learn from experience something of what books contain for them, their attention may be turned, little by little, to the various forms of analysis of language, such as phonics, spelling, grammar, rhetoric, prosody, etc., but certainly phonics should be used very cautiously if at all in the first grade, and then only with very bright and progressive children where for one reason or another it may seem desirable to unduly hasten their development along this line. In the second and third grade there will be abundant time for this work and if the children are allowed to grow as naturally into the power of written language as they grew into the power of oral language at an earlier date there will be little or no difficulty in dealing with the subject of analysis.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BOOK REVIEWS.

Discourses and Sermons for Every Sunday and the Principal Festivals of the Year. James Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore. John Murphy Company, 1908. Pp. x, 531.

In his preface, the Cardinal states that these Sermons "were, for the most part, preached in the Baltimore Cathedral before large audiences," and he "indulges the hope that they may be favorably received by a wider circle of readers whom his voice could not reach." As a matter of fact, that circle at once includes all those to whom the "Ambassador of Christ" has borne the message of peace and to whom the "Faith of Our Fathers" has been preached. Though different in scope and structure from his earlier well-known books, this volume is marked by the characteristic qualities which have made the Cardinal's utterances so welcome to Christian hearts. There is the same earnest sympathy with human needs and the same clear, straightforward statement of religious truth. Those who have heard His Eminence in the pulpit will easily recognize in these pages his manner of treating each subject in such a way as to interest his hearers and at the same time to stir them to personal reflection on the lessons of the Gospel. And those also who know him through his writings only, will be impressed by the fact that these are the thoughts of one who in the course of a long experience has pondered deeply the gravest of life's problems and now gives the world his mature convictions.

The Church has so arranged her liturgy as to bring before us in the course of the year the principal events in the life of Christ and to recall His teaching by means of the passages from Scripture that are appointed to be read at Mass. With these texts, especially with those selected for the Sundays and greater festivals, every Catholic is familiar. Their essential meaning is always the same because the plan of Redemption through all time is invariable. But the force and depth of Christ's teaching is realized anew when it is brought to bear upon actual conditions, subject as these are to ceaseless change. The Sermons before us illustrate in a remarkable degree this principle of adaptation. They show a careful study of many questions that are of vital importance not only to Catholics but to all who have at heart the

welfare of our country. To discuss these matters from a purely philosophical or economic point of view, is both needful and helpful ; but what is still more essential is that they should be viewed in the light of the Christian revelation and adjudicated on the basis of the divine law. Their treatment on this higher plane is entirely in keeping with the position which the writer holds as a churchman and a citizen, and it is all the more practical because it carries thought back from daily experience to the consideration of sound and enduring principles. To the timely choice of subjects there is added a form of presentation which happily combines frequent reference to the history of the world at large with allusions to events and personages that have a special interest for the American reader. By this method of apt illustration, the Cardinal shows how well the most sacred truths can be interwoven with our ordinary mode of thinking and yet retain their value ; or rather, how largely their efficacy depends on the thoroughness with which they are made to permeate all phases of thought and decision and action.

The eloquence of these Sermons is found not in abstruse dissertation on topics far removed from life and its pressing concerns, but in the directness with which they speak to the intelligence and lay hold upon the heart, either in encouragement to the discharge of duty or in warning against dangers that threaten private and public morality. That such an appeal should produce the best results is to be expected from the calm, well-balanced exposition and from the lucidity of style that pervades these discourses. Each sentence indeed brings to view the processes of a mind that sees facts and principles in true perspective and reaches conclusions with the strength of simplicity. What is more significant is the insight which these Sermons afford into a personality which has so long occupied a central position in the religious life of this country. As admonitions to righteous living they offer nothing new to those who have followed the author's priestly career ; they merely transcribe in the form of words the lessons that have been taught in deeds for half a century, and for this transcription clergy and laity alike owe to His Eminence a debt of gratitude.

EDWARD A. PACE.

The Making and Unmaking of a Dullard. By Thomas Edward Shields, Ph. D., LL. D., Associate Professor of Psychology in the Catholic University of America. Washington : The Catholic Education Press, 1909. Pp. 296. Price, $1.00.

Two of the most important problems before the educator to-day are the treatment of backward pupils and the true meaning and value of manual training. In the book before us these as well as other less important questions of pedagogy are treated in a masterly manner. The peculiar merit of Dr. Shields' discussion of the treatment of defective and backward pupils consists in this : hitherto, the dull pupil has been studied from the outside, the study has been necessarily incomplete and sometimes even misleading, because everyone knows how sensitive the dull pupil is and how unwilling to tell wherein his real defect consists ; in this book the backward pupil is studied for the first time *from within*, he is allowed to speak for himself, and one who can now well afford to confess that he was once enrolled among the dullards is the sympathetic, and at the same time, the discriminating exponent of the claims of our less favored pupils. No teacher can read these pages without coming to the realization that there is here a revelation, a revelation of a world which it is unfortunately the teacher's duty to know, but which very few teachers do know. Catholics have in the past done their share in founding and maintaining institutions for defective children, they are, in our own day, doing their share of this kind of work. It is a pleasure, therefore, to note that the first volume issued from the "Catholic Education Press" is in line with the best traditions of organized Catholic beneficence, while the broad and humane principles which it advocates will find an echo in the heart of every charitable person no matter what his religious creed may be. The pychologist, too, will find here a new point of view for the study of mental growth and development.

The discussion of the question of manual training is also fresh, vigorous, and in a sense that will be best appreciated by educationalists, subversive of many accepted theories. In the past, the home was the great educator, not only in moral and religious matters, as all admit, but, as is here pointed out, in the development of mental power too. The training of senses and muscles which came naturally to the boy or girl in their home life is now, owing to social and economic changes, taken up by the school. But seldom, if ever, does the educational theorist or the teacher realize that far more important

than the preparation for a trade or profession is the other function, the intrinsic educational function, of manual training. Mental growth and development are based largely on sense-training and muscle training. This furnishes the key to the true meaning and value of manual training.

These are the principal topics discussed by Dr. Shields in the work before us, which forms a companion volume to the work on "The Education of Our Girls." The book will be read with interest by every teacher, every student of the theory of education and every social worker, who wishes to profit by the latest and, in our opinion, a most suggestive, study of the problems which command most attention in the educational world to-day.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels. By Dom John Chapman, O. S. B. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. xi + 299. Price, 16 sh.

All those who are not strangers in the field of higher or literary criticism, readily understand why Pope Pius X, when ordering a new edition of the Vulgate to be undertaken, confided the work to the Benedictine Order. Catholic scholarship thus far has produced nothing that will be more useful for the restoration of St. Jerome's text of the Gospels than these *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* by Dom Chapman, one of those many learned Benedictines, who at the present day are the living Apologetics of the Catholic Church.

No doubt, we cannot contradict the author when he states that the study of the whole of the Bible, in the light of careful collations, is needed for the perfect editing of any part of it. But it certainly is merely a new illustration of the extreme modesty which characterizes the great Benedictine scholars, when, in the Preface, Dom Chapman warns the readers that "this essay does not aim to any form of completeness, and is published only in the hope that it may be found suggestive" (p. i). True, the restoration of St. Jerome's text of the Gospels, based on Dom Chapman's *Notes*, will not differ substantially from the text given us by Wordsworth and White. Literary criticism has reached a stage in which great scholars are able to offer critical editions that will stand the test of all future ages and hardly leave room for still greater perfection. However, as the author himself

very modestly suggests, by the *Notes* of this monk of Erdington Abbey, "in some difficult places the verdict [will] be altered, or (what is just as important) confirmed by stronger reasons" (p. vi). Besides, we, Catholics, will no longer be obliged to admit the superiority of the works of Protestant scholars, in studying the history of the official Bible of the Catholic Church.

It is hard to give a satisfactory review of Dom Chapman's recent book, because "the argument is involved and hard to follow." This statement cannot be construed to be a criticism or reproach. The author himself makes this declaration in the preface (p. vi). From the very nature of the subject which he studies, and of the material with which he has to deal, it could not possibly be otherwise. Moreover, this work supposes so much previous knowledge, that, to follow without much difficulty the author's line of argument, one has to be himself an expert in this special branch of literary criticism and thoroughly acquainted with the history of the Latin editions of the Bible.

The main point at issue is the history of the manuscript that was copied by the author of the *Codex Amiatinus* (A) which, among the extant MSS. of the Vulgate, has been recognised as having the purest text. Thus far scholars had succeded in tracing this famous codex back to Northumbria, and showing that its origin had to be placed at the beginning of the eighth century. It was De Rossi who established the fact that A was written at Yarrow, by order of Ceolfrid, St. Bede's own abbot, and was taken by him to Rome in 715. The great question that was left to be answered still, concerned the origin of the manuscript, or rather of the text itself which, by order of Ceolfrid, was copied in the *Codex Amiatinus*. We need not insist on the importance of this point with regard to the literary relationship between A and St. Jerome's autograph and the authority of A in restoring the original text of the Vulgate Gospels. The great merit of Dom Chapman's present work consists in showing the Cassiodorian origin of the text in question. In our opinion his argument is decisive: he points out that the very peculiar and very artificial order in which Cassiodorus arranged the books of the Bible, is actually found in the *Codex Amiatinus*, and in no other manuscript.

Once we know that the famous Northumbrian codex is a copy of Cassiodorus's Vulgate text, we naturally wish to know the history and origin of this latter text itself. Dom Chapman traces it back to a manuscript that was owned by Eugippius, and he has no difficulty in showing the great probability that Eugippius got it from his friend and

patroness Proba, who was a relation of Cassiodorus and a member of the Anician family at Rome.

St. Jerome published the Vulgate Gospels at Rome in the year 382, only a century before Eugippius. "The Roman grandees to whom St. Jerome was a spiritual father, and especially that Anician family whose greatness he celebrates, will certainly have furnished themselves with copies of the first edition. Nay, to some of them, especially to the great ladies, and doubtless to his friend Proba, the author must have given presentation copies. The later Proba, to whom Eugippius dedicated his principal work and with whom St. Fulgentius corresponded, was of the same Anician gens, which furnished most of the consuls of that day. She was probably closely related (perhaps daughter or sister) to the Probinus who was consul in 489. It is likely that her great library was inherited ; and if so, nothing is more natural than that she should have possessed a presentation copy of St. Jerome's Gospels handed down from some ancestor or ancestors who had known Jerome" (p. 42 f.). As a matter of fact, in the old Echternach Codex we are told that the manuscript which he made use of in correcting his own text of the Gospels, was attributed to St. Jerome himself. And "the incomparable excellence of A as a witness to Hieronymian tradition is a very strong confirmation of the truth of that attribution" (p. 43).

Among the many interesting side-questions, dealt with by Dom Chapman, we mention especially his study on the four Prologues. In a paper previously published, and reproduced in chapter XIII of the present volume, the author proved that the Prologues were written by Priscillian. Since they are not only of heretic origin, but moreover contain a heretical doctrine, the Benedictine scholar found it necessary to determine how such heretical documents managed to attach themselves to the Vulgate of St. Jerome and have been so frequently copied. We are told on p. iv, that it was the attempt to solve this problem which, "has produced all the other chapters of this book."

The work is teeming with information on a great number of questions, some of which are perhaps more important still than the problem itself which induced the author to write this book. The book is a great credit to Catholic scholarship.

Les Douze Petits Prophètes, traduits et commentés par A. VAN HOONACKER. Paris, Librarie Victor Lecoffre, 1908.

The series of Études Bibliques, begun under the inspiration of Père Lagrange, is now enriched by M. van Hoonacker's commentary on the Minor Prophets. Any book bearing the name of the distinguished professor of Louvain carries with it, I need hardly say, a guarantee of thorough workmanship; the present work, a great volume of seven hundred and fifty pages, is a marvel of painstaking, unwearied research. Without any doubt, it will take rank as one of the most important contributions of contemporary Catholic scholarship to Biblical science, not so much because of its originality—though van Hoonacker has won his reputation largely through the originality of his views—as because the labors of innumerable scholars have been here submitted to a careful sifting by a discriminating mind and the residue of assured results presented in a monumental work.

While the Minor Prophets have lately been receiving from scholars much careful attention, they probably remain to a majority of readers, even among men of education the most neglected and obscure portion of the Old Testament. The neglect is owing in part to the unfortunate title under which they have been grouped, which creates, however unreasonably, a presumption against their importance. The truth is that the book of the Minor Prophets, for matter as well as for manner, should receive a very high place among Old Testament writings. Amos is one of the most important figures in the history of the Hebrew religion; Osee a mystic of very deep and tender religious feelings; Nahum, in his short prophecy, shows himself a poet of a wonderful vivid imagination as well as one of the most forceful prophets; Joel, despite his dependence on others, is one of the most sublime; while the little book of Jonas contains the lessons which the Jews needed most to prepare them to accept a universal religion, but which they would not learn. In the force of their moral exhortations and in the sublimity of their doctrine, the Minor Prophets are not often surpassed. The recognition of their greatness has been impeded by the obscurity which envelopes their history and their mission. To place each prophet, and every part of his message, in the fitting historical setting is possible only to those who have an intimate knowledge of six hundred years of Israel's history, with its many intertwinings with secular history.

This great task Biblical scholars have set themselves and have in great part accomplished; this van Hoonacker does most admirably in the present work. One has only to read his introductions to Amos and Osee or to Aggaeus and Zacharias, in order to see the clear light of history in which these prophets now stand. Each of the twelve books is taken up in turn, its contents analyzed, its historical setting and general import indicated, its authenticity and literary qualities discussed and the special questions each involves treated; then follows a commentary in which the various questions of textual, literary and historical criticism are discussed in sufficiently full measure to enable the writer to give us an excellent idea of the prophet's message. He lays much stress on textual questions, in which he shows himself far less ready to depart from the text or to suspect interpolations than, for instance, Harper in his *Amos and Hosea*. He is grateful for the help which the study of the strophe has afforded to the reconstruction of the text; but he believes that too much arbitrariness has been exercised in rehandling the text to suit the exigencies of preconceived metrical theories, while he is yet hopeful of further trustworthy results.

The same conservative spirit is manifested in his adhesion, in general, to traditional ascriptions of authorship, in a reluctance to see the work of different hands in the one book. This is most remarkable in the case of the book of Zacharias, the second part of which, against the consent of nearly all critics, he ascribes to that prophet, though not without hesitation. His exposition here is very complicated and his arguments will need strengthening before that consensus is broken. In interpretation we find him more frequently in agreement with authors of to-day. He rightly rejects, however, the exaggerated praise which it is now fashionable to bestow on Amos and Osee as innovators in Israel, since it is plain the prophets themselves made their appeal on the ground of truths forgotten and scorned of the people, not unknown and novel; and he gives a larger place to the Messianic element than is agreeable to the schools dominant to-day outside the Church. While recognizing the quasi-Messianic office ascribed by Aggaeus and Zacharias to Zorobabel, he insists that the same office was to be shared, in their eyes, by Josue the high priest, but that the prophecies looked beyond them to a distant date for their perfect fulfillment. He accumulates the numerous objections brought

against the historical character of the book of Jonas, the least of which is on the score of the miraculous events it narrates; but he finds them misdirected, since the work was never intended to teach history, but its story so framed, he holds, as best to convey the great moral lessons it contains. He finds insuperable objections to the view which regards the book as an allegory of Israel's history. He puts it among the last, in time, of the prophetic writings; in character its place is near Tobias. Joel, which critics have assigned to every place from the earliest to the latest, is by van Hoonacker ascribed to the very last place among the prophets. He has, we think, put almost beyond doubt the frequent dependence of Joel on other writings and his true position as a forerunner of the apocalyptic school. The marriage of Osee is regarded as symbolic. The tiny book of Abdias is the subject of a long discussion. He upholds its unity and dates it in its entirety after the exile, about the year 500. The knotty question of its relation to Jeremias XLIX is solved by admitting that v. 6 is a reminiscence of Jeremias XLIX, 10. The perception of the resemblance here led a later scribe to insert a modification of a passage in Abdias, which is undoubtedly original, into the work of his great predecessor.

We can give in a review but little idea of the riches of this work, which abounds in precious materials for the historian and the theologian. The numberless questions it touches upon are treated in a straightforward, sound and sober manner, in the unfailing spirit of a true scholar and loyal son of the Church. It is a great achievement to have given us a commentary that is not unworthy of so important, so extensive and so difficult a portion of Holy Scripture.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Las Religiosas segun la disciplina vigente. Sus Confesores; Cuenta de Conciencia; Clausura; Votos; Eleccion de Superioras. Por J. B. Ferreres, S. J. Tercera edicion. Madrid: Administracion de Razón y Fe, 1908.

The reader will be disappointed who turns to this book expecting to find therein a systematic treatment of the law governing congregations or orders composed of women. In fact, the purpose of the author, as indicated in the sub-title, is rather to discuss some of the more im-

portant questions bearing on this law. With the same method and erudition which have won for his other works so favorable a reception, he treats at length of confessors of religious communities of women, the account of conscience, the law of enclosure, the preliminary simple vows professed in religious orders, the election of superioresses. The appearance of a third edition is evidence of the timeliness and value of these essays.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Les Fiançailles et le Mariage. Discipline Actuelle. Par Lucien Choupin, S. J. Paris, Beauchesne, 1908.

Los Esponsales y el Matrimonio segun la Novisima Disciplina. Por J. B. Ferreres, S. J. Tercera edition. Madrid : Administracion de Razón y Fe, 1908.

The New Matrimonial Legislation. By C. J. Cronin, D. D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1908.

These three works must be ranked among the best commentaries that have appeared on the decree *Ne Temere.* Father Choupin and Father Ferreres have an advantage over Monsignor Cronin inasmuch as they write in the light not only of the original law but also of all the explanatory decisions given by the Congregation of the Council down to July 27, 1908, whereas Monsignor Cronin carries us only to February 1, 1908 ; but this advantage, real enough at a time when the law is receiving authorative interpretation, can be easily overcome in a second edition.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Messianic Philosophy, an historical and critical examination of the evidence for the Existence, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and Divinity of Jesus Christ, by Gideon W. B. Marsh, B. A. (London), F. R. Hist. Soc. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Pp. xvii + 180, 8°. $1.00.

Messianic Philosophy places before the reader a portion of the evidence which establishes the Divinity of Jesus Christ. It singles out the Resurrection as the supreme apologetic fact and inquires into the evidence on which our belief in the event is based. That Christ did rise is shown primarily from the existence of Christianity. What

account does Christianity give of its origin? But one, that its Founder rose from the dead. Following this line of argument the contemporary and subsequent Christian and non-Christian writers are cited as confirmatory witnesses, and then only is the value of the New Testament proofs examined. The author does not mention the Gospel according to the Hebrews nor the Gospel of Peter among the early writings, neither does he treat the theory of Pauline influence. In the solution of difficulties he resorts frequently to harmonistic interpretation. His method, however, is historical and critical, and his presentation is clear and convincing. The volume is one of a series, entitled Expository Essays in Christian Philosophy, edited by the Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D.

P. Aloysius Menges, O. S. B.

Die Evangelien und die Evangelienkritik der akademischen Jugend und den Gebildeten aller Stände gewidmet von Dr. J. Schäfer, Professor der Theologie am Priesterseminar in Mainz. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder, 1908. 8 . pp. 124.

The composition, credibility and interdependence of the four Gospels are questions which have received unceasing attention ever since criticism has brought them to the front. The present little work does not intend to set forth any new opinions ; its purpose is to give a short outline of the leading theories, and to acquaint the Catholic reader with the chief arguments which secure his position against the attacks of the advanced school of liberal thought. Of the seven chapters one is introductory ; four are devoted to the discussion of the authorship of the Gospels, the time and place of their composition, and their integrity ; the remaining two deal with the synoptic problem and the reliability of the Evangelists as witnesses of the facts related. Dr. Schäfer's presentation is precise and clear. He attempts to give no more than a resumé, and consequently exception cannot be taken to the summary manner in which he disposes of some hypotheses that would ordinarily demand more consideration. The erroneous conclusions of Modernist and non-Catholic scholars are happily characterized as the result of false philosophical presuppositions and not of critical method.

P. Aloysius Menges, O. S. B.

Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament. Eine Verteidigung der Vulgata gegen Valla und Erasmus nach ungedruckten Quellen bearbeitet von P. Hildebrand Höpfl, O. S. B. (*Biblische Studien*, xiii Band, 2 Heft.) Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1908. 8°, pp. x + 126.

Cardinal Sirlet's activity in the revision of the Vulgate and in the reform of the Breviary and Missal is well known, not so the existence of the Annotations to the New Testament which came from his pen. These were compiled to vindicate the correctness of the reading furnished by St. Jerome's translation, especially in those cases where Valla and Erasmus had unjustly or needlessly criticized the accepted Latin rendering and rejected it in favor of a less accurate text. Dom Höpfl's study makes this work known to the public. He traces the causes which led to its composition, describes its character, and gives numerous extracts to illustrate the methods of the composer. To sound judgment Sirlet joined an extensive knowledge of Patristic literature. He had at his command some of the most reliable of the ancient manuscripts, notably the Codex Bezae and the Vaticanus, which latter he ascribed to the ninth century. The inaccuracies and shortcomings of his work are due mainly to the contemporary status of critical science and not to the lack of individual scholarship. His tendency is strictly conservative and causes him to defend warmly every disputed passage of the New Testament, among these also the famous Comma Joanneum. Dom Höpfl's study manifests a slight inclination to be over severe with Erasmus. It displays care and exactness, and forms an interesting contribution to the history of the Vulgate in the sixteenth century.

P. Aloysius Menges, O. S. B.

Have Anglicans Full Catholic Privileges? By E. H. Francis. New York: Benziger, 1907. 12mo, 77 pp.

The title of this little volume is not an exact indication of its contents. To solve the question whether Anglicans have full Catholic privileges, one would need to find out whether the Church of England possesses a true ministerial priesthood and dispenses validly the seven sacraments. The author does not enter into this field of investigation. His object is rather to show that the ritualist party, while adopting almost the whole range of Catholic doctrine, and while professing the

name of Catholic, cannot with consistency continue to form part of the Church of England, whose official teaching and practice are a denial of fundamental Catholic principles. He shows this in the attitude of the Church of England towards the Catholic conception of the Real Presence, of the sacrifice of the Mass, of sacramental confession, and of infallible authority. It is a useful little work for Anglicans moving Romewards. Too much stress is laid at times on minor differences of discipline. The author might well have summed up his argument in a terse, effective conclusion.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

La Crédibilité et l'Apologétique: par A. Gerdeil, O. P. Paris, Gabalda et Cie., 1908. 12mo., 299 pp.

The act of faith is something more than the mere conclusion of a syllogism. Yet the act of faith is a rational act, and is justified by reasons so cogent as to make unbelief unreasonable and culpable. It is these grounds, strongly inviting but not compelling belief, that constitute the credibility of the Christian, Catholic religion. In the present work, the author, with St. Thomas as his guide, analyzes the notion of credibility, showing its genesis in the act of faith, its several degrees and characteristics, its scientific demonstration, and, where this is deficient in some classes of believers, the supplementary motives that come into play to make it effective. This leads him to discuss the proper scope of apologetics, whose object is to set forth the credibility of the Christian religion as embodied in the Catholic Church, and to lead the inquiring mind to the act of faith. Subjective apologetics, he finds, has a certain supplementary value in preparing the mind for the act of faith, but cannot stand independently, as a fit and exclusive substitute for traditional, rational apologetics. He has an interesting chapter on the most effective ways of bringing to active life the half-dead, half-dormant faith of certain minds, who through invincible ignorance or invincible doubt have lost the power to exercise the faith implanted in them by baptism.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Lourdes, a History of its Apparitions and Cures. By George Bertrin. Authorized translation by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. New York: Benziger, 1908. 8vo, xiv + 296 pp.

Fifty years have passed since the simple, unlettered child of

Lourdes, Bernadette Soubirous, at the bidding of the radiant apparition, which she declared she saw in the neighboring grotto, scooped up the soil with her hand and thereby started the spring whose waters were destined to bring relief and healing to so many sufferers. Through the instrumentality of that humble girl, Lourdes has risen out of obscurity into a far famed place of pilgrimage. To its grotto and to its magnificent basilica, raised by loving hands to the honor of our Immaculate Mother, more than a million visitors are attracted every year, some out of curiosity, many out of devotion, many others in the hope of getting relief from their maladies. The number of minor cures that have rewarded pilgrimages to Lourdes is very large. But more remarkable by far is the number of healings that have no parallel in the history of medical science. Up to the year 1903, the medical bureau at Lourdes, charged with the rigid scrutiny of extraordinary cures, reported upwards of 3350 cases that deserved to be called miraculous.

Few stories are more interesting, none more inspiring, than the story of Lourdes,—its sudden leap to prominence on account of the apparitions, its public pilgrimages made up in large part of wretched invalids, the heroic charity there displayed by Catholic men and women, who give their services gratuitously to the afflicted, the intense fervor of piety shown by those who take part in the religious processions and other ceremonies, the unspeakable joy following a sudden cure. The story has been told by several able writers, by Dr. Henry Lasserre, by Dr. Boiserie, by Father Clarke and others, but by none, perhaps, with such engaging interests as by George Bertrin, in his *Histoire critique des évenèments de Lourdes,* first published in 1903 and now reprinted in its fifteenth edition. With an easy, graceful style, he treats, in the first part, of the origin and development of the devotion to our Lady of Lourdes, her apparitions to little Bernadette, the artless, transparent character of this simple child, whose sincerity and persistence overcame all opposition, and whose sober, practical piety as a religious sister in after years excluded the suspicion that she had been the victim of hallucination.

In the second part, he tells of the wonderful cures that have been wrought at Lourdes, the reality of which is vouched for by the highest form of scientific testimony. He runs over the various attempts to explain them on natural grounds, especially on the ground of hypnotism, or of autosuggestion. Finding all these explanations inadequate, he draws the conclusion that they can be accounted for only by the special intervention of God, in a word, that they are miraculous. He.

then cites, by way of illustration, a number of striking cases,—that of Peter de Rudder, whose broken leg, suppurating for months from the diseased bones that refused to knit, was instantly and permanently made whole ; that of Madame Rouchel, instantly cured of a horrible lupus, that had eaten a hole through her cheek and nearly destroyed her palate ; that of Gabriel Gargam, whose spine had been so injured in a railroad accident that he was hopelessly paralyzed and reduced to a mere skeleton, and who was suddenly restored to health and strength when let down into the font at Lourdes. Each of these episodes is related with great skill and dramatic power. Scarcely less interesting is his account of Zola's stay at Lourdes, and of the manner in which the author of the novel "Lourdes" misrepresented the nature of the wonderful cures that were brought to his notice. The hollowness of his pretence to write in the form of a novel a faithful portraiture of Lourdes is clearly shown by Bertrin's sketch of the original characters, most of whom are still living.

Such is the work which is now offered to the public in English dress, constituting volume XIII of the *International Catholic Library.* Like the original, it is illustrated with pictures of the Grotto, of Bernadette as she looked in the year 1858, and among others, of Madame Rouchel and Gabriel Gargam. The translator, Mrs. Gibbs, has in the main, given a faithful and readable rendering of the original. Here and there, in aiming at colloquial expressions, she has shot beyond the mark, as when on page 153, the sentence, "je croirais qu'il se joue de moi," is translated, "I should think he was pulling my leg." "J'ignore" she wrongly renders, "I ignore," on page 57. Then there are a few flaws for which the printer is responsible. Thus on page 65, one finds the phrase, "to rectify the decision of the bishop of Tarbes." The manuscript must have read, ratify, to correspond with the French text, "pour ratifier la décision." A more glaring error is to be found on page 70, where it is stated that the combined public pilgrimages to Lourdes in the year 1857–1903 numbered 387,000 pilgrims. The number in the original is 3,817,000. On page 202, is mentioned "the never-to-be-forgotten sight." Even if correctly printed, this epithet could hardly be called elegant.

English readers have reason to be grateful to the editor of the *International Catholic Library* for this fine volume.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

INSTALLATION OF THE PRO-RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

On Thursday, February 25th, at half-past eleven o'clock, the Ceremony of Installation of the Pro-Rector of the University took place in the Assembly Room of MacMahon Hall. There were present His Eminence, the Chancellor, Bishop D. J. O'Connell, the retiring Rector, Very Reverend T. J. Shahan, D. D., the Pro-Rector, the members of the various Faculties, the Heads of the University Colleges, the students, clerical and lay, of the University and many members of the local clergy.

The proceedings opened with an address by Bishop O'Connell, who said, in part:

Your Eminence, though I realize that my term of office is now about to expire I am not tempted to eulogize either directly or indirectly my administration. I leave it there to stand or fall on its merits. What was uppermost in my mind was that I tried to do my duty, and I find in that conviction my sweetest remembrance of the years I have spent as rector of the Catholic University of America. I am not conscious of having wronged any man; if inadvertently I wounded the feelings of anyone I now ask his pardon.

The burden of this office I lay down without much regret, rather perhaps with a sense of relief; at the same time I tender to my successor my hearty congratulation on his nomination, and my best wishes for a successful administration. He knows the University well; he loves it truly, and he has served it faithfully. As you well know, this is a pontifical University, that is, it was founded primarily by the Holy See. In the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. John the men of Samaria said to the woman at the well regarding our Saviour: "Now we believe, not because of thy saying; for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Savior of the world." When a young student at Rome one of my dear old professors was wont to impress on our minds the necessity of the Holy See

for the existence and welfare of Catholicism. Could I again see this beloved teacher I would say to him: "Professor, I now believe what you said through my own experience. I have learnt that the primacy of Peter is the immovable foundation of the Church, the living source of its growth and of perfection in its work." What I have learned in a fairly long life-time of varied activities and experiences seems to me only more admirably exemplified in this pontifical University. In the past the Holy See has always lovingly protected it and I know that in the future the University will receive from the same supreme quarter a direction based on that prudence, justice, and moderation which have always characterized the Roman Church.

In particular I seize this opportunity to thank the present Apostolic Delegate for his never-ending courtesy, good will, support, and wise counsels. I bear witness that he has at all times been a true friend to the Catholic University of America, and it gives me great pleasure to add here my gratitude for the many acts of personal kindness which I have received from him.

Your Eminence: While during my administration I may possibly have occasionally tried your patience a little, I now say that from the beginning to the end of my administration I never received from you anything but words of kindness and consolation to which were added those of wisdom, and you have been in the most literal sense of the word my counsellor, and I declare it is to you I owe whatever little success my administration may be credited with. You are surrounded as with a halo by the admiration and love of the American people that will follow you wherever you go. May you ever remain with a calm peace of soul which you so highly prize and may you live to see a very large measure of success for this grand institution of learning that is already in my mind infinitely indebted to you. To the professors of the various faculties and officers of the University I return my thanks for their kind support and regard with pleasure the many happy days I have spent with the students of the University. Though I may have been called upon from time to time to enforce discipline here and

there, however my memories of the student body are in every way pleasant and agreeable. My relations with the Presidents and students of the affiliated Colleges were at all times pleasant in the extreme and I hope the Divine Providence will give great blessings upon these favorite houses of piety and learning. I bear willing witness to the success of Albert College under its present management. I am particularly grateful that during my administration the Catholic University has continued to hold its place as the head of all the Catholic Educational Association in our country and that some useful steps have been taken to arrange more securely their moral headship and leadership. I could not bring these remarks to a close without expressing my sincere thanks to my dear friend and faithful secretary, Rev. George A. Dougherty, for the sympathy and efficient service which he has at all times rendered me.

Dear Friends: With these few words I take leave of you and at the same time assure you all a very hearty welcome if ever you come to the lovely land of California, whither Divine Providence is now calling me.

Very Rev. Dr. Shahan then addressed the meeting:

Your Eminence:—

In your person I have to thank the Holy See for the signal honor it has conferred upon the professors of this University by calling one of them to the provisional government of this great school. I beg you to assure the Holy Father that while I hold this office I shall do my best to merit his approval by an administration in keeping with the constitutions of the University, the instructions of the Holy See, and the directions of the Board of Trustees.

I have also to thank yourself for the kind words of direction and encouragement you have always spoken to us. As chancellor of this pontifical institution you have at all times manifested unfailing interest in its progress; and if to-day its work is going forward without loss or diminution, it is largely due to the generosity and zeal with which, through all its vicissitudes, you have furthered these sacred interests. Be assured,

Your Eminence, that in the future as in the past, we shall cherish the direction of so exalted a prince of Holy Church, a bishop so benevolent and experienced, and a citizen so universally esteemed and beloved. May your days among us be yet numerous, and your coming years be surrounded on all sides with an abundance of peace! The task which you have committed to me is in itself and at any time no slight burden. Leo XIII in founding the University set forth in unmistakable terms its high purpose and the specific task that lay before it as an exponent and defender of Catholic truth. Pius X has made known, in terms no less explicit, the aims which it has to pursue and the spirit which should pervade its work. More than once, the Delegates of the Apostolic See have manifested the desire that this centre of learning should spread its influence throughout the land and quicken with new energy every part of our educational system. To fulfil these ideals in even a modest measure demands qualities of mind and heart not often found in the same individual, taking it for granted that sufficient material means and opportunities are forthcoming. For myself I may say in a small way, with Saint Paul: "I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me." I pray ardently that the Holy Spirit of Wisdom, whose peculiar work this University is, will not entirely desert me, but will aid me sweetly and mightily, and enable me to hand over to my successor this sacred trust safe and undiminished, and it may be even richer and larger. If love for this Catholic University and a fixed confidence in its future are a valuable asset for the head of this work, then indeed am I rich and independent, for it is my firm persuasion that this great central institution, surrounded already by a noble cordon of colleges belonging to various religious orders and congregations, is destined one day to shine amid the most successful educational works of the New World as Catholic Paris and Oxford once shone in the Christendom of Europe. From the Catholic point of view our very trials are a prophecy of the future and a stepping-stone to higher things. In the primary school of youth and inexperience we have already learned some lessons that we are not likely to

forget; others have been purchased dearly enough in the higher school of adversity. We all believe firmly that if God had not really loved a work on which have been centered so many high hopes, and for which have been made so many costly sacrifices, He would not have so steadily sifted us like wheat or driven us so long through the furnace of tribulation.

To my predecessor in this arduous and delicate office, I extend the appreciation of all grateful hearts in this University. The rich qualities of mind and heart that in the first years of his priesthood he brought to the epoch-making work of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and later to the peaceful and regular development of the American College at Rome, were here consumed, to no small extent, in financial trials and in difficulties not easily appreciated by the ordinary observer. It ought never be forgotten that we are in great measure indebted to his zeal for the indispensable Annual Collection of about one hundred thousand dollars which, with the approval of the Holy See, the hierarchy of this country has magnanimously allowed and the Catholic people have generously contributed during the past six years. With uncommon prudence, and with great patience and charity, he has worked among us during the period of his rectorate. Without doubt he has not only held the tiller firmly and true in a great storm, but he has also laid the foundations and prepared the ground on which his successors may perhaps raise a noble edifice. Under his administration our finances have been restored to a healthy condition, nearly seven hundred thousand dollars have been invested anew for the support of this work, while about one million five hundred thousand dollars have been received and accounted for. In these years two new colleges have been opened while two others are contemplated and land has already been purchased for them. An undergraduate course for lay students has also been opened and promises excellent results. Various reforms and improvements, approved by the University authorities, have been regularly executed. During his administration efficient aid has been rendered to every large interest or movement which tends to the betterment of Catholic education. The

Catholic Educational Association, in particular, now a well-known feature of our public religious life, is deeply indebted to him for its existence, and for the enthusiasm which its annual meetings call forth in various parts of our beloved country. All these, and other merits which shall be nameless, it is my duty to acknowledge on the eve of his departure from us to take up the duties of a bishop in one of the greatest of our American Sees. I thank him in the name of the University for all that he has accomplished, and I wish him every blessing in the new field of labor to which the Holy See has assigned him.

To the professors of the University and its students let me say that I hope we shall be able to work together for the common good. Our strength lies in unity of minds and hearts. Given that unity, this great work, now nearing the close of the first generation that saw it arise; this noble enterprise, at once religious and patriotic, is sure to respond fully to the hopes and the ideals of the good and brave men who began it with so much ardor and confidence.

The ceremonies concluded with an address by His Eminence, the Chancellor:

Dear Monsignor O'Connell: I cannot conceal from you and from all those present the deep regret which I feel at your departure from this great school of learning. Your administration of affairs in this University has been marked by singular progress and prosperity. Only our Father in Heaven knows how many adversities we had to meet in the early period of your Rectorate. When you first came to this University our financial condition was most deplorable, and overwhelming disaster fell upon us owing to the failure of our treasurer. Your situation was very difficult in those days. Our funds had disappeared, and our credit was at a low ebb. But, thanks to the goodness of God, our financial condition was soon changed from total ruin to comparative prosperity. Some statistics have already been quoted in evidence of this

successful restoration of the University finances. It gives me great pleasure also to know that the number of students has increased in a notable manner and that we now have more than at any period in our history. I delight also to note the happy relations that exist between the University and the excellent Religious Communities that surround it, even as daughters gather about a mother. These Colleges filled with devoted teachers and ardent novice-students, are a great consolation to me and an admirable solution of the problem how best to combine the activities of the secular and religious clergy. To the entire University, Professors and Students I recommend with all my heart the new Pro-Rector. Dr. Shahan is one of the oldest men of the Professorial Corps, which the Holy See has done great honor by nominating him to this important office. He is well known to all of us, and I may speak of the very great love for this Catholic University which he has always manifested by word and deed. Nor need I remind you of his laborious life and the high esteem in which he is held by all members of the Academic profession. To the professors in particular let me say that without their coöperation the best equipped head can accomplished nothing. It is therefore from the very depths of my heart that I implore them to unite with Dr. Shahan in every effort to fulfill the original purpose of this Catholic University and to make it one day the perfect institution of learning which its founder intended it should be. Again I say to all of the professors, be united among yourselves and labor with all possible zeal and earnestness for the welfare of this great school. It is a holy and religious charge the Hierarchy of this country commits to your keeping. In you they repose all confidence for the moral and intellectual formation of the students whom they send here or encourage to come here. What better proof of this confidence could they give than the $100,000. which they annually collect from our good Catholic people for the continuance and perfection of this splendid enterprise? Nor could we possibly give greater delight to the members of the Hierarchy than to know that the entire teaching body of the Catholic University was working

like one man, with one mind and one heart with great singleness of purpose, with utter unselfishness, under one strong intelligent and loving impulse. Unite, therefore, together in one accord; labor together with all your zeal and perseverance. Surely if you exhibit before the Catholic world this "Unio Animorum," this affectionate blending of hearts, you will draw down the blessing of God upon yourself individually and on this institution of learning. You will also gladden the heart of an old man who has loved and still loves very deeply the Catholic University of America and hopes to see it eventually lifted to the very first rank among the educational establishments of our great American Fatherland. May the blessing of God descend upon you all, professors and students and remain with you forever.

After the ceremonies in MacMahon Hall, the Chancellor, the Apostolic Delegate, the Pro-Rector, Bishop O'Connell, the Faculties, Heads of Colleges, and many distinguished guests were entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall.

THE PRO-RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Thomas Joseph Shahan, son of Maurice Peter Shahan and Mary Anne Carmody, was born in Manchester, New Hampshire, September 11, 1857. His parents soon removed to Millbury, Mass., where he was brought up and received his early education in the public schools of that village. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Montreal College, Montreal, Canada. Here, under the direction of the Sulpician Fathers, he completed a classical education from 1872 to 1878. In the latter year Bishop Galberry of the Hartford diocese sent him to the American College at Rome where he studied theology for four years. Among his masters in that science was the present Cardinal Francesco Satolli, Prefect of the Congregation of Studies and Arch-Priest of Saint John Lateran. On June 3, 1882, the young ecclesiastic was ordained to the priesthood at Saint John Lateran's by Cardinal Monaco La Valletta, then Cardinal Vicar for Leo XIII. Before his ordination he passed successfully the examination for the degree of Doctor of Theology. On his return Doctor Shahan was appointed by Bishop McMahon as curate at Saint John's Church, New Haven, where he remained the greater part of a year, and among other duties was charged with the spiritual care of the Italian population. In July, 1883, he was appointed by Bishop McMahon his secretary and chancellor, and held that office until the Fall of 1888. During that period he organized the diocesan chancery, assisted in the building of the new cathedral, and bore a part of the ordinary parochial administration. In the Summer of 1888 he was invited by Bishop (now Archbishop) Keane to join the teaching staff of the projected Catholic University at Washington and went abroad in the Fall of that year for purposes of study until the University should have been actually organized. Doctor Shahan was at first destined to teach Canon Law, but while abroad was requested to take up instead the teaching of Ecclesiastical History and to direct his studies accordingly.

At Rome he took the degree of Licentiate in Canon and Civil Law (J. U. L.) and had among his masters Professors Sebastianelli, Giustini, Latini, and Gianlorenzo. From Rome he went to the University of Berlin where he devoted two years to historical study, chiefly introduction to history, the auxiliary sciences, etc., acquiring at the same time a knowledge of the German tongue. Among his masters at Berlin were Professors Wattenbach, Loewenfeld, Scheffer-Boichorst, and Jastrow. From Berlin he went to Paris where he studied at the Institut Catholique and at the New Sorbonne under the direction of Professor Louis Duchesne, the distinguished editor of the *Liber Pontificalis,* and director of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome.

Doctor Shahan returned to his native country in the Fall of 1891 and began at once his work as ordinary professor of Church History and Patrology, which position he has ever since occupied. For several years he also conducted courses in the Law School of the University on the history and elements of the Roman Law, besides helping to fill out, on occasion, a vacancy in the Chair of Canon Law. In 1895 Doctor Shahan founded, with other professors the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, and since then has remained in charge of that publication as its chief editor. During the eighteen years of his professorial life, Doctor Shahan has constantly responded to the calls of various Catholic bodies for help in the shape of lectures, sermons, discourses, summer-school teaching, and the like. Not unfrequently also he has contributed to the pages of various Catholic and non-Catholic periodical publications. Some of the above mentioned work has appeared in the volumes entitled: "The Beginnings of Christianity" (New York, Benziger, 1903); "The Middle Ages" (New York, Benziger, 1904); "The House of God" (Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1905). Doctor Shahan is also the author of "The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs" (Baltimore, John Murphy, 1892); "Giovanni Battista De Rossi" (New York, 1900); "Saint Patrick in History" (New York, Longmans, 1902), and "The Heart of

Acadie, or Notes of a Northern Summer" (*The Ave Maria,* Notre Dame, Ind., 1901, 1902). He has also lectured on the history of education in the Catholic University Institute of Pedagogy, New York, 1902-3. His latest work is a translation from the German of Bardenhewer's "Manual of Patrology" (Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1898, pp. 680), for the use of Catholic ecclesiastical seminaries and other houses of theological study. Since the end of 1904 Doctor Shahan has been one of the five Editors who have undertaken the publication of the voluminous international work of reference known as *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* of which four volumes have already appeared and the fifth is on the point of publication. He is also one of the original board of judges for the Hall of Fame, University Heights, New York.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Albert College.—The Rt. Rev. Monsignor Lavelle of New York, one of the trustees of the University, has presented Albert Hall with a complete outfit of vestments, linens and necessities for the Altar.

The large frame building back of McMahon Hall is now fitted up for the use of the Athletic Association. Basketball and indoor baseball practice are expected to put the young men in fine shape for the athletic season which opens March 20th, with baseball at Georgetown.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *April, 1909.* *No. 4.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED BY

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *April, 1909.* *No. 4.*

THE SUMMA THEOLOGICA OF ST. THOMAS.

The Summa and the Catechism:—"The Catholic Church," writes Ozanam, a distinguished modern author, "possesses two incomparable monuments, the Catechism and the *Summa Theologica* (Sum of Theology) of St. Thomas Aquinas; one is for the unlettered (persons of ordinary capacity), the other is for the learned." The truth of this remark is admitted by all theologians who have studied and examined the Summa of St. Thomas after having learned, as all must first learn, the outlines of the Christian religion from that dear little book, the Catechism. The Catechism contains a compendious enumeration and short explanations of the principal doctrines of the Christian religion; the Summa of St. Thomas contains a complete list of those same doctrines, explained and developed and defended by the genius of a Master who is universally recognized as the "Prince of Theologians." Had St. Thomas written nothing but his theology, his name would have been immortal, because nothing new is said in stating that the *Summa Theologica* is universally admitted to be the greatest masterpiece of human genius that the world has ever known. This work contains the cream of St. Thomas' philosophy and theology, being in reality a résumé, or sum, of all his other writings; it represents the perfection of the human mind in its application to the truths of faith, the perfection of Christian philosophy and theology. Those who read it are filled with

enthusiastic admiration for the author, and they know not which should be more admired, the grandeur of the plan or the extraordinary genius manifested in the execution of the grand conception.

Lacordaire compares the Summa to the Pyramids:—"Shall I attempt," exclaims Fr. Lacordaire, speaking of St. Thomas, "shall I attempt to describe this man and his work? As well might I attempt to give a perfect idea of the pyramids by telling their height and breadth. If you wish to know the pyramids, be not content with listening to a description; cross the seas; go to the land where so many conquerors have left their footprints; go into the sandy deserts, and there behold standing before you something solemn, something grand, something calm, immutable and profoundly simple—the pyramids!" St. Thomas' *Summa,* in its majestic simplicity may well be compared to the grandest of the pyramids. We may look upon it with admiring eyes; but no tongue can tell, no pen can adequately describe the wonders of its simple grandeur; it is the master-piece of a genius who has had neither a superior nor an equal. This great manual of theology comes to us from that much maligned thirteenth century, of which Vaughan writes: "The master-pieces of medieval science were produced at the very time that the great architectural master-pieces were conceived and at least partially realized." [1] The thirteenth century was an age of construction as well as of destruction. The men of those days upset and destroyed many idols of preceding centuries; but in their stead they constructed imperishable monuments both in the material and in the intellectual world, which to this day excite the unbounded admiration of all lovers of true genius; and the architects of our day would be happy if they could produce something worthy of being compared to the great cathedrals and churches and libraries and town-halls which were conceived and executed by the architects of the middle ages. This is in a special manner true of the greatest of all master-pieces of medieval science, the Summa of St. Thomas. No writer of theology has attempted to make an

[1] *Life of St. Thomas,* Vol. I, p. 345.

improvement upon this greatest of all manuals of theology. The Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, has held her councils and has issued instructions and definitions to which not even the most enthusiastic admirer of St. Thomas would dare compare his writings when there is question of a teacher that is infallible as well as accurate; but it is a fact well known to theologians that many of those definitions were taken almost verbatim from the works of St. Thomas. Amongst men the *Summa* has been looked upon as the groundwork and model for all theologies written since his time, and the greatest praise that could be bestowed upon any philosophy or theology consists in saying that the book really deserves to bear on the title-page the inscription; "ad mentem D. Thomae"—in other words, that it was formed on the model of St. Thomas and really represents his teachings.

When did St. Thomas resolve to write the Summa? It is impossible to determine at what epoch in his lifetime St. Thomas resolved to write the *Summa*. We know that in his infancy those who cared for him were frequently astonished on hearing the child ask, with unexpected seriousness, "What is God?" It may be supposed that thus early in his life grace was perfecting nature in this favored child, preparing him gradually to become in due time the most distinguished representative of that science which takes its name from God, of whom it treats.[2] His sojourn at Monte Casino, his studies at Naples, his reading of the Scriptures and of Aristotle, his study of the "Sentences," in which Peter Lombard gave a compendium of the most important texts of the Fathers relating to theology, his training under Albertus Magnus, who was deeply impressed with the order and accuracy of Aristotle's writings, and who was himself fond of experimenting and of collecting materials for rebuilding the edifice of philosophy and theology—all this tended to prepare St. Thomas for giving to the world what Ozanam calls "a vast synthesis of the moral sciences, in which was unfolded all that could be

[2] Vaughan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 96.

known of God, of man, and their mutual relations, a truly Catholic philosophy." [3]

Origin of the Summa:—In subsequent articles something will be said of the chaos produced at Paris and elsewhere by the introduction of new studies and new methods into the universities. With brilliant professors anxious to obtain fame by giving their names to new systems, with Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle regarded at Paris as the perfection of philosophical knowledge, with rationalism and pantheism publicly taught by professors of a Catholic university, with contempt for old systems and the love of novelty growing in the minds of men, while the sweet and pious mystics of the school of St. Victor sought to induce men to give up "philosophy and empty fallacies" in order to return to the contemplation of heavenly truths and the study of the Scriptures, there was a confusion that puzzled even learned theologians, and poor beginners could do nothing but follow the systems of their masters.

Influence of Albertus Magnus on St. Thomas:—St. Thomas was a witness of this confusion. He had not suffered as much as others from the disordered state of philosophy and theology, because he had enjoyed the advantage of being instructed under a master whose clear vision was not dimmed by the darkness which surrounded him. Albertus Magnus—"Honor to whom honor is due"—pointed out to St. Thomas the dangers and the needs of the thirteenth century, and to him principally, under God, we are indebted for the immortal *Summa*. Although St. Thomas had not himself experienced the difficulties under which others labored, he knew what those difficulties were, and he resolved with all due humility, and with the hope of assistance from heaven, to write a book that would be a remedy for the confusion and uncertainty which prevented students from forming a clear conception of the doctrines of Christianity.

The Summa was written for Beginners:—In making this statement there is no necessity of drawing upon the imagination or of resorting to *ex post facto* suppositions. St. Thomas himself tells us—the declaration will perhaps surprise those who

[3] Drane, *Christian Schools and scholars* (London, 1881), p. 430.

hear it for the first time—that his *Summa* was written for the special benefit of students, of beginners, as we call them. This declaration was made in the Prologue to the *Summa*. "We have reflected," he writes, "that beginners in this sacred science find many impediments in those things which have been written by divers authors; partly on account of the multiplication of useless questions, articles and arguments, partly because those things which are necessary for the education of novices are not treated according to the order of discipline (scientific order), but as the exposition of certain books or the occasion of dispute demanded, and partly because the frequent repetitions beget confusion and disgust in the minds of learners." Those "impediments," or trials of beginners as we may call them, St. Thomas wished to avoid, hence he adds: "I shall endeavor, trusting to the assistance of heaven, to treat of those things that pertain to this sacred science with brevity and with clearness, in as far as the subject to be treated will permit." [4]

These are St. Thomas' few plain and simple words of introduction to his immortal Sum of all theology. They contain a promise, and never was a promise more faithfully fulfilled. He did not write simply in order to explain or refute books that had been written before his time. He did not wish to make a show of learning by heaping up useless questions and arguments, thereby causing great confusion in the minds of his readers. No, with humble confidence in the Almighty, he intended to use the talents that God had given him to compose a complete, but at the same time brief and lucid, exposition of the truths made known by revelation. In other words, he promised to write a scientifically arranged theology, and he fulfilled his promise in such a manner as to become the Prince and Master of all theologians, with no one to dispute his claim to the title.

Question I. *Sacred Doctrine*:—After these few preliminary remarks, which, by the way, contain more than many a long-winded preface, as prefaces are often written, the Angelic Doctor enters into the consideration of his subject, beginning

[4] Prologue to the *Summa*.

with an introductory question on Sacred Doctrine, by which term he means either revelation in general, or theology in particular.

Besides philosophy which can be known by reason, he says, "revelation is also necessary for the human race, first, because without revelation men could know nothing of the supernatural end to which they must tend, and secondly, without revelation even the truths concerning God which could be proved by reason, would be known only by a few, after a long time and with the admixture of many errors." (Art. 1, cf. Vat. Council, Const. "Dei Filius," C. 2.)

What is Scholastic Theology? The principles of revelation having been once received, the mind of man proceeds to explain them and to draw conclusions from what was revealed. From this results in man's mind theology properly so-called, which is a science, speculative and practical, higher in dignity than the other sciences, deserving to be called wisdom, because the principles from which it proceeds are made known by revelation which manifests God as the highest cause of all things (art. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). The object, or subject, of this science is God; all other things are treated in it only in so far as they relate to God (art. 7). Reason is used in theology not to prove the truths of faith—which are accepted on the authority of God—but to defend, explain and develop the doctrines which have been revealed (art. 8). Revelation is made known to us by the Sacred Scriptures. God, the author of the Scriptures, embraces all things in His infinite mind; and when He deigns to speak to man, if we take into account the intention of God, considering the spiritual or mystical as well as the literal sense of the words, a single text of Scripture may contain a world of meaning (art. 9, 10).

Plan of the Summa:—Having laid down these principles, St. Thomas announces the order he intends to observe in his theology. This is one of the most important features of the *Summa*. In ten lines of a half column, as the words are printed in the Migne edition of his works, the Angel of the schools sketches that wonderful plan which introduced unity into all theological treatises. Under three headings he classi-

fies all the parts of dogmatic and moral theology; not one of them can be omitted in a complete theology; it is not necessary to add another, because they embrace everything, they cover the whole field.

General Outlines:—Now, what are those three headings, those three leading ideas? "Since the principal object of sacred doctrine is to give the knowledge of *God,* not only as he is in himself but also as he is the *Beginning* of all things and the *End* of them all, especially of rational beings, we shall treat first, of God; secondly, of the tendency of the rational creature to God, and thirdly, of Christ, who as man is the way by which we tend to God." This is the grand division, these are the general outlines of the *Summa Theologica.* God in himself and as he is the Creator; God as the End of all things, especially of man; God as the Redeemer—these are the leading ideas under which all that pertains to theology is contained.

Subdivision; 1a Pars:—The first part, of God in himself and of God as Creator, is subdivided into three tracts. (1) of those things which pertain to the essence of God, (2) the distinction of persons in God, *i. e.,* on the Trinity, (3) of the procession of creatures from God; under which St. Thomas treats (1) of the production of creatures, (2) of the distinction of creatures, (3) of the preservation and government of creatures. Under the heading of the distinction, he treats of the distinction of creatures, (1) in general and (2) in particular, *i. e.,* of good and evil, of creatures that are purely spiritual (the angels), of creatures that are purely corporeal (the material world), and of man who is composed of body and spirit. This makes in all nine tracts in the first part; (1) On the essence of the one God. (2) On the Trinity. (3) On the creation. (4) On the distinction of things in general. (5) On the distinction of good and evil. (6) On the angels. (7) On purely corporeal creatures. (8) On man. (9) On the preservation and government of the world.

2a Pars. The second part, which treats of the tendency of rational creatures to God, *i. e., of God as he is the end of man,* contains the moral theology of St. Thomas or his treatise on the end of man and on human acts. It is subdivided into two

parts known as the 1^a 2^{ae} and the 2^a 2^{ae}, or the First of the Second and the Second of the Second. The first five questions of the 2^a pars are devoted to proving that man's last end, or his beatitude, consists in the possession of God. Man attains to that end or deviates from it by human acts, of which he treats, first in the general (in all but the first five questions of the prima secundae), secondly, in particular (in the whole of the 2^a 2^{ae}).

The treatise on human acts in general is divided into two parts, (1) on human acts in themselves, (2) on the principles or causes of those acts. Of the acts performed by man some are peculiar to him as man, others are common to him and the lower animals; hence St. Thomas speaks, (1) of human acts, (2) of the passions. Here I may pause to remark that in these two tracts, St. Thomas, following Aristotle, gives the most perfect description and the keenest analysis of the movements of man's mind and heart that ever came from the pen of man.

The principles (or causes) of human acts are *intrinsic* or *extrinsic*. The intrinsic principles are the *faculties* of the soul and *habits*. The faculties of the soul were explained in the first part, in treating of the soul of man; hence in the prima secundae St. Thomas considers habits, first, in general, then, in particular, *i. e.,* the virtues and vices, in explaining which his power of analysis is again displayed in a remarkable manner. The extrinsic principles of human acts are *the devil* who tempts us, and *God,* who instructs us by his *laws* and moves us by his *grace*. Of the temptation of the demons St. Thomas treated in the first part, when he was explaining God's manner of governing the world. The prima secundae closes with the treatise on laws and on grace.

2^a 2^{ae}. The second part of the second treats of the virtues and vices in particular. In it St. Thomas treats first of those things which pertain to *all men,* no matter what may be their station in life, secondly, of those things which pertain to *some men* only. Things that pertain to all men are reduced by St. Thomas to seven headings: Faith, Hope and Charity—the three *theological virtues*—Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and

Temperance—the four *Cardinal* or principal moral virtues. Under each title St. Thomas, in order, as he himself tells us, to avoid frequent repetitions, treats not only of the virtue itself, but also of the vices opposed to it, of the commandment given to practice it, and of the gift of the Holy Ghost which corresponds to it. Under the second heading—of those things which pertain to some men only—St. Thomas treats first of the *graces freely given* by Almighty God, to certain individuals for the good of the church, such as the gift of tongues, prophecy, the power to work miracles, etc. Secondly, of the *active and contemplative life.* Thirdly, of *particular states* in life, and of the duties of those who are in different stations, especially of bishops and religious.

3*a Pars.* In the third part of his *Summa,* St. Thomas treats of our Blessed Redeemer and of the benefits which he confers upon man; hence the three tracts; first, on the *Incarnation* and on what our Saviour did and suffered when he was on earth; second, on the *Sacraments,* which were instituted by our Saviour and have their efficacy from His merits and sufferings; and the third, on the *end of the world,* the resurrection of our bodies, judgment, the punishment of the wicked, and the everlasting happiness of those who through the merits of Christ are brought back to the bosom of God.

These are the grand outlines of the *Summa,* which was the first, and which remains to this day the most perfect, scientifically arranged theology that was ever written. I have said nothing of the subdivisions under each grand heading; they bear the impress of the same all-embracing and penetrating mind which conceived the general plan. The *Summa* contains 38 tracts, 631 questions and about 3000 articles, in which more than 10,000 objections are answered. Take up any one of these articles, and by referring to the beginning of the treatise you can see at a glance what place it occupies in the general plan, which embraces all that can be known of *God,* of *man,* and of *their mutual relations.* This scientific arrangement of questions is one of the most prominent features of the *Summa* and the making out of this plan was in itself a greater benefit to theology than any thing that had been done before or has been

done since the time of St. Thomas. Writers who preceded St. Thomas had deserved well of religion and of the church; they had written wisely and well, and to some of those who immediately preceded him or were contemporary with him, must be given the credit of having prepared the way for the *Summa* by collecting the materials which he moulded into one vast synthesis; but they had not written a scientific theology. Those who came after St. Thomas have deemed it an honor and a pleasure to follow the order of the *Summa*. They may have added some new developments or cited some facts and definitions which came after the thirteenth century, but they have never dreamed of attempting to write a better theology. St. Thomas remains the master and the model; the nearer they approach to him, the better right they have to be considered good theologians.

It must not be supposed, however, that all the excellencies of the *Summa* have been enumerated when the general plan has been pointed out and a short list has been given of the principal questions treated in it. St. Thomas was not only a great architect, he was also a practical builder and he attended with the greatest diligence to every detail of the grand edifice which he constructed. Reading over his works we involuntarily exclaim: Verily Pope John XXII expressed a truth when he said that St. Thomas wrought as many miracles as he wrote articles.

The Style of the Summa:—Let us consider, for instance, the style of his writings. The style of St. Thomas is something unique and inimitable; it is a most extraordinary combination of brevity, accuracy and completeness. The scholastics generally were not so careful of style as were their predecessors in the learned world; they were more solicitous about their thoughts than about the language in which their ideas were expressed. Hence the lamentations of John of Salisbury, who was a finished classical scholar and a writer of elegantly polished letters.[5] St. Thomas' style is a medium between the rough expressiveness of the ordinary scholastic and the almost fasti-

[5] Drane, *op. cit.*, pp. 358–359.

dious elegance of John of Salisbury. We know that his hymns in honor of the Blessed Sacrament are incomparably grand and beautiful. Santeuil said he would give all the verses he ever wrote for the following words of the Verbum Supernum, which immediately precede the "O Salutaris":

"Se nascens dedit socium
Convescens in edulium
Se moriens in pretium
Se regnans dat in premium."

"In birth, man's Fellowman was he,
His Meat, while sitting at the Board
He died, his Ransomer to be
He reigns to be his Great Reward."[6]

But I am speaking of his style of writing on philosophy and theology, concerning which Pope Innocent VI declared that, with the exception of the canonical writings, the works of St. Thomas surpass all others in accuracy of expression. In a few well chosen words he tells all that one wishes to know on a question, and after reading all that others have written, students return to St. Thomas, who always gives something satisfactory. No one can appreciate this without actually reading the writings of St. Thomas. For the sake of comparison I should like to see some modern authors attempt to put into a given space as much accurate and satisfactory information as St. Thomas usually gives in the space of one article. Bossuet, Lacordaire, and Monsabrè, three of the greatest of orators, studied and admired St. Thomas' style, and in reading their discourses we can recognize the influence of the Angelic Doctor. Writers on philosophy and theology have studied his style; they could not imitate it, because it is *sui generis,* possessing an excellence which makes it inimitable. Cajetan knew his style better than any of his disciples, yet Cajetan is beneath St. Thomas in clearness and accuracy of expression, in depth and solidity of judgment.

Sound Judgment.—This soundness and soberness of judgment is another characteristic of St. Thomas. It is a well

[6] Translation by Marquis of Bute.

known fact that St. Thomas was noted for his singular calmness and meekness; even under the most trying circumstances he never lost his temper, notwithstanding the many provocations he met with in his life as a student, as a professor, and as a champion of the religious orders against the malicious attacks of William of St. Amour. This quiet self-possession runs through all his writings, so much so that every candid reader, even though he paid no attention to the supernatural meekness and humility of a saintly disciple of Jesus, would be compelled to admire him as a perfect specimen of the philosopher with a well-balanced mind. St. Thomas was full of what we take delight in praising as good, sound sense. He and Albertus Magnus introduced new methods into the schools. Besides praising and making known the works of Aristotle, upon which some looked with suspicion, they insisted on the necessity of experiment and observation in an age when men too often contented themselves with reading what had been written by others.

In philosophy, says St. Thomas, arguments from authority are of secondary importance (2 Sent. Dist. 14, Art. 2, ad. 1); experiment, and reason the thing out for yourself, and do not swear by the words of a master. "Philosophy does not consist in knowing what men said but in knowing the truth." We now understand the importance of this principle; perhaps we should not have understood it so well, and might not have proposed it so courageously had we lived in the middle of the thirteenth century.[7] The good judgment of St. Thomas is displayed in a remarkable manner in settling disputed questions. If he tells you that he is certain of the truth of his solution, you may rest assured that his arguments are convincing; otherwise he will simply give an opinon, stating that it is probable or more probable than the opposite; or he will admit that the question is doubtful, and then he suspends judgment. He does not hesitate at times to say plainly: This is something about which we know nothing, differing in this from many of his time and of our times who foolishly imagine that it is unphilosophical to say: "I don't know." On re-

[7] See *Aeterni Patris.*

flection we know that judgments should be formed in accordance with the nature of the arguments adduced, but as a matter of fact very few writers observe this rule. St. Thomas observed it invariably, and for this reason he has always been considered a safe guide, because he judged always in justice and in truth.

No Excellence without Labor:—It would be a mistake to suppose that St. Thomas attained to this perfection of scholastic writing without an effort, and that he affords an exception to the general rule expressed in the old saying: "There is no excellence without labor." He was indeed a singularly blessed genius, but he was also an indefatigable worker, and by continued application he reached that stage of perfection in the art of writing where the art disappears. Some years ago the Abbé Ucceli published a fac-simile of the original manuscript of the *Summa Contra Gentes*. The text was corrected and changed in almost as many places as it remained intact, thus proving that even the genius of St. Thomas was not dispensed from the law of labor in attaining to excellence.

Another remarkable feature of the *Summa* is St. Thomas' wonderful knowledge of the Scriptures, of the Councils of the Church, of the Works of the Fathers and the writings of the philosophers. He seems to have read everything and to have understood everything. Father Daniel d'Agusta once pressed him to say what he considered the greatest grace he had ever received from God (sanctifying grace, of course, excepted). "I think, that of having understood whatever I have read," he replied, after a few minutes of reflection. St. Antoninus says in his life, that "he remembered everything he had once read, so that his mind was like a huge library." [8] Whoever has read the *Summa* will at once admit the truth of these statements.

Scripture:—St. Thomas must have known by heart the greater portion of the Scriptures. There is scarcely an article of the *Summa* that does not contain quotations from the Scriptures, and frequently he takes pains to explain the meaning of obscure passages. It must be borne in mind that he

[8] Drane, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

wrote at a time when there was no such book as a "Concordance," or a "Thesaurus Biblicus," or "Divine Armory of the Holy Scriptures," or other books of that kind which make it easy for writers of our times to fill their pages with quotations from the holy writings. Not only did he know the Scriptures themselves, he was also acquainted with the Commentaries on the sacred text; and whenever it was necessary or useful, he was prepared to give the different opinions of various authors, sometimes refuting their interpretations, sometimes leaving the reader free to choose for himself from several interpretations, all of which were considered equally good. The bare enumeration of texts quoted or explained in the *Summa* fills eighty small-print columns in the Migne edition of his works, and it is supposed by many that St. Thomas learned the Scriptures by heart while he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Giovanni, shortly after he received the habit of the Order of St. Dominic.

Tradition:—He was also filled with the deepest veneration for all the traditions of the Church. He was a man of intense faith, and no arguments had greater weight with him than those taken from the "consuetudo ecclesiae"—the practice of the church, which, he said, should prevail over the authority of any Doctor (2^a 2^{ae}, Q. X. A. 12). This same spirit of faith is manifested in his quotatons from the Acts of Councils, the Definitions of the Roman Pontiffs, and the works of the Holy Fathers. His acquaintance with these important sources of theological arguments is astonishing, especially when we remember that books were very rare and precious in his time—two centuries before the invention of printing. In the *Summa Theologica* he quotes from 19 Councils, 41 Popes, and 52 Fathers of the Church or learned Doctors. Among the Fathers, his favorite is St. Augustine, whose opinions, however, he does not always adopt, when St. Augustine puts forth a private opinion and is not bearing witness to a doctrine that was handed down from the ancients. In departing from St. Augustine's opinion he usually, through respect for that Father, refrains from mentioning his name, preferring that his readers should

not be unnecessarily reminded of the fact that even St. Augustine made some mistakes.

Philosophers:—In the introduction to the *Summa,* St. Thomas lays down the principle that a theologian can make use of the writings of philosophers, not indeed as if theology needed them, but because she has the right to use them as her servants (Q. 1, Art. 5 ad 2) in order to illustrate the truth of faith (Q. 1, Art. 8 ad 2). Acting on this principle he extensively used the works of the pagan philosophers and poets in order to render more intelligible and attractive his explanations of Christian doctrines and practices. In the *Summa* he quotes from the writings of 46 philosophers and poets, Aristotle, Plato, and Boethius being his favorite authorities. From Aristotle he learned that love of order and accuracy of expression which are the most conspicuous features of the *Summa.* From Boethius he learned that Aristotle's works could be used without detriment to Christianity; and in the works of that philosopher he found several exact definitions which he adopted, and which are still used in the schools of theology (def. of Person and of Eternity). He did not follow Boethius in his vain attempt to reconcile Plato and Aristotle. St. Thomas saw that the teachings of those two great philosophers were not the same, especially in regard to the nature of universal ideas and the union of the soul and body in man. He adopted Aristotle's doctrines on those subjects, and in general the Stagyrite was his master; but the elevation and grandeur of St. Thomas' conceptions, and the majestic dignity which characterizes all his writings speak to us of the great and sublime Plato, who would have been greater than Aristotle, had he condescended to descend to facts rather than soar aloft, even unto the Divinity, on the wings of sublime theories. St. Thomas is as sublime as Plato, and more reliable than Aristotle, because Aristotle lacked the light of Christian faith, which alone can safely guide the human mind through the intricacies and obscurities of philosophy. St. Thomas then, is the Christian Aristotle, the greatest of all philosophers, and the Prince of Theologians. The importance and value of his *Summa,* which I have very imperfectly described, pointing out

in a general way a few of its excellencies, were recognized and admitted as soon as it became known, and shortly after his death the *Summa* supplanted the Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard which for years had been the favorite text-book in the theological schools of the middle ages.

Popes, Universities and Religious Orders:—Roman Pontiffs, the Universities and Religious Orders vied with one another in sounding the praises of the Angelic Doctor. The Universities and many religious orders bound themselves to follow his doctrine, of which Pope Innocent the VI said: "Those who followed it never deviated from the path of truth; those who attacked it were always suspected of error. Heretics (Beza, Bucer) unwillingly proclaimed his greatness by boasting that if his works were removed they could destroy the Catholic Church. "The hope indeed was vain, but the testimony has its value," writes Leo XIII (*Aet. Patris*).

Councils, Council of Trent:—The greatest praise that can be bestowed upon St. Thomas is to be found in the history of the General Councils of the Church. "In the Councils of Lyons, Vienne, Florence, and in the Vatican Council," writes Leo XIII, "You might say that St. Thomas was present in the deliberations and decrees of the Fathers and, as it were, presided over them, contending against the errors of the Greeks, the heretics, the rationalists, with overpowering force and the happiest results. And it was an honor reserved to St. Thomas alone, and shared by none of the other Doctors of the Church, that the Fathers of Trent in their hall of assembly decided to place on the altar side by side with the Holy Scriptures and the Decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, the *Summa* of St. Thomas, to seek in it counsel, arguments and decisions for their purpose" (*ib*).

Vatican Council:—I have heard it related, on very good authority, that at the Vatican Council the Bishop who was considered one of the best theologians among the assembled Fathers, was Archbishop, afterwards Cardinal Gill, Archbishop of Saragossa. Pius IX spoke of him as "the oracle of the council," and always asked him to give an opinion before the decrees were put to a final vote. The Archbishop afterwards,

		PART I Ques. I.	
.....	"	2-26	
nity.....	"	27-42	
.....	"	44-49	
Things in General.	"	47	
Good and Evil.....	"	48-49	
.....	"	50-64	
ly corporeal.....	"	65-94	
.....	"	75-102	
and Government			
.....	"	103-119	
		PART II.	
nd Beatitude.....	"	1-5	I-II
.....	"	6-21	
.....	"	22-48	
.....	"	49-54	
.....	"	55-70	
.....	"	71-89	
.....	"	90-108	
.....	"	109-114	
.....	"	1-16	II-II
.....	"	17-22	
.....	"	23-46	
.....	"	47-66	
.....	"	67-122	
.....	"	123-140	
.....	"	141-170	
sly Given.....	"	171-178	
Contemplative life.....	"	179-182	
ces and Conditions			
.....	"	183-189	
		PART III.	
.....	"	1-59	
in General.....	"	60-65	
.....	"	66-71	
.....	"	72	
.....	"	73-83	
90. Supplement.....	"	1-28	
.....	"	29-33	
.....	"	34-40	
.....	"	41-68	
and Four Last			
.....	"	69-119	

replying to the congratulations of his brethren in religion, humbly protested that if he had said anything of value during the sessions of the Council, all the glory should be attributed to St. Thomas "because," he said, "whatever I may know about theology I learned from my two favorite books, the Summa of St. Thomas and the treatise "De Locis Theologicis of Melchior Canus" (a disciple of St. Thomas).

Nothing more than this simple fact is required to prove the wisdom of Pope Leo XIII in calling upon his children throughout the world to study the works and the method of St. Thomas. The reasons for this action of the Supreme Pontiff are set forth at length in the Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Permit me to remark that even from what has been said in these imperfect sketches of St. Thomas' influence on religious thought, it is evident that in his works are to be found the principles which would destroy the principal intellectual evils of our times, Rationalism, Indifferentism, and the foolish belief that there is a conflict between faith and science. St. Thomas' career and every page of his writings are a contradiction and a standing refutation of those errors. His works, indeed, should not be studied now as they would have been used in the thirteenth century; they should be adapted to the needs of the twentieth century. His principles and his methods are suited to all times, because, as Father Lacordaire remarks, granting that he has not foreseen and refuted all errors, he has said all that was necessary to refute them.[9]

Should the Summa be considered a Miracle:—If you ask: How did it happen that this man, living six hundred years ago, wrote a theology suited to the needs of all times? I answer, in the words of Pope John XXII: "Doctrina ejus non potuit esse sine miraculo"—"His learning cannot be explained without admitting a miracle."

D. J. Kennedy, O. P.

[9] Vallet, *Histoire de la Philosophie*, (Paris, 1886), p. 246.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT.

II. Its Educational Influence.

The Makers of Oscott.

The stately buildings of Oscott, the prestige of its name, the antique mellowness of its adornments, the traditions of its teaching, the character of its piety and its chivalrous tone, were the creation of many minds.

Bishop Thomas Talbot (✠1795) conceived the project of a Seminary for ecclesiastics; John Kirk determined its site; a committee of nobility and gentry introduced the lay element, Dr. John Bew gave concrete form to this two-fold project; Bishop Milner acquired the institution for the Midland District (1808); Thomas Potts gave the early spirit to its classical pursuits; Thomas Potts, Thomas Walsh and Robert Richmond laid the tradition of solid instruction and piety; Bishop Walsh erected the New College (under the influence of Kirk, Weedall, Pugin and Moore); Wiseman (supported by Father Dominic, the Passionist, and the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer) brought the Tractarians to Oscott in the forties.

In addition to the distinguished converts referred to in the last paper, the following should be mentioned: the Revs. G. Montgomery, M. A. (1845-1849); G. Oldham, M. A. (1858-1860); H. De Burgh, M. A. (1860-1861); E. H. Hunter, M. A. 1862-1865); A. J. Wallace, M. A. (1864-1868); H. Norris, F. S. A. (1868-1874); Mgr. Canon Kennard, M. A. (1870-1873); J. Stevenson, S. J., M. A. (1870-1872); Canon Stokes, B. A. (1870-1873); Mgr. W. Croke Robinson, M. A. (1872-1875); Mgr. Clement Harrington Moore, M. A. (1872-1877); C. B. Langdon, M. A. (1884-1885); G. B. Tatum, M. A. (1885-1888); Mgr. D. S. Ramsay (1866); Mgr. W. Tylee (1866-1868).

Northcote (1860-1877) made Oscott a school of learning and

culture, and to carry our thoughts farther than they have hitherto travelled, Bishop Ilsley (1889) established the Seminary, and in 1897 Cardinal Vaughan in union with Bishop Ilsley and five other Bishops of the Province of Westminster, founded the Central Seminary of St. Mary's College, Oscott.

The traditions of Sedgley Park, of the English Colleges at Douay, Paris and Rome, flowed copiously into the stream of Oscott life in the old days. The Gothic revival and the Tractarian movement modified its course between 1835 and 1860. The open air of the English public school came in with Northcote.

The Professors.

Dr. John Bew (1794-1808) seems to have been a man of considerable intellectual power, and to have commanded the admiration of all; still, he lacked the gift of financial management; and socially he was too retiring to be a successful educator. His chief assistant, Thomas Potts, notwithstanding his excessive use of the rod, was a charming character, beloved by all the boys; and his pupil Weedall bears testimony that "he conducted the classical studies of the house with a grandeur of ability peculiarly his own, and a vigour and enthusiasm which will long be remembered." [1] As to Francis Quick (1808-1818), Milner, no mean judge of a man's value as an educationist, exclaimed when he received the news of his death: "I have lost my right hand." Quick had proved himself in a short time to be the life and soul of the College. Thomas Walsh (afterwards Bishop of the Midland District), appointed to Oscott from Sedgley Park, was a man of considerable experience in spiritual matters and of singular piety. He took the direction of the religious life of the College from 1808 to 1825. "A better choice," says Husenbeth who lived under him, "could not have been made, as the experience of the

[1] Discourse quoted, *Life of Weedall*, p. 25. Mgr. J. S. Canon Crook informs the writer that his father retained till his death an enthusiasm for the classics which he had caught from Potts.

whole seventeen years he remained there abundantly proved." [2] Robert Richmond (1796-1806), Vice-President from 1830 to 1838, was a laborious, methodical and saintly son of Oscott, and is referred to by Bishop Amherst in these terms: "His instructions were amongst the best I have ever heard . . . . so clear, so precise, and delivered with such telling and impressive sincerity. Mr. Richmond made one feel deeply not only the paramount importance of religion, but the infinite beauty and harmony of the details of the Christian doctrine." [3]

John Abbot (Vice-President, 1826-1830), a man of no mean ability, proved himself a successful teacher of arithmetic and philosophy. Joseph Daniel (1826-1830) and John Mitchell (1826-1837) are thus spoken of by Bishop Amherst: "I was particularly fortunate in having two such masters as Mr. Daniel and Mr. Mitchell. They certainly taught us well and thoroughly, and knew how to interest us in the books we read. It was not mere construing with them . . . I believe I knew the *Iliad* from cover to cover . . . but Cicero was a perfect delight. We also read Tasso." [4]

A contemporary of theirs as a student, Charles Jeffries (1829-1838), who occupied the position of a professor at a much later date (1856-1870) would have held the first rank anywhere as a teacher of classics. "It was grand," writes Bishop Amherst, "to hear him read Prometheus or Medea, or translate and comment on the *Divina Commedia*. He entered so completely into the magnificent grandeur of the Greek Plays and of the Italian poet as to make his reading of them a real interpretation, and to give them a color and a character, such as we should never have discovered for ourselves, and such as I venture to think few others could have discovered for us." etc., etc.[5]

During the thirties we see the educational influence of

[2] *Life of Weedall*, p. 35. See also *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, p. 124.

[3] Quoted *The Oscotian*, July, 1887, pp. 178-180. See also *Life of Robert Richmond*, by Husenbeth.

[4] *The Oscotian*, July, 1887, p. 171. Canon Mitchell himself said that he had done every line of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with Amherst.

[5] *The Oscotian*, July, 1887, pp. 172-173.

John Moore (afterwards President, 1848-1853). "When we reached Philosophy," says Bishop Amherst, "we found the Rev. John Moore ready to take us in hand with the study of architecture . . . and to our reading with him, and the interest he excited, especially with regard to mediaeval art, I owe a vast amount of pleasure. The study of this art has invested every town and village with interest." [6]

Henry Weedall, whose influence pervaded the College from the time he entered as a youth from Sedgley Park in 1804 till his death in 1857, charmed and captivated his contemporaries, —boys, masters, bishops, Cardinal Newman; while the prestige of his memory, his ideals and his example guided and stimulated the Presidents who came after him.

Writing about the year 1818, Thomas McDonnell thus spoke of the College where he had been educated (1806-1817): "The distinction obtained by its pupils, whether in their respective situations in the world, or removed to other Colleges, was highly flattering to the zeal and ability of its conductors. I must not omit to particularize Trinity College, Dublin, as the scene of the triumphs of several pupils of Oscott College . . . the excellence of its system of education, particularly in every branch of classical literature, has seldom, I think, been called in question." [7]

Denys Shyne Lawlor (1823-1828) told a correspondent in after life that the Old College Masters were splendid men, and inspired an enthusiasm into their pupils especially as regards composition, both in English and in other languages. A comparison between the results of the old and the new teaching is afforded in the circumstances of the prize given by Edmund Carr Greenep, who was at Oscott between the years 1831 and 1840. In later years he gave a prize for English composition. The papers of the competitors were submitted to him, and he remarked that they were no better than the productions of the lowest class in his time; his opinion being that the style of composition should be modelled on Weedall's polished and evenly

[6] *The Oscotian*, July, 1887, p. 182.
[7] Quoted in the MSS. *History of the College*, by Rev. W. M. Stone.

balanced writing, and not upon the more modern form introduced by Macaulay.[8]

Wiseman's staff was good, but Northcote's was immensely superior as a group of schoolmasters.

The religious spirit of the education imparted was safe in the hands of such directors as Potts (for fourteen years), John Moore (for four years), Robert Richmond (for eight years), Bagnall (for twelve years), Edmund Knight (for fifteen years), Caswell (for practically fifteen years),—all men of whom Oscott may justly be proud.

A similar succession of sturdy, intelligent and earnest men will be found in other departments,—prefects of discipline for example, like Thomas McDonnell (1816 c.), Thomas Duckett (from 1853 to 1860), Walter Martin (from 1860 to 1864), Joseph Robinson (from 1870 to 1872), William Sutherland (from 1881 to 1883), Frederick Williams (from 1884 to 1888).

Among the prefects of studies we have the honored names of John Moore (1839), George Errington, D. D. (1844-1847),

[8] The literary activity of the boys showed itself in 1810 by the publication of the *Repository*. The first attempt soon died out; but the undertaking was revived in 1822, to be merged, however, in *The Oscotian* in 1825. *The Oscotian* took its rise at the suggestion of Edward Mackey (1822-1825) (the father of Dom Benedict Mackey, O. S. B., the learned editor of the *Oeuvres de S. François de Sales* and of Peter Paul Mackey, O. P., one of the editors of the Leonine edition of the works of St. Thomas), who returned to the College as professor in 1830, where he continued to teach till his death in 1871. At the commencement it was not only written but printed by the boys themselves. The first editors were John Moore (afterwards President), Denys Shyne Lawlor, George Henry Moore (M. P. for Mayo), Vincent Scully (M. P. for County Cork) and Morgan John O'Connell (M. P. for County Kerry).—[*The Oscotian*, April, 1887, pp. 69-74.]

After a flourishing existence of rather more than two years it came to an end.

The Repository was then once more revived, and maintained till 1837. The editors in 1825 were Messrs. Morgan John O'Connell and Charles Jeffries.—[*The Oscotian*, June, 1885, pp. 142-146.]

The Green Beetle (printed), *The Cricket* (lithographed), appeared in 1870 and *The Cockroach* about the same time.—[*The Oscotian*, April, 1881, pp. 4-6.]

Joseph Kelly (1850-1858), Henry B. Davies (1859-1863), John Hawksford (1863-1877), W. M. Stone (1868-1870; 1883-1888).[9]

In music we meet with the names of John B. Benz (1839-1841), J. G. Lampert (1841-1849), John Leipold (1849-1856), Florentine Miettinger (1856-1859), William Blandford (1860-1879), John Barratt (1861-1889).

The Professors and the "Humanities."

The boys were taught by professors and divines. The professors were priests or laymen. In later years the number of laymen on the staff was much increased, both for the ordinary subjects of the course, such as mathematics, physical science, modern languages (not to mention fencing, dancing, boxing and instrumental music), and also for the preparation of candidates for the outside examinations.

The quality of the laymen was good, though not many possessed university degrees.[10] And it is not going beyond the meed of just acknowledgment to say that the clerical portion of the staff from the beginning were endowed with good ability, and displayed the most praiseworthy devotedness to their work, and a conscientious attention which was distributed over the entire class entrusted to their tuition.[11]

[9] W. M. Stone did great work for the College in various departments. Whether as prefect of discipline or of studies, as choirmaster or bandmaster, as athlete, as librarian, professor or annalist, his name must always be honored. He was immensely popular with the boys and their parents.

[10] As an ideal lay professor the name of Karl Kemen calls for particular recognition. His subjects were French and German. He taught them with remarkable success, and as one who loved his work for its own sake.

[11] In the Report referred to in the previous article, Dr. Northcote makes the following remark, which is to our present purpose: "I have always felt strongly that much more pains are taken with backward and slow boys in Catholic than they are in Protestant schools; hence, though we may be (and are) quite unable to produce such first-rate scholars as they can, yet on the whole we produce a much higher average result," etc., p. 124.

Northcote and Hawksford did much for the encouragement of private studies among the older boys and the younger divines, receiving them in the President's room, and reading with them *De Sacerdotio*, *De Civitate Dei*, etc.

The radical defect in the Oscott staff from a purely educational point of view appears to have been twofold: first, that very few of the professors except the laymen, had studied elsewhere, and still fewer had enjoyed the advantages accruing from residence at a University, or had obtained a recognized certificate of qualification, or had devoted any length of time to special training for their work; and secondly, that none had received a pedagogical training.[12] The latter deficiency ought perhaps not to be named, as the College closed in 1889, and the training of teachers for secondary schools was little thought of before that time. With regard to the absence of university professors, it may fairly be urged in explanation of the situation that economy of means was always a primary and insuperable hindrance to extensive development, and that the College had of necessity to be staffed, both for the 'humanities' and for theology, principally by the clergy of the Midland District, or the diocese of Birmingham.

Of course the teaching done by the divines was never really defensible, except on the ground of poverty of means to provide professional men for all the classes.

The Professors of Theology.

The question of theological training presented a somewhat different aspect. The divines were from the nature of the case excluded from teaching theology; and the subjects of the course, being highly specialized, had of necessity to be dealt with by professional men.

From 1794 to 1889 the professors of theology number twenty-eight. Leaving out three who held office concur-

[12] On the reappointment of Hawksford to the office of Prefect of Studies in 1870, he formed a group of zealous young men, priests, laymen and divines, and trained them in Dr. Thring's method of teaching. The result during the seventies was a marked success, and elicited the commendation of several outside examiners. Too frequent changes, together with an element of dissent in the higher forms, proved an obstacle to progress, still in the end the system prevailed, and a higher percentage of successes in outside examinations was secured.

rently with others, we find the average tenure of the professorial chair to have been rather more than four years. Besides the official professor of theology, it was customary for the Vice-President, and at times even the President, to take a share in the work of teaching the divines. Thomas Potts taught theology for upwards of fifteen years. George Morgan taught for eight years. Edmund Knight (afterwards Bishop of Shrewsbury) taught Moral Theology for twelve years. William Bodley gave lectures in Dogmatic Theology for seven years. Wiseman said of Morgan that 'there was not a better theological head in England.' From 1877 onwards the most capable young men in the diocese of Birmingham, all Roman graduates but two, held office as professors of theology at Oscott.

The Course of Education.

The aim of the education given at Oscott has always been twofold:—the training of the pastoral clergy, and the education of boys. In 1794 these two aims were combined, and their union was finally accepted, consolidated and promoted by Milner in 1808, when he took over the complete control of the College, and it became thenceforth the property of the Midland District.

Our attention will in the first place be directed to the education of the boys up to and inclusive of Philosophy.

On what may be called the boys' side of the Institution, its object has been to provide a thoroughly Catholic education, and to ensure a lofty tone of morality among the pupils; and next, to furnish a liberal education as distinct from what would be described as commercial or professional. Such intentions might have been abundantly gathered from the position of those who had promoted the two schemes above referred to,—the Bishop who desired to secure a suitable training for the aspirants to the priesthood,[13] and the nobility and gentry who had

[13] The scheme drawn up by Dr. Bew, called *Plan of Oscott Seminary*, and presented by him to the clergy in 1793 or early in 1794, exists in the archives of the College, both in the original MS. and in the form of the

taken in hand the project of founding a college for the education of their sons, not however to the exclusion of the commercial class. The joint Prospectus of November, 1794, lays down the object of the establishment in these terms:—

"With respect to Education, the Catholic Youth of England appears to consist of those who are born to Independence, of those who are designed for the learned Professions, and of those who are destined for Business. The attainments, however, which form the Basis of Education, suited to each of the above Descriptions, are in a great measure, the same. To each the same elementary Learning, Principles, and Habits are necessary, to enable them to pass through Life with Propriety. Hence, it appears, that the Purpose of the Establishment will be best answered by one simple, comprehensive Plan of Studies and Discipline, directed to the most solid Improvement of the Mind and Character, and comprizing those Branches of Learning which are most generally useful.

"The Design of this Institution being more extensive than that of our Foreign Establishments, the Plan of Studies must consequently be more extensive; and, it is hoped, that the Discipline to be adopted will be found adequate to the Purpose of ensuring both the moral and intellectual Improvement of the Scholars."

The foregoing words reveal to us the source whence the idea and character of the proposed education was derived. Under the circumstances of those times all the founders of Oscott had been educated abroad, and none perhaps, except Milner, had ever set foot inside any of our English Protestant Colleges or Universities.[14]

printed circular. His idea was to form a Seminary exclusively for ecclesiastics, comprising a course of six years, of which two should be devoted to the study of Philosophy and four to the study of Theology. It was contemplated that six students would be sufficient to supply the wants of the District, yielding one priest a year. But even these modest anticipations failed in their realization, and Bishop Talbot found himself compelled by circumstances to abandon what from its first inception seemed foredoomed to failure. See previous article, p. 253.

[14] Bishop Talbot (✠ 1795) was presumably educated at Douay; Bishop Charles Berington (✠ 1798) was educated at Douay and at Paris; the

Milner reinforced the spirit of piety, and created the tradition of devotion to Our Lady, which has never ceased to animate the religious life of the College. Milner too sowed the seeds of that appreciation of and enthusiasm for liturgical completeness and splendor, which later on were destined to produce so lasting an impression on the minds of many generations of Oscotians.

We have here foreshadowed the true glories of a Catholic College,—a thorough knowledge of the Catholic religion,—a tradition of piety which has never been dimmed by even a brief period of low moral tone,—a devotion to the Mother of God,—and a zeal approaching to enthusiasm for all that appertains to worship.

An attempt must now be made to give some appreciation of the literary education imparted at the College.

From the outset the study of languages has held the place of honor in the curriculum. Greek at first was an optional subject, and the "Greek play-day" was granted as a recognition of special industry; but later on Greek became an integral portion of the general system, and the Greek play-day was discontinued about the year 1850. A Greek recitation figures on a programme in 1821, and on one occasion about the same time an original composition in Greek was spoken by a student.

French takes its place in the earliest records, and the frequent French plays are evidence of earnestness and proficiency. Italian, which made its first appearance in the Synopsis of schoolwork in 1833, was studied with care for decades of years, to be elbowed out finally in 1861 owing to increased stress of competition on the part of other subjects. German entered the programme in 1838, but it was not until close on the sixties that it began to assert the prominence which it ever after retained.

The original plan of Dr. Bew had laid down definite provisions with reference to composition, which succeeding genera-

President, Dr. Bew, at Sedgley, Douay and Paris; the Vice-President, Potts, at Douay; Milner at Sedgley and at Douay. Dr. Kirk possibly introduced a Roman element.

tions adhered to with their accustomed tenacity. "Versions from one language to another" so runs the text, "will be frequently enjoined. The higher classes will be exercised in composing on various Subjects in the languages they have learned, and particular Attention will be paid throughout all Classes to English Composition."

As the framers of the constitution of the Old College seem to have been impressed by certain deficiencies in the foreign colleges, the study of English and the practice of speaking were early and steadily enforced, and maintained with a stern regularity through succeeding administrations. The first printed record of collegiate activity is a programme of the Exhibition of June 25th, 1801, where it is quaintly stated that 'The students at OSCOTT will endeavour to entertain their Friends with a Representation of the CHARACTERS in the following Pieces namely "Caractacus" and "The Rivals."' Weedall tells us how in 1808 good speakers were to be found among the boys, and much interest was taken in elocution.[15]

The first record of a 'Speaking' under Milner's rule is that of December 20th, 1808, when there is a "Parliamentary Debate;" five poets recite their own compositions, and three rhetoricians their own orations. This practice of delivering specially written compositions went on till 1851. Of course, as a rule, the original compositions were only prepared for the more solemn occasions. In the year 1840 all the pieces at the Midsummer Exhibition were original. One observes also a curious fondness for elocution in the form of the "Debate" at the Old College.

A correspondent of the fifties tells us about the elocution of his time. "Elocution took place publicly once a month according to the turn of the class. The Poets used to deliver their own compositions. The best speaker in the class, according to the vote of the superiors, obtained a '*feria*' or half holiday; and at the end of the year all the speakers who had gained the '*feria*' in their class, competed for the elocution prize. To

[15] *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, p. 132.

my mind," he continues, "this was a most useful exercise, and produced many good public speakers."

The old generation must have been immovably conservative. We find instances of it in the persistence of trivial details, such as the mottoes at the head of the programmes: "*Favete, adeste aequo animo, et rem cognoscite,*" and at the end "*Locorum assignatio,*" followed by the suggestion "*Valete et plaudite,*" which appeared regularly from the early days till 1843.

Of the Church music of the Old College days not much can be gleaned. If the results achieved were modest enough, the ambition for higher things was not lacking.[16] The chapel was small, the services of apostolic simplicity, and suitable music could be obtained only with difficulty. But the secular music surprises us by its quality and abundance from 1823 onwards. The first glee mentioned is Atwood's "Hark, the curfew's solemn sound." Though many works by the best composers were performed, Bishop was the favorite. Selections from the Messiah were produced in 1849, and in 1850 selections from Beethoven's "Mount of Olives," Mendelssohn's "Elijah," and Verdi's "Nabuchodonosor."

For a long time Physical Science held the place of an interesting and useful adjunct to the more serious and essential concern of a liberal education. Still it was never neglected. The chemistry-room in the New College was in advance of its time, and the physical apparatus fairly good. Rarely indeed was Physical Science in one or other of its branches omitted from the curriculum. The choice of subjects varied somewhat arbitrarily up to 1855, after which the two sciences of Physics and Chemistry were taken together, sometimes by the first class, and sometimes by the first two classes and the English class, almost without interruption until 1889. From the year 1870 the Science Syllabus for the London Matriculation was usually adopted for the work of the year.[17]

[16] See *The Oscotian*, December, 1905, pp. 1 sqq.

[17] The record for Science begins with the year 1833, after which, in addition to Physics and Chemistry, we meet with Botany, Physiology in

No special mention has been made of Latin. The story of Latin will be sufficiently disclosed for our present purpose by a reference to the traditional names of the classes. The first Syllabus, or the first that has been preserved (Midsummer, 1832) gives us the names of the classes, and represents doubtless a tradition coming from the founders of the College. These designations, however, underwent some changes in the course of years. The typical arrangement, and the one which held its own longest, is as follows:—Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry, Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Nepos, Eutropius, Grammar. Grammar and Rudiments or Preparatory Class are comparatively late names,—the earlier titles by which the lowest class was known being, Selectae, Delectus or Rudiments. Still Grammar ultimately prevailed. From 1846 to 1851 the classes below Poetry were called Third, Fourth, Fifth, etc. In 1851 the old names were revived and preserved unchanged until 1882, when the traditional nomenclature, being considered quaint and behind the age, was definitely abandoned, 'Poetry' and 'Rhetoric' appearing occasionally as if by some unconscious reversion. It is curious that in the thirties we encounter the unfamiliar class-names of Quintus Curtius, Cicero and Senectute (*sic*). In 1842 the English Class was introduced for the sake of those who took no classics. This Class was retained in the course permanently.

Religious instruction rightly held the place of honor in the first Prospectus of the College; and one thing is certain that during the course of nearly a hundred years, the sacred trust of the religious education of the boys was faithfully and generously discharged.

Still, so far as the successive indications of work done may be taken as a criterion of its quality (and it should be remembered that this is not always a safe guide), in no department of collegiate work has there been so much improvement as in the matter of religious instruction.

a somewhat irregular fashion. Wiseman's period was consistent in retaining Physics, Chemistry and Physiology. The only years from 1833 without Science on the curriculum are 1836, 1838, 1840, 1849-1853.

The generations of Oscotian authorities that have now wholly passed away were earnest but informal; they lived good lives and left few records. In point of fact we meet with no illuminative account of the details of religious instruction until we reach the bright and stirring times of Northcote.

From 1833 to 1844 the religious work done in the classes is indicated separately from the rest of the school work, but only the text-boks and not the subjects dealt with are mentioned. And as some of them were in use for a long succession of years, it will serve our purpose to record their names. The dates given are those at which they appear in the records. The First Catechism, The Douay Catechism, The Historical Catechism (Fleury), Explanation of the Catechism, Catechism of the Council of Trent (1834), The Scriptural Catechism (Milner), Bishop Hay's Sincere Christian (1833-1834), Reeve's History of the Bible, Histoire Universelle (Bossuet) (1838), Challoner's Grounds of Faith (1845), Kiernan's Catechism (1854), Catechism of Perseverance (1856), Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine (1860).

In 1845 a not unimportant change was effected by the insertion of the religious syllabus along with the scholastic work of each class; in 1848 Religion, natural and revealed, formed the subject matter of a course.

A fresh start is made in 1860, when Biblical history is one of the subjects among the newly instituted competitive examinations. In 1861 the Abridgment of Christian Doctrine is introduced, and it is noted for the first time that it is learnt,—Question and Answer. In 1863 along with the adoption of an entirely new form of detailed Synopsis, a definite and clear record is furnished of the subject matter embraced in the various divisions of religious teaching.[18] In the following year Religious Instruction is assigned the first place in the list of

[18] The credit of this signal departure is due to John Hawksford (Prefect of Studies from 1863 to 1868, and afterwards President, 1878-1880). He reduced Religious Instruction to a system. In the later forties, there was spiritual reading or 'Instruction' of a desultory character, and by different masters, at the end of the day. Weedall later on gave lectures on various subjects on Sunday afternoons for an hour.

competitive examinations. Both these arrangements became permanent.[19] The Syllabus of work in the upper classes comprises advanced topics such as The Foundations of Christianity, Natural Theology, The Errors of the day, The Life of Our Lord, Special Difficulties, The Personality of Christ, The Vatican Decrees (1871), The Church, Tradition, The Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope (1872), Murray, *De Ecclesia,* Decrees of the third session of the Vatican Council (1876). During the eighties the books of Scripture received assiduous attention in the upper classes, the lower forms being instructed in Doctrine, the Commandments and the Sacraments. Thus from 1863 to 1889, the course of Religious Instruction fell little short of the ideal.

Certainly in the days of the New College, religion was taught also to a very large extent in the devotions and liturgical observances of the house. An old resident (1862-1889) writes: "The Oscott boy was thoroughly taught his religion and drawn to love it by the splendor of the church services: and they did love it for that reason."

Standard and Methods.

The idea of training set forth in the Prospectus of 1794 embodied a true conception of an education,—religious, moral, liberal, social and even political. The methods and appliances for the attainment of the desired end were in the early days

[19] The supreme rank held by Religious Instruction in the house is shown by facts, simple enough in themselves, but which call for mention here. 'No prize of any kind was awarded unless the student passed in Religious Instruction.' In one or two instances at least, prizes of considerable value were lost through failure in the Religious examination.

The boys were all taught to serve Mass; and each one took his turn in serving at a particular altar for a week at a time. It was the ambition of most boys to be allowed to serve in the greater functions. There were three sets of servers for the High Altar,—thurifer, two acolytes and four torch bearers, each set taking a week. The post of sacristan (there were three boy sacristans) was regarded as the highest honor short of Public Man; and great was the emulation and rivalry to secure this coveted position.'

primitive and in many ways defective; but for all that we have reason to believe that the studies even then were well carried on. Alexander Mansfield quitted the College in 1804 after a seven years' course. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, the same year and took honors.[20] The 'Old Government' (1794-1808) represents the infancy of the College with its constant struggle for life and growth. The first fourteen years of the 'New Government' (1808-1820) exhibit it to us in its robust and active youth, every year adding to the material fabric, the number of pupils, the reputation of the institution, and the completeness of the training.

At Midsummer, 1833, the examination list is printed; the Christmas following, it took the form which lasted many years. In 1835 the examination list was transformed into a Synopsis of the year's work, to which was added a programme of the closing festivities of the term. The year of the affiliation of the new College with the London University (1840) was the aurora of a new period. In 1841 three B. A's were obtained. Thenceforth the requirements of the London University present a certain standard for collegiate endeavor.[21] After a period of depression (1849-1854) a considerable restoration was effected in the years which followed. "Up to this time the College Course might be regarded as chiefly classical, including English, Mathematics and French. Joseph Kelly widened the course very much, and a due proportion of the hours of study was assigned to Physical Science, as well as to German, under the tuition of native professors, and Italian. Much also was done to encourage the fine arts, such as drawing, painting, and music, both vocal and instrumental, as well as calisthenics, open air games and exercises.' (D. 1844-1863).

The year 1864 was marked by an encouraging innovation in the arrangement of special mathematical classes distinct from the composition of the classes in other subjects. In 1876

[20] *The Oscotian*, December, 1883, p. 240.

[21] In Dr. Wiseman's and Mgr. Weedall's time the application of the standards of the London University to the upper classes, promoted a high degree of efficiency in the cases of students desirous of obtaining positions in the Army or Navy.'

the Syllabus of the London University was once more accepted *in toto* for certain classes. The year 1877 brought fresh university successes to the candidates from the College. And moving along with the times, the College began to prepare students for the special examinations for the Army, Navy, Civil Service, Oxford and Cambridge. *The Oscotian,* July, 1883, pp. 95-98, publishes the detailed report of the examination of the entire College by Mgr. Williams, of Prior Park. We can only give the summary in this article: "Speaking generally of the results of the examination," Mgr. Williams reports, "I am confident that Oscott commands at this moment an ability and energy in its teaching staff, and an amount of talent among its students that should not only maintain, but even enhance, the high position the College has always held amongst places of Catholic Education in England. April 28th, 1883."

Application.

No doubt there were always those who evaded work, and remained indifferent to the attractions of knowledge. Especially in the early days when Catholics were politically and socially proscribed (and it should be borne in mind that Oscott had reached maturity before the year of Catholic Emancipation, 1829), there was little open to the Catholic gentlemen except the secluded direction of his private estate. Until 1817 no Catholic by law might rise to the rank of an officer in the army, or a captain in the navy, nor until 1829 could a Catholic become a Member of Parliament, a Judge, or even a Queen's Counsel. And when these restrictive laws were repealed, bigotry still damped the ardor of the ambitious.[22]

Again boys would sometimes remain in the College till the end of Philosophy, simply because there were no professions ready to receive them, and it was thought better that they should remain for a time under discipline. They could in due course purchase a commission in the Army, or obtain some other position by influence. Hence it was but natural that

[22] *The Oscotian,* December, 1882, p. 190.

some should care little for work which did not seem to offer them any very obvious advantages. But this condition of things disappeared when the competitive examinations were introduced.

The Philosophy Class.

The College records show that from the year 1832 the first class in the school of 'Humanities' was Philosophy. No doubt this had been so from the early times of the College. It is seldom absent from the curriculum, and from the year 1832 until 1841 even two years were devoted to Philosophy. It then became for some time the 'Undergraduate Class' in connection with the London University, and worked on the lines of its Syllabus for the B. A. or for Matriculation; but Weedall on his return in 1853 restored the old name of the 'Philosophy Class.' In those days youths stayed longer at College than they do now, and the work of the class was arranged to suit the needs of the lay boys of whom the class was largely composed. The usual subjects of the higher classes of the 'Humanities' were embraced in the Syllabus of work for which the Philosophers were held responsible; and conspicuous among these will be found French, German, Italian and a strong section of Mathematics. The class continued almost without a break down to the year 1873, after which we have either no class of Philosophy, or no Syllabus, even when the name is retained, except in the years 1880, 1886 and in 1888, when the best Synopsis of all is to be met with.

The study of Philosophy proper could not have been either extensive or very profound on account of the large amount of literary work (besides Mathematics and History) for which the class was held responsible. A thread of scholastic tradition is discernible throughout the record along with a good deal of eclecticism. The course was practical, including Logic, Ethics, Metaphysics (very frequently), the Existence and Attributes of God (occasionally), and certain psychological questions of particular interest at the time.[23]

[23] The words of the original *Plan of Oscott Seminary* (before the amalgamation of the two schemes in the autumn of 1794) proved, so it would seem,

The names of the text-books employed at different times will serve as some indication of the style and scope of the teaching. In 1883 Ethics, Anglade; Logic, Watts; De Religione, Delahogue. In 1836 Beattie's Essays on Truth. In 1838 we are told that "A more extended course of Philosophy is in progress of preparation." In 1843 we meet with Paley, *Moral and Political Essays,* I-III; Butler's *Sermons on Human Nature;* Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *De la logique d'Aristote;* Aristotle's *Ethics,* Books I-III. We also meet with Garnier's *Précis d'un cours de psychologie;* Abercrombie, *On the Intellectual Powers;* Dugald Stewart's *Elements.* Anglade's *Metaphysica* occurs again and again. Bouvier's *Text-book of Philosophy* is introduced in 1854; Rothenflue's text-book held the ground for some years, and was superseded by the *Cursus Sulpitianus* in 1862.

In 1868 the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas is mentioned for the first time among the matter of the Syllabus, and in 1872 (the year before the foundation of the Diocesan Seminary), we are in full scholasticism with Sanseverino's *Compendium.*

It is curious to note that from 1866 to 1870 Butler's *Analogy* was employed as a text-book in the Religious Instruction of the Philosophers.[24]

The classes, held daily for an hour, were in English. The only written lectures which have survived are those of Dr. Meynell. They are elegant, erudite, discursive, and deal with prominent topics of philosophical speculation at the time of

to have been prophetic of the spirit and character of Philosophy as studied at Oscott till 1889. "Philosophy comprises Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Natural Philosophy, the Mathematics and Astronomy. In these different branches it is not proposed to deliver more than the Elements, as far as they may be considered as a necessary Introduction to other Sciences, and may form the Mind to a Habit of investigating Truth. To this end such Philosophical Works as are recommended in the Foreign Universities, on account of their Precision and Perspicuity, will, as far as possible, be procured and delivered to the Students. To these the most useful English Authors will be added." P. 5.

[24] 'From the sixties onwards for a number of years the Religious Instruction of the Philosophy Class was intended to supplement the course of Philosophy, and was even better done both by the professor and his students than the Philosophy proper.'

delivery. There appear to have been no discussions; essays, however, were prepared by the students, and two examinations were held each year with unfailing regularity.

The class of Philosophy comprised the 'aristocracy' of the "Bounds." They enjoyed certain much coveted privileges, and a large measure of liberty, which a sound tradition led them to use with moderation.

The Outcome of the Oscott System of Education.

Apart from its 'divines,' Oscott was always a boys' College. A comparatively small number of those who studied at the College remained long enough to take up a course of Philosophy; and even those who went through the one or two years of Philosophy, had none of the advantages which can be enjoyed only at a University. There the young men have an opportunity of "meeting, under new surroundings and conditions, a large number of their equals, who have been educated elsewhere, and there pursuing together some course of higher studies under less rigid discipline." [25]

Undoubtedly the Oscott men would have been more efficient in their future career, if their course at College had been followed by the wider and higher training of the University. Still, on the whole, they worked well, and those at least who passed through a fair proportion of the entire course, have occupied their various stations in life with remarkable credit.[26]

[25] *Report on Higher Education*, by Dr. Northcote. Privately printed. 1872, p. 4.

[26] "A., a fairly intelligent youth of 15 or 16, came to us after three and a half years' teaching at King's College School. The following year I wished him to join the Matriculation Class. He wrote to his father as follows:—Dr. N. has arranged the preparations for my class, as if we had all been educated on the Catholic College principle; now this is all very well for my class-fellows, who have all been educated in Catholic Colleges, but it is quite different with me who have been at King's College. The great difference between the two systems is, that at the Catholic Colleges the masters chiefly try to make the boys know thoroughly what they are taught; whilst at a Protestant School they only try how much they can cram into a boy's head in the shortest possible time. The result is that I got through as much matter in three and a half years at King's

The Spirit of Oscott.

The spirit of the Oscott training, its genius or ἦθος, showed itself in all who lived there, boys, divines, masters, and even, as has been justly remarked by one who knew the College well for a long period, in the servants and employés. The sum and substance of that spirit was a love of the Church and of virtue, a manliness of taste and of conduct, a gentlemanly straightforwardness, a refinement of manners, a dignified reserve without either shyness or arrogance, and a chivalrous soul.[27]

The ancient charter of the College had traced the lines of these characteristics: "Generosity, Benevolence, Candor, and Good Breeding will be encouraged." The example and tradition of some of the best families in England and Ireland represented at Oscott from its commencement, made that programme a reality.

Speaking of the Old College, where so much had to be endured which a softer generation might have shrunk from, Bishop Amherst, in his notes, calls Oscott 'a happy place for those who read well and who play well. Never at any period did the fagging system gain admittance into Oscott; apart

College as my class-fellows learnt in six or eight years; and although I certainly know much more than they do, I know it very badly, whilst they know all they ever learnt almost perfectly. So you see Dr. N. thinks, and very properly, that they need only just rub up what they want for the matriculation, and need not do all the early part of the work over again; but if *I* want to pass, I must certainly do all the Greek and Latin grammar, French and English grammar, Euclid and the three Histories, English, Roman and Grecian, besides the whole of chemistry, entirely over again. . . . I repeat, I know a greater number of subjects than my class-fellows, but I am weak in each subject separately." *Report on Higher Education*, by Dr. Northcote, p. 29. See also another comparison between Oscotian and Protestant training, *ibid.*, pp. 25-26, and *The Oscotian*, December, 1882, pp. 186-201.

[27] The games of the College were first and foremost "Bandy," played since the commencement of the College between the four lines of beech trees that crown the summit of a knoll overlooking Maryvale at a distance of about half a mile. Next, hand-ball, "bat-ball," bird-catching by means of a large net and lanterns; lastly, cricket, formerly played on Sutton Common, more recently in the College grounds. *The Oscotian*, October, 1883, pp. 119 seqq., gives a good account of the games of the olden times.

from isolated cases, tyranny was never exercised by the bigger boys over the smaller ones, and on the part of the superiors espionage was always held in abhorrence.' And with respect to the various national and social elements of which the College was composed, an excellent feeling existed from the beginning between English and Irish; and if there occurred spasmodic and individual instances of *hauteur* towards Church students, this ungenerous feeling was at no time widespread, and for the most part was wholly absent.[28]

The Divines.

Those who were projecting a Seminary for ecclesiastics in 1793, and opened it with three students in May, 1794, soon found it imperative to yield to the pressure of circumstances. The Seminary for financial reasons could not exist alone, while it proved equally true that a College for ecclesiastics and lay boys could not be self-supporting except under the condition of a prohibitive pension, unless the ecclesiastics at an advanced stage of their course undertook a large proportion of the tuition. Total lack of endowments, a dearth of clergy available for professorships, and the fewness of those who could support the burden of a heavy pension for the education of their sons, brought about a state of things in itself far from desirable.

Weedall, before he had been at Oscott four years, was called upon to assist in teaching. He took a class "all the way up." Husenbeth in speaking of Potts says: "Knowing how much most of his students (in theology) were necessarily employed in teaching their respective classes, he studied in a manner for them, and came (to his class of divines) prepared with a store of collateral information on the lesson for the day, to supply for their inability to read much for themselves beyond the treatises of their author." [29]

[28] A correspondent who has had twenty-five years experience of the later period of Oscott, writes: "The good feeling existing between the lay element and the ecclesiastics was a fine feature in the training of Oscott."

[29] *Life of Weedall*, p. 55.

In the fifties (to take an instance from a later period) some twelve at least of the divines were engaged in teaching for twelve or thirteen hours a week. Others, as professors of the higher classes, had seventeen or eighteen hours a week assigned to them for class work with the boys. 'During my divinity course,' writes D. (1853-1856), 'all subjects of the course of humanities with few exceptions were taught by divines, who, nevertheless, worked *very hard* with their own proper theological subjects.'

The curriculum embraced Dogmatic and Moral Theology (one hour a day for each on alternate days), and a certain taste of Scripture (in the fifties and later on, three hours a week). The subject of preaching always received attention. The "Prones" began in 1808,[30] and were given about once a week, being delivered in rotation by the divinity students. Canon Law and the Science of Ascetics seem never to have figured on the programme, nor any systematic course of Church History. An attempt was made in the fifties to supply that want by private reading of Butler's *Lives of the Saints* under the direction of Dr. J. Moore, with one lecture a week given by him.

The smallness of the staff at the service of the divines, the curtailment of their study-time, and their deficient philosophical preparation, interfered seriously with anything approaching a scientific and adequate treatment of the lofty themes belonging to a proper course of divinity. Yet, the less it was possible to do for the divines, the more they seemed to help themselves. They appeared from the beginning to have recognized the limitations of their professional schooling, and to have resolutely determined to supply, as far as possible, what was wanting by their own industry. The tradition of the divines was hard work, and it was even said that the divines before the closing of the College worked better than many of the Seminarists under the régime which opened in the autumn of the year 1889. Their course was solid and positive rather than scientific or scholarly. The result was a race of priests, sturdy in health,

[30] *Life of Weedall*, p. 49. *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, p. 133.

dignified in bearing, gentlemanly in manners, simple and apostolic in spirit, loyal to their Bishop, and devoted to their pastoral duties. Such were Francis Martin (1796-1805); the two Richmonds, Henry and Robert (1796-1824); the five Joneses (1808-1830); Thomas Tysan (1809-1812) who spent the fifty-five years of his priestly life at Sedgley, and built the church there; Michael Trovell (1813-1820) who reached the fifty-sixth year of his priesthood; Edward Huddleston (1815-1820); F. C. Husenbeth (1814-1820) fifty-two years a priest; John Brownlow (1816-1820), for fifty years in charge of the historical mission of Harvington; James Duckett (1816-1820), for forty years the hermit of Brailes; John Abbot (1817-1830), after his work at Oscott for thirty years priest at Norwich; Rudolf Bagnall (1816-1828); John Moore (1821-1829, 1848-1853); William Tandy (1821-1826) for fifty-five years a priest; Mgr. John Nickolds (1826-1844), forty-eight years a priest; James Moore (1830-1840), Thomas Flanagan (1833-1850, 1853-1854),[31] Mgr. Thomas Longman (1838-1844), for forty-seven years a priest; Mgr. Charles Tasker (1847-1858) who lived to complete the Jubilee of his priesthood; Edward Fenn (1853-1862) who created the mission of St. Catherine's, Birmingham, built its splendid church, and lived to the forty-sixth year of his priesthood. Most of these have left few records save such as are written in the hearts of their people.[32]

[31] Mgr. Thomas Canon Flanagan, known to the world for his historical compilations, which were cordially welcomed on their appearance, and served an excellent purpose in their day, should have honorable mention among the sons and workers of Oscott. He was a man of culture, intelligent and indefatigable to the last degree. His elevated and deeply religious character attracted the reverence and admiration of the best spirits at Oscott, and at Sedgley Park, where he held the office of President from 1851 to 1853. At the request of Mgr. Weedall, he resigned his Presidency to take up the humbler station of Prefect of Studies at Oscott. He sacrificed his life to the generous service of Catholic Education, and died at Kidderminster in 1865 at the comparatively early age of fifty-one.

[32] As an illustration of the healthy religious tone which pervaded the College, the names may be cited of a large number of lay students who embraced an ecclesiastical career. Such were:—Cardinal Howard (formerly an officer in the Guards), Archbishop E. G. Bagshawe, Archbishop E. Stonor, Bishops T. Bryan, A. Butler, S.J. (formerly in the Army),

The Prestige of Oscott.

The lay side of Oscott College was projected by a committee of nobility and gentry; and the prestige of the name of Oscott has been due in no slight measure to the support which the institution has received from the titled and county families of England and Ireland. No account, therefore, of the College would be complete without reference to the names of some at least of the more distinguished of the families who in the course of nearly a hundred years have sent their sons to Oscott. The list here given will be an aid to the appreciation of the work and influence of this illustrious College.

Nobility:—Feilding (Denbigh) (2),[33] Dormer (7), Jerningham (Stafford) (11), Mostyn (17),[34] Petre (24), Stonor (12), Gainsborough (2), De Trafford (7), Vaux of Harrowden (Browne-Mostyn) (6), Lovat (2), Howard (4).

County families:—Acton (8), Berkeley (of Spetchley) (6), Bill (8), Blount (14), Cholmeley (Brandsby) (5), Colegrave (Cann Hall) (6), de Lisle (Grace-Dieu) (7), Eyston (East Hendred) (13),[35] Ferrers (Baddesley Clinton) (6),[36] Fitzherbert (6), Gerard (12), Knight (7), Riley (8), Slaughter (7), Stourton (6), Strickland (5), Tichborne (3), Throckmorton (5), Vavasour (3), Welman (8), Wheble (6), Wolseley (3).

Irish families:—Blake (different branches of the same family) (22), Burke (19), Daly (17), Dease (Turbotston) (5),

E. Knight, I. Montes de Oca, W. Vaughan, Fr. Hopkins, S. J. (previously a surgeon), Mgr. J. H. Souter, the Revs. W. Amherst, S. J. (formerly a barrister), John Bagshawe, Thomas Bolton, Arthur Hickie (formerly Lieutenant Royal Artillery), Chichele Giles, Count Van den Steen de Jehay, Barrington Douglas Dick, John Gibbons, Alfred Sperling, Antonio Plancarte, F. Kersopp.

[33] The figures denote the number of members of the family educated at Oscott.

[34] See *The Oscotian*, April, 1883, p. 45.

[35] See *The Oscotian*, April, 1883, pp. 46 sqq.

[36] *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, pp. 151 sqq.

Esmonde (6), Farrell (Moynalty), (8), Wolfe Flanagan (5), Hickie (5), Howley (7), Joyce (8), Lynch-Staunton (Clydagh) (5), Mansfield (Ballinamultina) (5),[37] Moore (Moore Hall) (6), Nugent (8), O'Connell (10), O'Connor (7), O'Reilly (7), Power (20), Roche (9), Ryan (17).

A feature which displays the wide range of attraction exercised by the College will be seen in the number and distinction of the foreign names upon the roll of students. Mention can only be made of the names of a few families.

Italians:—Borromeo, Ghislieri (related to the Pope of that name), Sforza-Cesarini, Gabrielli, Gattinara, Gandolfi (Hornyhold), Furze, Desain (Maltese).
Portuguese:—Pinto Leite (5), Cardoso, Vanzeller (10), de Souza (5).
Spanish:—Fesser (4), Heredia (3).
Russian:—Count Boutourlinn (3).
Belgian:—Count Louis de Spangen, Count Van den Steen de Jehay, Albert Visart de Bocarme.
South America: Ramos (8).
Mexico: Montes de Oca, Plancarte (2), Somellera (4).

These and many others imbibed thoroughly the traditional spirit of the College. They were athletes, they were students, they took part in the music and social intercourse of the College. Oscott is as proud of them, as they are of Oscott.

The Sons of Oscott.

Among the illustrious sons of Oscott, the first place must be accorded to the ecclesiastical dignitaries whose names decorate its roll of honor. The number of Bishops intimately connected with the life of the College is twenty-five. Of these seven were not actually students at Oscott. Three were occupied with its foundation or chief direction, namely, the Hon.

[37] *The Oscotian*, December, 1883, pp. 239 sqq.

Thomas Talbott, (✠1795), John Milner (✠1826), William B. Ullathorne (✠1886). Four others occupied the position of superior of professors, namely, Cardinal Wiseman (1840-1847), George Errington (1843-1847), Frederick William Keating (1884-1887) the present Bishop of Northampton.

Of the students of the College eighteen have been raised to episcopal rank, and one has been created Cardinal.

Among this number the following have passed to their reward:—Cardinal Howard (1841-1847), Bishop of Frascati; William Wareing (1806-1816), Bishop of Northampton; Francis Mostin (1813-1816, V.A. of the Northern District); William Willson (1816-1824), Bishop of Hobartown; James Brown (1826-1845), Bishop of Shrewsbury; William Vaughan (1827-1838), Bishop of Plymouth; Francis K. Amherst (1830-1838), Bishop of Northampton; Thomas Bryan (1838-1841), Bishop of Cartagena; Edmund Knight (1839-1843), Bishop of Shrewsbury; Anthony Butler, S. J. (1847-1849), V. A. of Demerara. The following are still living, namely, Edward Gilpin Bagshawe (1838-1846), Archbishop of Seleucia; Hon. Edmund Stonor (1841-1852), Archbishop of Trebizond; Thomas Wilkinson (1847-1848), Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle; Edward Ilsley (1853-1861), Bishop of Birmingham; Ignatius Montes de Oca (1853-1857), Bishop of San Luis Potosi; Frederick Hopkins, S. J. (1859-1862), V. A. of British Honduras; Samuel Allen (1863-1866), Bishop of Shrewsbury; Francis Mostyn (1871-1879), Bishop of Menevia.

Members of Parliament.

Next in order come the names of those who have occupied a seat in the Legislature.[38]

Hon. Charles Langdale (1799-1804), M. P. for Knaresborough and Beverley; Nicholas Power (1800-1803), M. P. for County Waterford; Patrick Power (1800-1803) M. P. for Waterford; Matthew Corbally (1808-1814), M. P. for County Meath; Hon. Robert Edward Petre (1810-1813), M. P.

[38] The dates given in brackets show the period of residence at Oscott.

for Ilchester; Philip Henry Howard (1813-1815), M. P. for Carlisle, 1830-1832; Right Hon. Lord Stafford (N. V. Jerningham) (1814-1821), a gentleman of the most devoted loyalty, who supported the Reform Bill when member for Pontefract in 1831, and voted in the House of Lords for Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill in 1884; Charles Townley (1817-1823), M. P. for Sligo, High Sheriff, Lancashire, 1857; John Towneley (1814-1824), M. P. for Beverley; G. H. Moore (1820-1827), M. P. for Mayo; David Hinchy O'Connor (1822-1824), M. P. for an Irish constituency; Vincent Scully (1824-1828), M. P. for County Cork, 1852-1827, 1859-1865; Morgan John O'Connell (1826-1829), M. P. for County Kerry; Sir Thomas Redington, K. C. B. (1826-1831), M. P. for Dundalk, 1837-1846; George Leopold Bryan (1838-1845), M. P. for County Kilkenny, High Sheriff, 1852; Sir Bryan O'Loghlen (1841-1843), M. P. for Clare; The O'Donoghue (1847-1851), M. P. for Tralee and County Tipperary; Captain William O'Shea (1850-1853), M. P. for Clare and for Galway;[39] Sir John Talbot Power (1855-1859), M. P. for Wexford, 1868-1874; Edwin de Lisle (1863-1870), M. P. for Mid-Leicestershire, 1886; Colonel Sir Ivor Herbert (1863-1869), M. P. for South Monmouthshire, 1905; Sir Thomas Gratton Esmonde (1874-1879), M. P. for South Dublin, 1883.

The Diplomatic Service.

A large number of Oscotians have been engaged in the various departments of the Diplomatic Service. The enumeration here given is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

Sir Dominic Daly, who was at Oscott in Milner's days (1810-1813), became Governor General of South Australia in 1861. *The Hon. Sir George Sulyarde Jerningham,* C. B., K. C. H. (1815-1821). Attaché at St. Petersburg, the Hague and Turin. Secretary of the Legation at the Courts of Portugal, Spain, Constantinople and Paris. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm. *Sir Edward C. Blount,* K. C. B. (1819-1827), Attaché to Berlin Embassy at Paris; intimate

[39] See *The Oscotian,* July, 1905, p. 142.

friend of Napoleon III; in 1831 co-founder of the banking firm of Blount père et fils. President of the Société Générale de Paris. Pioneer of railway development in France from 1836, and for thirty years Chairman of the Western Railway of France. Constructed the line from Paris to Rouen, and from Amiens to Boulougne. Wrote "Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount," edited by Stuart Neil. Held office as Consul during the siege of Paris in 1870, at the termination of which he received the thanks of the British Government and the rank of C. B. *Walter Astor Blount,* his brother (1819-1824), distinguished himself in the Heralds' College; was sent twice to St. Petersburg and once to Lisbon to invest two Emperors of Russia and the King of Portugal with the Order of the Garter. *Hon. William George Jerningham* (1822-1830) was engaged many years in the diplomatic service, in which he remained till his death. *Felix Bedingfeld* (1822-1827), held high diplomatic office in the Turks Islands. *Eustace Barron,* K. S. G. (1840-1842), English Consul Sn. Blas, Trinidad, and the Mauritius. *Gerard Gould* (1842-1846), Attaché in various capitals of Europe and South America, and at the time of his death Minister at the Court of Würtemburg. *Hon. J. G. Daly* (1846-1854) was trained for the diplomatic service by his father, Sir Dominic Daly. He held various offices with considerable credit in the Mauritius from 1871, whence in 1878 he was transferred to British Guiana as Immigration Agent General, a post which he held but too short a time till his death in 1881. "A touching feature of the funeral solemnities was the crowd of coolies, numbering several hundreds, who eagerly thronged in the wake of the hearse, and who seemed much grieved at the death of Mr. Daly, whom they regarded as a sincere friend to them and their interests. Both in British Guiana and in the Mauritius he had secured for them reforms that were much needed." [40] *Hon. Dominic Daly* (1854-1860) became Governor of the Dent Province, Borneo, where he showed himself to be a wise and prudent administrator, devoting himself with much success to the work of humanizing the natives. He is known as the

[40] *The Oscotian,* October, 1881, p. 149.

author of "The South Australian Justices' Manual,," 900 pages. He is also the author of "Survey and Explorations in the Native States of the Malayan Peninsula," 1875-1882. *Hon. Sir Francis Plunkett,* K. C. M. G. (1850-1853), was one of the best known diplomats of his time. He was British Ambassador at Vienna, and received from the Emperor Francis Joseph his portrait in recognition of the services he had rendered. He was also Envoy Extraordinary to Japan, and honored with the distinction of K. C. M. G. in 1886. *Major General Victor Law* (1851-1858). Political officer in India. *Count della Catena* (*Gerard Strickland*) (1874-1858). Member of the Council of the Government of Malta. Governor of Tasmania and the Leeward Islands.

The Law.

The earliest Oscotian to acquire distinction in the courts of Justice was *Sir John Howley,* Kt. Q. C. (1803-1807), who was named Judge of Assize. The two Eystons followed shortly after, namely, *George Eyston* (1810-1813) and *John Eyston* (1812-1820). *Charles Granby Burke* (1824-1831), Master of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland. *Thomas Ellison* (1830-1835), County Court Judge. *Henry Stonor* (1831-1832), County Court Judge from 1865 to 1905. Was Chief Commissioner of West Indian Encumbered Estates from 1858 to 1865. He had also been a member of the Standing Committee for framing County Court Rules, and was an able and careful Judge. *Hon. Sir John Charles Day,* one of His Majesty's Justices of King's Bench, was at Oscott in the last days of the Old College (1837-1838). *Thomas Farrell* (1838-1841), who though called to the Irish Bar in 1861, was wholly occupied with his particular duties as Chief Clerk of Bankruptcy, a post which he filled till his death in February, 1881. "His official life," said Judge Miller, "exhibited one of the brightest examples of unsparing and energetic devotion to duty . . . His death has created a gap which is irreparable, not only as regards this court, but as regards the public, whose

highest interests were always his most devoted object." Quoted in *The Oscotian,* April, 1881, p. 37. *W. H. G. Bagshawe,* B. A., Q. C., County Court Judge, studied at Oscott from 1838 to 1841. *Sir Bryan O'Loglen,* Bart., Q. C., who was at Oscott from 1841 to 1843, became Attorney-General of Victoria in 1878-1880, and leader of the Catholic Party in Parliament.[41] *Alfred Young* (1850-1855), Recorder of Gloucester. *Edward Harrison Richards* (1863-1869), Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast. *Francis Loraine Petre* (1864-1870), Judge in India.

Administrative and other Positions.

George Whitgreave (1799-1802), High Sheriff, 1837. *George Ryan* (1801-1807), High Sheriff, Tipperary, 1851. *Hon. Robert E. Petre* (1810-1813) was the first Catholic since the Reformation to hold the office of Mayor in Cork. *Charles Towneley* (1817-1823) High Sheriff, Lancashire, 1851. *Denys Shyne Lawlor* (1824-1828) after a collegiate course of marked eminence, took an active part in county business, was High Sheriff of Kerry, a sympathetic, generous and resident landlord, and a writer of culture and refinement.[42] *Dan O'Sullivan* (1827-1831), Mayor of Cork. *Thomas Joyce* (1829-1831), High Sheriff, 1852. *James Wheble* (1830-1837), High Sheriff, Berks, 1855. *Alfred Bonaparte Wyse* (1834-1838), High Sheriff, Waterford, 1877. *E. P. Mansfield* (1837-1841), High Sheriff, 1851. *Francis Bennett* (1838-1839), High Sheriff, King's County. *Lord Lovat* (1842-1846) discharged all the duties of a gentleman with conspicuous charm and success. He lived on his estate, and among his tenantry; he reduced rents and wiped out arrears; he was a model military officer, and enjoyed the unusual confidence of the Government in the command entrusted to him; he wrote the volume on "Deer Stalking" for the Badminton Library; he held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire, and at his death in 1887,

[41] *The Oscotian,* December, 1905, p. 48.
[42] See *The Oscotian,* December, 1887, pp. 327 sqq.

4,000 people, noblemen, gentry and tenantry from far and near, assembled to honor his burial.[43] *Thomas Redington Roche* (1847-1848), High Sheriff, County Galway, 1869. *Right Hon. Viscount Thomas Southwell* (1852-1855), Lord Lieutenant of County Leitrim. *Right Hon. Christopher Talbot Redington,* B. A. (1857-1864) passed from Oscott to Christ Church, Oxford. High Sheriff of Galway. Member of various Royal Commissions in Ireland. Commissioner of National Education in Ireland. Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland. Privy Councillor of Ireland. *Vincent Scully* (1858-1863), entered Christ Church, Oxford; B. A. 1869. High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, 1870. *Gerard Welman* (1862-1872), Resident Magistrate of the Straits Settlements. *John Woulfe Flanagan,* B. A. (1865-1868), High Sheriff, County Roscommon, 1891.

The Army and Navy.

Major-General James Henry Burke (1825-1830). Bombay Engineers. Master of the Mint, Bombay. *Lieutenant-Colonel Arnold More Knight* (1833-1839). Sutlej Campaign (1845-1846). Kaffir War (1847-1851-1853).

Oscotians who served in the Crimean War:—*Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Blount* (1824-1828). *Captain Ulrich Burke* (1833-1840), died in the Crimea. *Lieutenant Oswald Petre* (1839-1842), died in the Crimea. *Captain William Barron* (1840-1842). *Captain Charles H. Riley* (1840-1845). *Captain Philip A. Riley* (1843-1850). *Lieutenant Valentine Bennett* (1841-1844), killed June 18, 1855. *Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Alister Fraser* (1842-1847). *Lieutenant-Colonel James Hickie* (1848-1849), severely wounded.

Oscotians who served in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny: —*Major John E. Riley* (1840-1841). *Lieutenant-Colonel George Bennett* (1841-1844). *Major-General Hon. Sir James Dormer,* C. B. (1841-1851), Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Expe-

[43] See *The Oscotian,* December, 1887, p. 253 sqq.

ditionary Force to China, 1860. Nile Expedition, 1855. Commander-in-chief of Forces in Egypt. A splendid type of the gentleman and the soldier; was everybody's friend, and called familiarly "Jemmie Dormer." *John E. Riley* (1840-1841). *Everard de Lisle,* V. C. (1849-1852). Fell at Delhi, Sept. 17, 1857, after winning the Victoria Cross.[44] *Major-General Thaddeus Ryan* (1849-1854). Delhi, 1857. Oude Campaign, 1858-1859.

Chinese War, 1862:—*Captain Malachy Nugent* (1844-1852). Fell, Oct. 20, 1862.

Kaffir War:—*Captain Maurice Moore* (1865-1869). Kaffir and Zulu Campaigns. *Lieutenant James Daly* (1866-1871). Killed at Isandwala, 1879.

Egyptian Expedition, 1882:—*Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Coveney* (1859-1868). Ashantee War, 1874. Egyptian Expedition, 1882. Tel-el-Kebir, Tamai, Teb. Killed while leading the bayonet charge of the Black Watch, which decided the battle of Kerbekan, Feb. 10, 1885. *Lieutenant Rudolph de Lisle,* R. N. (1865-1866). Killed at Abu Klea, Jan. 17, 1885. He was a brave and pious soldier, beloved by his comrades. It was his ambition to win the Victoria Cross as his brother Everard had done.[45] *Rear-Admiral F. F. Fegen,* R. N. (1867-1868). Egyptian Expedition, 1882.[46] *Lieutenant Viscount Rudolph Feilding* (*Earl Denbigh*), R. N. (1871-1875). Egyptian Expedition, 1882. Also called to the Bar and engaged in diplomatic and administrative work. *Commander Edward Stafford Fitzherbert,* R. N. (1875-1877). *Hon. Henry Dormer* (1854-1856) (1861-1862). Lieutenant 60th Rifles. The Soldier-saint. See Life by Miss Frances Drane, 1867.

During the South African War twenty-nine students of the College served with the British forces.

[44] See *The Oscotian,* July, 1907, p. 175.

[45] See *The Oscotian,* June, 1885, pp. 161 sqq., and his Life by Oxenham. See *The Oscotian,* December, 1886, pp. 317 sqq.

[46] See *The Oscotian,* December, 1887, p. 356. Also the *Jubilee Number,* p. 179.

Medicine.

Medicine has not offered the same attractions to the Oscotian as the Church, the Army or the Bar; still, *Sir Arnold Knight,* Kt. M. D. (1805-1808), was singularly esteemed as a medical man by all classes in Sheffield, and was deservedly recognized in his profession as a specialist in hydrophobia. He acquired distinction beyond the limits of his professional work by his courageous advocacy of the rights of Catholics; while he was far ahead of his times in his plans of social reform, and in particular with respect to his projects for the improvement of the health of towns. He wrote "Disputatio medica de podagra." Edinburg, 1811.[47] *Joseph Gasquet,* M. D. (1851). *Edward Mackey,* M. D., M. R. C. P. E. (1855-1859). Assistant physician to the Sussex County Hospital Honorary and consulting physician to the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Brighton. Physician to the Sussex County Hospital. For his writings see Bibliography. *Charles E. Ryan,* M. D., F. R. C. S. I., M. R. C. P. I. (1865-1868). Knight of the Order of Louis II of Bavaria. On medical service in the Franco-Prussian War. Wrote "With an Ambulance during the Franco-Prussian War." Murray, London, 1896. *Walter Ryan* (1866-1871).

HENRY PARKINSON.

[47] See *The Oscotian,* December, 1866, pp. 259 sqq.

EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

II. Seventeenth Century.

A very sad chapter of Irish history is made up of the events of the seventeenth century. Presented to our gaze in rapid and melancholy succession are the final defeat of the confederate Irish chieftains at the battle of Kinsale; the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell in Spain; the devastation of the fair lands of Ulster; the submission of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; the flight of the Earls; the Jacobean plantation of Ulster; the stern rule of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; the broken faith of Charles I; the atrocities on both sides which accompanied and followed the rebellion of 1641; the failure of the Confederation of Kilkenny; the terrible career of Cromwell in Ireland and the sickening scenes of the Cromwellian Settlement; the religious troubles under Charles II; the battle of the Boyne and the other events of the Williamite war; and finally the drastic penal laws enacted against the Catholics of Ireland in the reign of William III, to be continued with even increased severity in the reigns of Anne, George I, and George II.

Joined to the political and religious history are events of supreme economic and sociological importance. Thus, in addition to the plantations of James I and of Cromwell, which are in a class by themselves and stand apart, we find most determined attempts made from time to time to root out the prosperity of Ireland, in the mistaken belief that it was prejudicial to the prosperity of England. Hence arose the enactments against the woollen trade in the reigns of Charles I and William III; and the suppression of all exports from Ireland to the British colonies, and of the export of Irish cattle, sheep, and pigs to England, under Charles II; to be followed in later times by interference with the manufacture of and trade in gunpowder, silk, cotton, hats, iron and iron-ware, malt, and beer. The effects of these enactments in restraint of trade

have been felt in many ways all through the ages down even to our own time. One of their saddest and most ruinous consequences was to produce a great dearth of employment, which in turn started that stream of emigration which has flowed on almost without intermission ever since and has drained away a great part of the life-blood of the Irish nation.

There are, however, some bright spots amid the gloom, which the gloom indeed heightens, but which on their part make the gloom seem darker still. Such are the victory of Owen Roe O'Neill over Monroe and his Scots at Benburb; the establishment of the linen trade by Wentworth and its development by Ormond; the heroic defence of Derry on the one side and of Limerick on the other; the beginning of that movement for an Irish Ireland which, dimly foreshadowed by Sir John Davies and Sir Richard Bolton, was voiced in no uncertain tones by William Molyneux, was kept alive at different epochs by Swift and Lucas and Thomas Davis, was never allowed to die entirely out, and seems on the point of realization in our own day; and, lastly and chiefly, the loyal adherence and unswerving devotion which, despite bribe and threat and process of law and direst persecution, the great majority of the people of Ireland have ever displayed to the throne of Peter and to their ancient faith.

Many of the events to which reference has been made are faithfully reflected in the productions of the contemporary Irish press. As is naturally to be expected, printing in Ireland now began to take a wider range. New printing presses were established in such centres as Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and Waterford, and turned out not only proclamations, acts of parliament, and religious treatises, but also newspapers and works of greater literary pretensions. Any list that contains *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney; Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland;* Ware's *Writers of Ireland;* Thomas Randolph's Play of *Aristippus, or the Joviall Philosopher*; Henry Burnell's Tragi-Comedy of *Landgartha;* Cowley's *Poems;* the *Pompey* of Mrs. Katherine Phillips, "the Matchless Orinda"; Ogilvie's Translations of Virgil and Homer; John Jones's *Elegies* on the Earl of Mount-

rath and *Threnodia* on the seventeenth Earl of Kildare; Lemuel Mathews's *Pindarique* on Jeremy Taylor; Dryden's *Medal, The Hind and the Panther,* and *Threnodia Augustalis;* Mrs. Aphra Behn's *Pindarick* on the death of Charles II; Jonathan Swift's *Pindarique Ode to King William III to Congratulate him on his Great Successes;* Nahum Tate's *Ode* on the Centenary of the University of Dublin; Charles Hopkins's Poem, *Whitehall; or the Court of England;* George Wilkins's *Chase of the Stagg;* James Aickin's *Londerias;* Gilbert Burnett's *Essay on the Memory of the Late Queen* [Mary, wife of William III]; William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland Stated;* and William Phillips's Comedy of *St. Stephen's Green, or the Generous Lovers,* can scarcely be said to be lacking in antiquarian, historical, political, or literary interest.

History in the making can be seen in the countless proclamations, declarations, acts of parliament, addresses from and to sovereigns, and sermons on specified occasions that were published in Dublin during the century. The bitterness of religious controversy can be judged in many cases from the very titles of the multifarious controversial books and pamphlets which the student meets with in the course of his researches. Medical works prove that even then doctors differed, and that the quack was not wholly unknown in the land. Court poetry is well represented, and so are natural philosophy, astronomy, and astrology, while of the making of almanacs with prognostications of dread events to come there seems to have been no end.

In Dublin alone some 1250 separate printed works were issued between 1601 and 1700. These were not in English only, but also in Irish, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Hebrew, and Welsh. Other centres were also fairly busy. Amid so bewildering a number and variety of publications it is obvious that within the limits of this article no exhaustive treatment can be attempted. All that can be done is to draw attention to anything that for any reason seems specially worthy of note or surrounded with peculiar interest.

As we wound up the sixteenth century with a proclamation, so, in 1601, we begin the seventeenth with another, and procla-

mations are found "as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa" all through the hundred years we are now considering. Naturally enough, these are directed mainly against the political enemies of the government, but many of them are also concerned with such subjects as Defective Titles, Grants to "Undertakers," the Customs, Rates on Ale and "Bier," the Raising of Monies for His Majesty's Armie, the Regulation of Wages, the Standard of Coin, the Destruction of Wolves, and even the Ringing of Swine. It is perhaps needless to state that there are several proclamations concerning the banishment of Priests and Jesuits, the "Catholicks" of Ireland, the removal of Popish Recusants from Dublin, the Suppression of Popery, Papists, and Popish Titulars. The spirit of these latter proclamations is that which animated Cromwell when he said to Colonel Taaffe at Ross: "If by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, it is best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, that where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of." Vain threat, vain prophecy!

In 1602 William Daniell or O'Donnell, afterwards Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, who was one of the first "scholars" of the newly established Trinity College and also one of its first elected Fellows, published at Dublin an Irish translation of the New Testament mainly at the expense of Sir William Ussher, and in 1608 at his own expense an Irish translation of the Book of Common Prayer. The type used was that which had been employed in the *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* in 1571. In the New Testament O'Donnell utilised the earlier labors, already alluded to, of Kearney and Walsh, and he also had the help of Nehemiah Donnellan, his own predecessor in the Archbishopric of Tuam. His principal assistant was, however, one Murtagh King, who, despite some aspersions cast at a later period on his attainments by personages in high places, seems to have been a sound Irish scholar. King not only collaborated in this translation of the New Testament but also, in extreme old age, assisted in the translation into Irish of the Old Testament, which, after many delays and much bitterness of controversy, finally appeared at London in 1686.

The history of this latter translation is fairly interesting.

William Bedell, an Englishman by birth, and a distinguished scholar and theologian, was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, from 1627 to 1629, when he was appointed Bishop of the united dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh. Finding the great prevalence of the Irish tongue throughout his sees, he set to work, though then sixty years of age, to learn that language. He appears to have had considerable linguistic capacity, for he had previously translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian. He studied Irish to good effect also, and in 1631 he published at Dublin *The A. B. C., or the Institution of a Christian,* a small octavo pamphlet, of sixteen pages, in English and Irish in parallel columns. In 1634 at a Convocation held in Dublin he brought forward the question of having an Irish version of the Old Testament made. The proposal was supported by Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, but was opposed by Bramall or Bramhall, bishop of Derry, as being dangerous to the state and in contravention of the old Irish statutes in force against the use of the Irish language. Bedell's side, however, gained the day. In the following year there was printed by the Society of Stationers, King's Printers at Dublin, the *Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiasticall Treated upon by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the rest of the Cleargie of Ireland And agreed upon with the King's Majesties license in their Synod begun at Dublin Anno. Dom. 1634 And in the yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles, King of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, the tenth. And now published for the due observation of them by his Majesties Authoritie under the Great Seale of Ireland.* The Canons authorized among other things the provision of a Bible and two Prayer Books in Irish in those districts in which the majority of the people did not speak English, and ordered the service of the day to be conducted in the language of that majority. There was, however, still opposition to the proposed publication of the Old Testament in Irish from several bishops, from Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, then Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and even from Lord Deputy Wentworth himself. Under these circumstances Bedell determined to carry out the work on his own account and at his own expense, but

it was a long and arduous task, and before he could bring it to publication the storm of the rebellion of 1641 burst, and soon after Bedell died (1642). In the history of this terrible time nothing is more touching than the protection afforded to this good Protestant Bishop and his friends by his Catholic neighbours during his lifetime and the veneration which they showed for him on his death. His manuscript translation of the Old Testament came into the hands of the Rev. Dr. Sheridan, in whose house he died; from him it passed to Jones, bishop of Meath; and finally, as already stated, it was printed at London through the instrumentality of the Hon. Robert Boyle and of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh.

Another Churchman of a somewhat different type next claims our attention. The figure of Primate Usher looms large in the history of Ireland during the first half of the seventeenth century. He is one of the glories of Protestantism. When Samuel Johnson was asked by the ever-inquisitive Boswell what he thought of the Irish church, his reply was: "Swift was a man of great parts, and the instrument of much good to his country. Berkeley was a profound scholar, as well as a man of fine imagination; but Usher was the great luminary of the Irish church; and a greater no church could boast of, at least in modern times." In the opinion of a recent writer (D'Alton, *History of Ireland,* New York, 1907), Usher "stands on a level with Colgan and Lynch and Wadding, and [is] not unworthy to rank even with Duns Scotus; and when he died he left in his own Church neither an equal nor a second."

James Usher (or Ussher), 1581-1656, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, was born in Dublin, and was one of the earliest students of Trinity College, which he entered at the age of thirteen, the year after its foundation; he was its second "scholar" and its eighth elected Fellow, and subsequently declined the dignity of being its Provost. Consecrated bishop of Meath in 1621, he was advanced to the see of Armagh in 1625. During those events in the reign of Charles I which led up to the English Civil War—the Great Rebellion, as Clarendon called it—Usher occupied what was in those days the anomalous position of being a royalist in politics but a Calvinist

in creed. Like other Calvinists of that era he was narrow in his religious views. He was specially hard on Catholicism. In a sermon before the Lord Deputy (Faulkland) in 1622 and again in 1626 in the Bishops' protest, drawn up by him, against toleration for Catholics, he showed a bigotry which consorted badly with his reputation as a scholar. Hence he was a *persona non grata* to those who professed the ancient religion, and when the Irish rebellion of 1641 broke out he inspired very different feelings from those inspired by the amiable and tolerant Bedell. Usher was in England at the time, engaged in the futile task of trying to accommodate the divisions of opinion between Charles I and the English parliament, and so his person escaped violence, but nearly all his property, except his books, was destroyed by the infuriated insurgents. Nor did he return any more to Armagh, but spent the remainder of his life in England.

This remarkable man was the author of several notable works—some forty in all—of which six, three in Latin and three in English, appear to have been printed and published in Dublin. His great treatises on chronology, on which his reputation was in his own time to a large extent based, were published at Leyden, London, Paris, and Oxford. His chronology had the honor of being adopted for the authorized version of the Bible, and was printed in the margin of its reference editions. His Dublin-published works are *A Discourse of the Religion anciently Professed by the Irish and British,* 1622; *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland,* 1624; *Gotteschalchi et Praedestinatianae Controversiae ab eo motae, Historia, Una cum duplici ejusdem confessione nunc primum in lucem edita,* 1631; *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge; Quae partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptae,* 1632; *Immanuel, or a Treatise on the Incarnation,* 1638; and *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates et Primordia,* 1639.

The *Discourse* is a controversial work designed to show that the ritual and discipline of the church as originally established in the British Isles were in agreement with the Church of England and opposed to the Church of Rome on the matters in

dispute between them; the *Answer* was intended to disprove the uniformity of doctrine always maintained by the Church of Rome—a uniformity which had been asserted in a challenge issued in the same year by a Jesuit priest, Rev. William Malone. The *Sylloge* is a selection of letters dealing with the Irish church from the sixth to the twelfth century; and the *Antiquitates,* which may be regarded as in some sort a development of the *Discourse,* contains an account of the Church in Great Britain and Ireland down to the end of the seventh century. These latter works gave Usher a deservedly high standing as a learned antiquarian. His History of the Controversy on Predestination deals with the life and opinions of the ninth century heretic, Gottschalk, surnamed Fulgentius, who asserted that from a close study of the writings of St. Augustine the doctrine of absolute predestination—that is, predestination to damnation as well as predestination to salvation—could be maintained. For these views Gottschalk was found guilty of heresy at the synod of Mainz in 848, and was again condemned at Chiersy in 849, this time not only as a heretic but also as one who set authority at naught and disturbed the peace of the Church, and he was sentenced to be whipped and imprisoned. Confined in the monastery of Hautvilliers in the diocese of Rheims, he there languished for twenty years and died in 868. There is no doubt that towards the teaching set forth by Gottschalk Usher had positive leanings, and for this reason he came on different occasions into conflict with Laud, whose inclinations were beyond doubt towards Arminianism.

This work on Gottschalk was, on the authority of the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique* published at Lyons in 1804 and followed by Dr. Cotton, for long regarded as the first book printed in Latin in Ireland; but we now know that that distinction belongs to a medical treatise on hereditary disease, entitled *Pathologia Haereditaria,* written by Dr. Dermod O'Meara, a Tipperary man, and printed at Dublin, *typis Deputatorum,* by John Franckton, King's Printer, in 1619.

Any account of Usher, however brief, should not omit to state the fact that, while collecting manuscripts for his works, he discovered in 1621 the celebrated Book of Kells consisting, as

he himself tells us, of 344 leaves. One tradition is that this Book was the property, and even the work, of St. Columba, and was presented by him in the year 550 to the monastery of Kells. Another and more probable opinion is that it belongs to the seventh century. This beautifully-illuminated manuscript—the admiration and the despair of antiquarians—is a book of the Gospels in Latin written on vellum. Along with the remainder of Usher's manuscript collection it was handed over to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1661, and to this day it remains one of the most treasured possessions of the noble library of that institution.

A friend and protégé of Usher's was Sir James Ware. Among the Irish writers of the seventeenth century Ware holds a most conspicuous place. "The Camden of Ireland" was the title given him by Bishop Nicholson. To those who know the full meaning of it this appellation is the highest praise. Nor was it undeserved. Ware was an indefatigable worker, who joined to the occupations of public office an ardent interest in antiquarian lore.

Born in Dublin in 1594 and educated in Trinity College, Ware early developed a taste for antiquarian pursuits, in which he was encouraged by Usher, by Daniel Molyneux, the Ulster King-at-Arms, and by Sir Robert Cotton, founder of the celebrated Cottonian library, now in the British Museum. Knighted in his father's lifetime, Ware succeeded him as Auditor-General of Ireland in 1632, and held various other high offices under Charles I. During the Commonwealth he was exiled on account of his well-known Royalist principles, but on the Restoration he obtained splendid appointments, and had the honor of declining both a baronetcy and a peerage, preferring to remain a simple Knight. One splendid trait in his character is that he stuck loyally to the Earl of Strafford in his downfall and vigorously defended him during the debates on his impeachment. Another is that, in an age of bitterness and acrimony, he displayed a creditable toleration. He died in 1666, and was buried in St. Werburgh's in his native city.

The works which he published are monuments of research. The first is dated 1626, and is entitled *Archiepiscoporum Cassi-*

liensium et Tuamensium Vitae; duobus expressae Commentariolis. Quibus adjicitur historia coenobiorum Cisterciensium Hiberniae. This was followed in 1628 by the *De Praesulibus Lageniae sive Provinciae Dubliniensis Liber Unus.* These two books were united into one and published in 1665 as *De Praesulibus Hiberniae, Commentarius. A prima Gentis Hibernicae ad Fidem Christianam Conversione ad Nostra usque Tempora.* In 1639 he published what is perhaps his best known work, namely, the *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae Libri Duo. Prior continet Scriptores in Hibernia natos; posterior scriptores alios qui in Hibernia munera aliqua obierunt.* In 1662 appeared his *Rerum Hibernicarum Henrico Octavo Regnante Annales. Nunc primum editi,* a work which was expanded in 1664 into *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales, Regnantibus Henrico VII, Henrico VIII, Edwardo VI, et Maria, Ab anno scil. Domini* MCCCCLXXXV, *ad annum* MDLVIII. He brought out in the same year *Venerabilis Bedae Epistolae Duae, necnon Vitae Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girwiensium. Accessit Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Bedae aequalis Dialogus, De Ecclesiastica Institutione.*

Among Ware's other services to literary history was his publication in 1633 of Spenser's prose work, *A View of the Present State of Ireland. Discoursed by way of a Dialogue betweene Eudoxus and Irenaeus.* In the same year he again issued Spenser's *View* together with Edmund Campion's *History of Ireland,* Meredith Hanmer's *Chronicle of Ireland,* and Henry Marleburrough's *Chronicle,* all in one volume. This work of Spenser's, which was written in 1596, had lain in manuscript among Usher's papers, and was now for the first time given to the world. The principles therein laid down have been often condemned as not being by any means in keeping with the spirit which should have animated the gentle poet. It must always be remembered, however, that Spenser was himslf an "undertaker" or planter, having received the considerable grant of 3028 acres out of the confiscated Desmond Estates, and that, true to the instincts of his Anglo-Saxon forbears who had expelled the Britons from all the fertile lands of England, he looked upon Ireland and the fullness thereof as the peculiar

property of the English invaders. As the Saxon sea-rovers did not concern themselves about the feelings of the expelled Britons, so in this dialogue Spenser did but give expression to the idea that was at that time axiomatic in his race, that the "meere Irish" did not count, that everything should be arranged in the interest of the ruling class. "*Vae victis* and to the conquerors the spoils" would appear to have been his motto. In Ireland in the sixteenth century this was a short-sighted policy; but it *was* the policy, and from it arose the basic blunder which underlies his whole argument. His twin remedies for Irish disaffection are starvation and the sword. With 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to establish garrisons and devastate the country, he guarantees to lay Ireland, quiet and submissive, at the feet of Elizabeth in a year and a half. His scheme also provides for the transplantation of those rebels who "come in" and the killing off of those who don't, the planting of English adventurers and soldiers in their stead, and the abolition of the native language, customs, and dress. Some of his devices were adopted with a vengeance in the reign of James I and during the Protectorate of Cromwell.

The equanimity with which Spenser contemplates the reduction of Ulster to the state in which he himself had seen Munster after the crushing of the Desmond rebellion is enough to make the blood boil. What that meant he does not leave to the imagination, but tells us in language that to this day has not lost its sting. "The end (I assure me)," he tells us, "wil be very shorte, and much sooner then can be (in soe greate a trouble, as it seemeth) hoped for, allthough there should none of them fall by the swoorde, nor be slayne by the souldiour, yet thus being kept from manuraunce, and theyr cattell from running abrode, by this harde restraynte they would quickly consume themselves, and devoure one another. The proof wherof I sawe sufficiently ensampled in those late warres in Mounster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most riche and plentyfull countrey, full of corne and cattell, that you would have thought they would have been able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stonye harte would have rued the same. Out of

every corner of the woodes and glinnes they came creeping foorthe upon theyr handes, for theyr legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomyes of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of theyr graves; they did eate of the dead carrions, happy were they yf they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insoemuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of theyr graves; and yf they founde a plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in shorte space there were none allmost left, and a most populous and plentyfull countrey suddaynly made voyde of man or beast: yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the swoorde, but all by the extremitye of famine which they themselves had wrought."

His true inwardness can be further judged from the elaborate defence which he puts up for Lord Grey in the matter of the massacre of the 900 Spaniards and Italians at Smerwick, which was in reality one of the most barbarous and indefensible atrocities recorded in the annals of war.

On education and on agricultural problems his views were sound. He unconsciously bears testimony to the absorbent powers of the Irish race—those qualities which had made the great Anglo-Norman families settled in Ireland *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*—by his eagerness to prohibit fosterage and intermarriage between the English and the Irish. A Gaelic Leaguer of to-day could derive a strong argument in favour of the revival of the Irish language from Spenser's anxiety to have it suppressed as one important step towards the denationalisation of the inhabitants of Ireland. "The speache being Irish," he says, "the harte must needes be Irish; for out of the aboundaunce of the harte the tonge speaketh." He gives his quota of praise to the bravery of the Irish soldier as follows: "I have heard some greate warriours say, that, in all the services which they had seene abroade in forrayne countreys, they never sawe a more comely horseman then the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge." And again, speaking of gallowglasses and kerns, the Irish foot-soldiers, he says, "They are very valiaunt and hardye, for the most part great endurours

of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardiness, very active and stronge of hand, very swift of foote, very vigilaunt and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perrils, very great scorners of death."

The Bards he also would suppress. And yet he finds some good in them. Eudoxus having asked if there is any art in their compositions or if there is anything witty or well savoured as poems should be, Irenaeus replies: "Yea truly; I have caused diverse of them to be translated unto me that I might understand them; and surely they savoured of sweete witt and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of Poetrye: yet were they sprinckled with some prety flowers of theyr owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and comliness unto them, the which it is greate pittye to see soe abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which would with good usage serve to beautifye and adorne vertue."

A final point to be noted in Spenser's Dialogue is the distinction he draws between the conduct of the Catholic priests and that of the Protestant clergy. "It is greate wonder," he says, "to see the oddes which is betwene the zeale of Popish preistes, and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spayne, from Rome, and from Rhemes, by long toyle and daungerous travell hither, where they knowe perrill of death awayteth them, and noe rewarde nor richess is to be founde, onely to draw the people to the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idell Ministers, having a waye for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livinges of the countrey offered them, without paynes, and without perrill, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they might doe by winning of soe many sowles to God, be drawen foorth from theyr warme nests and theyr sweete loves side to looke out into Godes harvest, which is even readye for the sickle, and all the fieldes yellow long agoe: doubtless those good old godly Fathers [St. Patrick and St. Columba] will (I feare me) rise up in the Daye of Judgement to condemne them."

A quaint Dublin publication of 1630 is *Musarum Lachrymae; sive elegia Collegii Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Juxta*

Dublin; in obitum Illustrissimae et Religiosissimae Heroinae Catharinae Comitissae Corcagiae Vxoris Honoratissimi Richardi, Comitis Corcagiae, unius ex Primariis Iusticiariis totius Regni Hyberniae. These tears of the muses were shed in the form of brief poems in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and longer poems in English, to bewail the death of the second wife of Richard Boyle, "the great Earl of Cork." This lady had the distinction of being the mother of sixteen children, of whom one was the renowned student, scientist, and theologian, the Hon. Robert Boyle, a founder of the Royal Society, and another was that Earl of Orrery who, as Lord Broghill, had a distinguished military career in Ireland on the side of the Parliament, but who afterwards took a leading part in the restoration of Charles II.

A melancholy interest attaches to the anonymous work published at Dublin in 1681 entitled *The Tryal and Condemnation of Dr. Oliver Plunkett, Titular Primate of Ireland, for High Treason At the Barr of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster in Trinity Term 1681.* Oliver Plunkett—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—was the last, but by no means the least, of the victims of the popular frenzy produced by the strong anti-Catholic feeling which prevailed in England towards the end of the seventh decade of the seventeenth century, and which reached its climax in the infamous invention of the "Popish Plot" by Titus Oates. In England while the fury lasted the Catholics were subjected to every indignity. They were hooted, hissed, insulted, mobbed. Two thousand of them were thrown into prison and many of them, after trials which were a mockery of justice and a disgrace to civilization, perished on the scaffold. Macaulay thus describes the state of feeling which prevailed in those dark and evil days of 1678-1680: "The capital and the whole nation went mad with hatred and fear. The penal laws, which had begun to lose something of their edge, were sharpened anew. Everywhere justices were busy in searching houses and seizing papers. All the gaols were filled with Papists. London had the aspect of a city in a state of siege. The trainbands were under arms all night. Preparations were made for barricading the great thorough-

fares. Patrols marched up and down the streets. Cannon were planted round Whitehall. No citizen thought himself safe unless he carried under his coat a small flail loaded with lead to brain the Popish assassins . . . . Soon, from all the brothels, gambling-houses, and spunging houses of London, false witnesses poured forth to swear away the lives of Roman Catholics . . . . The juries partook of the feelings then common throughout the whole nation, and were encouraged by the bench to indulge those feelings without restraint. The multitude applauded Oates and his confederates, hooted and pelted the witnesses who appeared on behalf of the accused, and shouted with joy when the verdict of Guilty was pronounced."

Needless to say, the persecution did not fail to visit Ireland. Priests were ordered to leave the country, convents and churches were closed, Catholics were expelled from Galway, Limerick, Waterford, and other Irish cities. But a conspicuous victim was needed. Oliver Plunkett, Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was closely related to many aristocratic families, to Lord Louth and Lord Dunsany, Lord Roscommon and Lord Fingal. He was a man of saintly life, imbued with great zeal for religion, animated by a desire beyond the ordinary for the promotion of virtue among his flock. He was loyal to the reigning monarch and to the English connection. Yet this man was arrested in 1679, thrown into prison in Dublin Castle, and brought to trial at Dundalk in 1680 on a charge of high treason. This man of peace was accused of being in traitorous correspondence with the French King, of having visited personally every port and fort in the kingdom, and of having organized in Ireland an army of 70,000 men! So absurd were these charges, and so bad was the character of the witnesses against him, that the Dundalk jury, composed exclusively of Protestants, scouted the case out of court, and it seemed likely that the intended victim would escape. But this did not suit the purpose of the party of bigotry and bloodshed. The Primate was dragged to London and tried once more. Time was not given him to produce his witnesses from Ireland, the witnesses whose perjuries were rejected at Dundalk were hailed with acclamation before the London tribunal, and Plunkett, tried in this manner, was sentenced

to death, and executed at Tyburn on the 11th of July, 1681. His one crime was to be a Catholic in a distinguished position at a time when prejudice against his creed ran high. That he was judicially murdered no one has ever had any doubt. That he died a martyr for his faith is the belief of every Catholic, and the steps recently taken in Rome towards his canonization prove that there are good grounds for that belief.

Another distinguished Irishman of this century was William Molyneux. Born in Dublin and a graduate of Trinity College, he was an excellent mathematician and scientist, being specially devoted to astronomy. In 1686 he published at Dublin his *Sciothericum Telescopicum; or a New Contrivance of Adapting a Telescope to an Horizontal Dial for observing The Moment of Time by Day or Night, Useful in all Astronomical Observations, &c.;* and in 1692 at London his *Dioptrica Nova,* which proved a godsend to the opticians of that day. He was a friend of John Locke, and is even credited with having suggested many of the improvements that appeared in the second edition (1695) of Locke's *Essay Concerning the Human Understanding.* In 1692 Molyneux was elected to the Irish Parliament as representative of the University of Dublin. Although he approved of the Revolution of 1688 and was in favor of Protestant ascendancy and even of the penal laws, he had several of the qualities which go to make up an Irish patriot. He took a very decided stand on the question of the parliamentary relations between England and Ireland. The Irish woollen manufactures appear to have recovered from the prohibition of Wentworth in the reign of Charles I to such an extent that towards the end of the seventeenth century the magnitude of the exportation of Irish woollens alarmed the English manufacturers, and they petitioned the House of Lords on the subject. The Lords in turn petitioned King William III, and the King promised to "do all in his power to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland." Accordingly in 1698 there was passed in England an Act to prohibit the sending of manufactured woollen stuffs from Ireland to any country except England, and to England through only one or two ports, and then even at a prohibitive tariff. This Act was designed to destroy, and did

destroy, the Irish woollen trade. When it was brought up for re-enactment in the Irish Parliament, the only member to raise his voice in protest was Molyneux, and the iniquitous measure went through.

Molyneux had already given much attention to the encroachments of the English on the Irish Parliament; but this was the climax. Taking a stand stronger than that taken by Sir Richard Bolton at an earlier period and similar to that taken by Grattan and Flood in a later day, Molyneux asserted in his celebrated book, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated,* published at Dublin in 1698, that it was unconstitutional for the English Parliament to force legislation on Ireland, and in proof of his contention he instanced several Irish Acts that expressly asserted the non-subordination of the Irish to the English legislature. This book, received in Ireland with a chorus of applause, was brought before the English Parliament, and, although no attempt was made to deny its statements or rebut its reasoning, it was condemned in its entirety as subversive of the rights of the British assembly. It was further ordered to be burned by the common hangman, and thus its reputation was for ever assured. Had not Molyneux died in the same year at the early age of forty-two, there is scarcely a doubt that impeachment would have been his fate. There was no one to take up the question after his death, and the claims of the English Parliament were so far from being one jot abated that they were specifically asserted in the Sixth of George I (1719). So, despite protests from Swift and Lucas, the matter remained, until, in 1782, the arguments of Grattan and the Convention of the Irish Volunteers at Dungannon wrung from the Rockingham administration the repeal of the Sixth of George I, the annulment of Poyning's Law, and the restoration of the right of the Irish lords to hear appeals, and thus established, though only for a brief period, an independent Irish parliament.

Newspapers began to make their appearance in Ireland in this century. The first mentioned is one entitled *Warranted Tidings from Ireland,* published in 1641, but whether it was printed there or not is doubtful. The earliest periodical which we know with certainty to have been published in Ireland was

Number One of *The Irish Monthly Mercury,* printed at Cork in 1649. It contains valuable information concerning the movements of the army of the Parliament. Strictly partisan and entirely on Cromwell's side, it is written in racy style and is not wholly free from certain Rabelaisian touches. Among the earliest Dublin periodicals are *The Newsletter,* 1659; *An Account of the Chief Occurrences of Ireland,* 1660; the *Mercurius Hibernicus, or the Irish Intelligencer,* a weekly paper, 1663; *The Dublin Intelligence,* 1690; *The Flying Post, or the Postmaster,* 1698; and *Pue's Occurrences,* a daily paper, 1700.

That printing was carried on at Cork as early as the middle of the century we have *The Irish Monthly Mercury* as proof. We also find that there was printed in that city on the 25th of February, 1649-50, *Certaine Acts and Declarations made by the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of the Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates met at Clonmacnoise the* 4 *day of Decr.* 1649. *Together with a Declaration of the Ld. Lieut. of Ireland, &c. &c.* This pamphlet was reprinted in Dublin in the same year. Another Cork publication was the duodecimo volume *Iniquisitio in fidem Christianorum hujus saeculi, auctore Rogero Boyle, Decano Corcagiensi. Corcagiae, 1664.* Among the prominent figures of the two exciting decades ending in 1661 was Dr. Edward Worth, who, from being Dean of Cork, became an Independent minister in that city and in Waterford, and wound up as Bishop of Killaloe. In 1653, after a public disputation on the subject of infant baptism, he published at Cork a pamphlet entitled *Scripture Evidences for Baptizing of Infants of Covenanters.* He also published at Cork a sermon preached at the funeral of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam, and at Dublin a sermon preached at the funeral of Chief Justice Pepys, the latter under the title of *The Servant doing and the Lord Blessing,* 1659.

Turning to other centres we find that both at Waterford and Kilkenny the Confederates established printing presses, and that both appear to have been actively employed. In fact, Dr. Conor in his *Columbanus* tells us that the nuncio's presses at Waterford and Kilkenny teemed with publications. In 1643

one Thomas Bourke styled himself printer to the confederate Catholics of Ireland. The best known of the early works printed at Kilkenny is the *Hibernia Dominicana* by Thomas De Burgo or Burke, but that belongs to the eighteenth century.

A sermon preached by Robert Daborne in Waterford on the text from Zech. xi. 7, " And I took unto me two staves; the one I called Beauty, and the other Bands; and I fed the flock," was published in 1620 with a dedication to the Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster. An answer to this was printed at the Confederate press at Waterford in 1644 under the title *An Inquisition of a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of the city of Waterford in February, 1619.* The following is the imprimatur prefixed to the latter work: *Approbatio. Librum hunc cui titulus " The Inquisition of a Sermon, &c." a R. P. Fr. P. C. Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, et Sacrae Theologiae Doctore, editum, accurate perlegi, nihil in eo inveni, quod fidei Catholicae, aut bonis moribus adversetur, imo plurima ad eandem fidem stabiliendam et Puritanorum errores profligandos, quem proinde praela et luce dignissimum censeo: Sic testor hac die 28 Junii, 1644 — Michael Hackett, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor, et Cathedralis Waterfordiensis Praecentor.*

A final word must be said by way of explanation of what otherwise might appear a strange fact. With only one or two exceptions the works of which a short account is given in this article were written by non-Catholics. Catholic writers appear to be quite inactive. But it is only in appearance. It must be remembered that to write or print a Catholic work in Ireland in the seventeenth century, unless at Kilkenny or Waterford during the brief heyday of the Confederation, was a dangerous experiment. Such works were generally printed and published on the Continent, and were smuggled into Ireland as opportunity offered; hence an account of them does not properly fall within our present scope. Yet they offer a wide field to the investigator. It was during this very time of persecution and suppression of everything Catholic that Luke Wadding and Geoffrey Keating and Nicholas French and David Rothe and John Lynch and John Colgan and Michael Ward and the Four Masters and numerous other Irish writers, most of them in exile and some

of them seeking shelter in the mountains and caves and deserted monasteries of their native land, produced those monumental works, in Latin, Irish, and English, which are among the glories of the Irish race, and are the vindication of Ireland's continued claim to the title of the land of scholars. This brilliant galaxy of Irish writers shine like the stars through the dark night of persecution, but it is only in comparatively recent times that their radiance has begun to beat full upon us. Their works are not nearly well enough known, even yet; but as time goes on and the mists of prejudice are lifting, increased attention is being directed to them. The more these writings are examined, the more the difficulties under which they were composed are understood, the greater will be the admiration they inspire in all who love scholarly attainments and at the same time seek to know the truth.

P. J. Lennox.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

The mere teaching of the secular branches and religion in the same school and by the same teacher does not solve the problem of either secular or religious education. It is subversive of the best interests of the child, of religion and of secular education. In the elementary school especially the process of fragmenting the content of the child-mind retards development and frequently destroys the life of the growing mind. Whatever is to be taught to the young child must be taught in its intimate relations with the whole content of the child's mind. To organize the content of his growing mind along secular lines without any reference to God or to religion and then to teach religion as something superadded makes it impossible that both of these contents should have vigor and life. You cannot serve two masters. And since the things of sense are near the child and appeal to his appetites, the chances are that they will hold possession of his mind and heart and prevent the religious elements from taking root.

From considerations such as the foregoing it must be evident that the plan sometimes advocated by schools conducted under religious auspices of copying the curriculum and methods of the non-religious school in all of its details and its fundamental plan with the sole exception of adding instruction in Christian Doctrine is foredoomed to failure. It would be far better to meet the situation frankly and allow the State to instruct in secular branches and then add the religious instruction in the evening after school or in the morning before school in some suitable place, for in this case the children and their parents and all concerned with the religious instruction of the children would be on their guard against the dangers of a purely secular education and would avail themselves of every means in their power to counteract its worst effects. But when this purely

secular education, thoroughly de-Christianized, is given in a professedly religious school by religious teachers, everyone concerned is disarmed; it is the wolf in sheep's clothing.

It is not sufficient that the content of the secular branches presented to the child be free from error and that care be taken to eliminate anything hostile to religion. The question under consideration is whether or not we can safely separate the teaching of religion from the teaching of the secular branches in our elementary schools. If all that was desired consisted in a memory-load, then the thing is both possible and feasible; the child might memorize his geography and grammar and history and arithmetic according to the measure of his capacity and then proceed to memorize his catechism without being much affected in his life or conduct by any of the things he had memorized. But we take it for granted that the day is past when this procedure would be considered legitimate in any school. Our aim to-day is to cause everything presented to the child to be assimilated. Now, the meaning of assimilation is to put each new thought element into intimate functional relationship with the entire previous content of the mind. Assimilation is not complete until this is accomplished. But we are not satisfied with this. Mere knowledge will not do. In secular branches we demand that the thought be made to shape itself in appropriate forms of expression. Drawing, modeling, manual training, and various other forms of laboratory work are calculated to render the truth assimilated functional in the subsequent life of the pupil. To proceed along these lines in the secular branches and to banish religion and its influence from the growing structure of the mind and confine it to memorized forms is to destroy the religious element in the child's life far more effectually than could be done by openly attacking religion.

Moreover, religion is not the only thing that suffers by this procedure. Religion being the most fundamental element in the child's mental and moral life, when it is banished the child suffers for want of the strongest assimilative force in his nature and the development along secular lines is not only deprived of the guidance of the great fundamental principles of re-

ligious truth, but it is left without any other element to restore cohesiveness and unity to the growing mental life. How severely education in our non-religious schools has suffered from the banishment of religion has been pointed out elsewhere. Strenuous efforts are being made on all sides to find something that will perform the function in the educative process that is native to religion. John Dewey speaks of a common religion being developed as a sort of a residual calx after the elimination of all divergent elements, and sundry efforts have been made to find a substitute for religion in the culture epoch theory, while a large and influential element in our midst is seeking to find a non-dogmatic morality to give strength and cohesiveness to the child's character.

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his justice and all these things shall be added unto you" was the solution offered by the great Master and we have not yet reached any other solution that will satisfactorily replace it. Religion must be the fundamental thing in education and all else that is taught the child must be taught to him in its relation to this fundamental element. When the pupil has grown in power to the point where he is able of himself to make the requisite correlation and without the aid of text-book or teacher is able to take each thought presented in any branch taught to him and correlate it with his entire mental content, then, and not until then, may we safely teach him the various branches of knowledge as separate entities.

Not in spite of the fact, therefore, but just because of the fact that religion is its central thought and its dominant element will

RELIGION, FIRST BOOK

be found effective as a means of furthering the child's development in all the essentials of his growing consciousness. Guizot, writing on the History of the Civilization of Europe, says: "In order to make popular education truly good and socially useful it must be fundamentally religious. It is necessary that national education should be given and received in the midst of a religious atmosphere and that religious im-

pressions and religious observances should penetrate into all its parts. Religion is not a study or an exercise to be restricted to a certain place or a certain hour; it is a faith and a law which ought to be felt everywhere and which, after this manner alone, can exercise all its beneficial influences upon our mind and life."

The close relation existing between the teaching of religion and the teaching of the various secular branches has been pointed out in a previous article. It has been emphasized in many ways and by many people during the past few years. It has been insisted on over and over again that this close interrelation of religion with the other school subjects renders it impossible to teach religion effectively apart from the rest of the subject-matter of education. This impossibility is, in fact, the *raison de être* of the Catholic school system of the United States. Many of the other Christian denominations of this country have tried the experiment of imparting religious instruction in the home and in the Sunday school, thus leaving to the public school the work of instructing their children in the secular branches. The experience of a single generation has proved sufficient to discredit this plan, and if we needed experimental verification of a truth which was so evident from theoretical considerations, such verification is now at hand.

Now, if the relationship of religion to the other elements of the child's education is so close that religion cannot be taught in a different place, at a different time by a different teacher, is it wise to have the text-books used for the religious instruction of the child different in form and in fact from the books used in his instruction in other branches? Text-books on Religion in the form of cut-and-dried question and answer, printed on poor paper, without illustrations, or any other adornment to commend them to the young child, and side by side with them beautifully illustrated books presenting the things of sense and pandering to the natural inclinations of the child, are hardly the means to ensure a vigorous growth of the religious element in the child's consciousness. And if we look beneath the surface and find that the text-books of secular instruction present truths in concrete

embodiment to the young child and avoid abstract statement, while Christian Doctrine is presented in purely abstract formulations with verbal explanations of the unintelligible words, our difficulty is still further increased. But it is not only the form that marks a contrast between the text-books of religious and secular instruction; the content of the one is carefully isolated from all contact with the contents of the other. This is in strange conflict with the needs of the child's unfolding life. The child's first and chief necessity is unity and close correlation in form and substance of the matter presented to him. The various branches should not only be presented in books that resemble each other in form and are closely related to each other in content, but all the matter presented in the first year of school life should be gathered up in a single book.

The demands for close relationship between religion and the other elements of the child's education are surely not satisfied by the mere fact that the same teacher teaches the various subjects, nor by the further fact that the teaching is done in the same room and on the same day. All these things are undoubtedly helpful, but the one important thing is that the religious truths presented to the child's consciousness for assimilation be presented in their proper relationship to the other elements that are entering into the structure of his growing mind. This is the one thing necessary and if it be absent, all the other circumstances referred to will avail little. Of course the teacher can and should supply much of this correlation, but equally of course the text-book should follow the same method and at least second the teacher's efforts. In too many cases, alas, the best that can be expected of the teacher is that he should second the work of the text-book in this direction.

To supply text-books that will help to put the teaching of religion in our schools where it belongs, at the center of all the school's activity, correlating religious truth with every other truth taught throughout the day, has been one of the chief motives which has led to the preparation of the series of text-books which we are now considering.

As the seal on its title-page indicates, Religion, First Book, has a five-fold function to perform in the child's unfolding life.

In the preceding articles it has been considered in its capacity of the child's first book in Religion and it is in this capacity alone that, in our study of the method of teaching religion, we are directly concerned with it. Indirectly, however, we are concerned with the other functions of the book, but we are concerned with them only in so far as the religious element enters into the proper performance of these functions.

The Church is primarily interested in the development of the religious side of the child's nature, while the State is primarily concerned with the development of the social side of his nature. The Church seeks to make him a worthy child of the kingdom of heaven, while the interests of the State are satisfied with his development as a good citizen. These two interests are not antagonistic nor are the elements in the child's nature with which they are concerned irreconcilable. On the contrary, the Church has always insisted that one cannot be a worthy child of the kingdom of heaven and at the same time be an unworthy citizen. You cannot be loyal to God if you are disloyal to your fellow man. It is the duty of the Christian to render to God the things that are God's and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother; he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother, whom he seeth, how can he love God, whom he seeth not? And this commandment we have from God, that he, who loveth God, love also his brother." (I John, iv, 20-21.)

Whether or not a man can be a good citizen and at the same time be undeveloped along religious lines is a question about which there is considerable diversity of opinion. The experiment has been made in the public schools of this country of excluding religion from the schools and of educating the citizens without its aid. That the experiment has proved successful will hardly be claimed by anyone conversant with the facts. We need not, however, pursue this subject at present. What we are directly concerned with here is to show that religion is a very powerful agency in the development of the social side of the child's nature and in the shaping of his character for worthy citizenship. The love of neighbor, the love, reverence and obedience which the child owes to his parents and teachers

and to all legitimately constituted authority,—these are large elements in the making of a good citizen and they are fundamental elements in the religious development of the child. Moreover, the child is not merely an individual; it is as a social being that he tastes the highest joys of which his nature is capable and it is as a social being that he approaches God and is incorporated into the visible Church. The social side of the child's nature is, therefore, much too wide to be called into play by the functions of mere citizenship.

An examination of Religion, First Book, will at once reveal the fact that the social element is its most conspicuous element. Home, the fundamental social institution, is the theme throughout. The home of the birds, home with father and mother, home with Jesus and the Father in Heaven,—this is the theme of every story and of every song in the book. The Church demands the maintenance of the home. The home is the foundation upon which the Christian state is built. Our whole social system rests upon the home and cannot long survive its ruin. The interests of the Church, of the State and of the social order, therefore, demand that the child be educated to know and to love the home in all its strength and beauty and that he be prepared to safeguard it and defend it at whatever cost. The rôle that religion has to play in preserving the home may readily be inferred from an examination of this little book. It is this element that captures the child's imagination and glorifies for him all his home relationships.

We need not pause here to enter upon an exhaustive analysis of Religion, First Book, in its capacity as the child's first book in science. In the simple lessons of this book the child is led to approach nature sympathetically. He is taught kindness and consideration for animals and he learns that they are God's creatures, that they obey God in their way and in their way praise Him. The chief function of these nature stories, however, it to be found in the leverage which they furnish for the development of the social and religious elements in the child's nature. They furnish the concrete materials for the parables and they develop the foundation in the natural order upon which the structure of supernatural religion must be erected.

The æsthetic elements in this book are so obvious that it does not seem necessary to point them out. The inconsistency so frequently found in our schools of putting a costly and beautiful book, dealing purely with worldly subjects, in the child's hands and placing it beside a poor, three cent catechism has often been pointed out. No pains or expense have been spared in the attempt to make Religion, First Book, the most beautiful book placed within the child's reach. This, it is felt, will in itself help to emphasize for the child the importance of the subject-matter which it contains. The same consideration, as has already been pointed out, led to the use of half-tone pictures for the nature studies and the domestic scenes and colored pictures for the religious themes. These colored pictures are from the brushes of the great masters and will consequently help to cultivate the taste of the children along right lines. No matter how far their æsthetic development may lead them in after life, these pictures will draw them back to the feet of Jesus as He appeared among the children of men.

The advantages of the book as a child's first song book have already been alluded to. Every one who has dealt with children's voices knows the danger of having them sing what has not been organized in their intelligence and in their feelings. In the present book the child's soul is filled to overflowing with the sentiment that he is to sing, nor is he allowed to sing the song until the thoughts and feelings which he expresses have found expression through other channels, such as stories, reading lessons, drawing, painting and dramatization. When the children come to sing these songs under any one competent to teach them the elements of music they will sing them as naturally as a canary bird sings. They will sing them with a joy and delight that will bring their hearts back in later years to the feet of Jesus.

The merits of Religion, First Book, as a child's first reader will be dealt with elsewhere; here we shall only call attention to a few of its most obvious advantages. It is not a mere drill in words. The content is such as to hold the child's interest throughout. The stories told in the text are told with

sufficient clearness in the series of pictures to render the interpretation of the text easy and pleasant to the child. Moreover, the thought deals with the deepest and at the same time the most familiar content of the child's consciousness. It is concerned with the five instincts which control his attitude towards his parents and with the earliest experiences of his conscious life, while the interest in this material is preserved by the form in which it is presented. In reading these lessons, consequently, the child is giving expression to only those things which he knows and feels and which he rejoices in with his whole heart and soul. With this as a motive power the child could readily overcome even greater difficulties in the technique of reading were that necessary for him in order to master the contents of this little volume. But this is far from being the case.

There are very few words used in the book, outside of proper names, that may not be found in the spoken vocabulary of the average child of six. And the lessons are carefully graded so as to introduce only a limited number of new words in each successive story. Thus the child gets the full advantage of context work, which taken together with the picture series, reduces to a minimum his difficulty in reading.

Spelling lessons and phonetic drills have been omitted from the book, thus freeing it from all suggestion of the mere lifeless drill and allowing the native interest of the matter to captivate and hold the child's mind while he insensibly acquires a written vocabulary in a manner analogous to that in which he acquires his spoken vocabulary.

The print is clear and bold and will save the child's eyes from unnecessary strain while he is growing familiar with simple sentences and acquiring a working vocabulary. After the child has grown familiar with the most necessary words, the percentage of new words in the lessons is gradually reduced while the length and complexity of the sentences are progressively increased.

The method of handling this book as a reader has been briefly outlined in the suggestions to teachers at its close. A brief trial is all that is needed to convince any intelligent

teacher of the superiority of this book over the first readers in current use when considered in the capacity of a reader merely. Where the proper preparation is made for the use of the book through appropriate blackboard and chart drills the child will encounter no discouraging difficulty in reading any part of the book. From the very first lesson the story content is so sustained and it is so free from detail and needless complexity that immediate reward is given the child for his effort, thus encouraging him to persevere in the practice of reading. As the story grows in complexity and the sentences increase in difficulty the interest is proportionately increased and the strain on the child is thus lessened. This means that along with other practical benefits to the child the book has established for him a faith in the satisfaction to be derived from the printed page. This point is too often missed by the writers of primary books through a misguided zeal in grading the matter of the first reader. Again, it should be noted that the cumulative interest in the content of the book makes it possible towards the close of the year for the children to indulge in occasional silent readings without the aid of the teacher. They are thus taught self-helpfulness in obtaining both pleasure and profit from books.

On reflection it will be found that much of the superiority over the primary readers in current use here claimed for Religion, First Book, is due to the fact that it is the child's first book in religion, and to the further fact that it deals with home instincts and with the earliest home experiences of the child. The mere empty drill and the trivial are avoided as well as depressing and repulsive scenes. Large and uplifting thoughts in their simplest outlines fill the pages of the book and engage the mind of the child. It leaves the children, as a consequence, stimulated and refreshed and it gives them a promise of great and good things to come. Those interested in the matter are invited to make a close comparison between this little book and the primary books used where faith in alphabetic and phonetic methods still prevails and with those other books which have recently issued from schools where the influence of religion is no longer felt and where suitable content is sought in the supposed doings of prehistoric man.

Religion, First Book, is designed to fill the place of the child's first book in all the departments of his unfolding mental life and it is hoped that wherever it is used in the first grade it will be used in this capacity. Many teachers find supplementary readers helpful in the work of the first grade. We have no objection to register against this practice, but the supplementary reader should be chosen with some care and the selections used should be closely related to the content already mastered by the child in his reader. In a similar manner, if so desired, other books of religious instruction may be employed in a supplementary capacity, provided they are used in such a way as to further develop the religious doctrines contained in the lessons of Religion, First Book. Personally, we are not in favor of this practice in the work of the first grade. If supplementary work in religion be desired during the child's first year in school, it should come to the child from the lips of the teacher and it is much better that the stories and illustrations be given with a freedom that is not to be attained when the teacher reads. Stories of an appropriate kind, pictures and anecdotes may be used with profit to enlarge upon the themes developed in the book, but care should be taken not to confuse the child's mind by introducing matter foreign to the lesson; care should also be taken not to anticipate the lessons to be developed in the second year and by so doing to defeat the method and lessen the child's interest.

Religion, First Book, may be used with profit as a supplementary reader in the second and third grades in cases where the children have not had it in the first grade. These children will master the contents of the book in a comparatively short time and it can scarcely fail to open their minds to a more ready comprehension of the doctrines of holy faith. It will serve them as a preparation for a comprehension of the content of the catechism, and while, of itself, it will not be found adequate for this work, it will prove far more helpful than mere verbal explanations of abstract statements.

A large number of our children are at present receiving their primary education in the public schools. However deplorable

this situation may be, we are not yet in a position to provide a complete remedy for it. In large sections of the country our Catholic population is too sparse to admit of the maintenance of separate schools, and in many localities various circumstances combine to render separate schools unfeasible. These children also must be reached. They must be taught the mysteries of our holy faith and they must be trained in their duties towards God and towards their fellow man. They must be taught to love the Church and to strive in every way in their power to render themselves worthy of membership in her fold.

In some instances these children may be assembled two or three times a week for religious instruction. In many cases, however, their direct religious instruction must be confined to a brief hour on Sunday. What kind of text-books should be used in these Sunday schools? May such a book as the one we are here considering be used to the greatest advantage of the children, or does it perhaps seem more advisable to devote this brief time to the memorizing and reciting of the catechism? We have frequently been asked these questions and in answer let it be said that the series of text-books on religion which we are here considering are being prepared with direct reference to the needs of the parochial school. If a modification of the books for the use of Sunday schools shall seem advisable after we have completed the series, such a modification will be undertaken. I am of the opinion, however, that the books as they stand will prove of very great value to the children. Without the aid of a teacher they may learn from these little books many of the great truths of religion and they will learn them in a way that will appeal to their hearts and fill their imaginations as well as enlighten their minds. With such books as these in the hands of the children it will be comparatively easy for the Sunday school teacher to bring home to the children the meaning of Christian Doctrine and to render it functional in the building of their characters. The children's delight in the content of these little books will render it an easy matter to have them read and studied at home and it will not be difficult to draw from them an account of the matter contained in the books in the children's own words.

If in addition to this the Sunday school teacher should develop the lessons contained in the book and show their relation to the formal doctrines of the Church, he will not only sustain the interest of the Sunday school, but he will find the minds of his pupils becoming more and more receptive of the sublime truths which it is his privilege to teach.

Of course it is not possible through such a use of these books to obtain the full fruit contemplated in their preparation, but if the books help to attract the children to the Sunday school and to interest them in the teachings of Jesus Christ and of His Church, their use for such a purpose will merit the consideration of pastors and Sunday school teachers.

Finally, Religion, First Book, is intended to prepare the children's minds for a comprehension of the religious doctrines contained in the subsequent volumes of the series, but it is felt that this little book may be used with profit as a child's first book in religion no matter what text-book or what method of religious instruction it may seem wisest to adopt during the subsequent years of the child's school life. All that is usually accomplished in the matter of religious instruction during the first year in school is to teach the children their prayers and to tell them a few religious stories. In some places the children in the first grade are required to memorize the first five or six chapters of the Baltimore catechism. As between such results and those that may be attained through the use of Religion, First Book, there is scarcely room for choice on the part of those responsible for the religious training of our children.

Text-Books for Primary Grades.

If the text-books used in a school are to perform their legitimate function, it is necessary that they be adjusted to the needs of the children in the light of the aims and policies of the school. If the maintenance of religion is the first concern of the school, then religion must be the fundamental element in the text-books, particularly in the text-books of the primary grades where all the content of the curriculum must be woven

into close interdependence. But if, as in the case of our public schools, religion be banished by law from the curriculum and from the function of the school, then some other basic element must be found around which to correlate the various elements of the child's unfolding mental life.

For a generation the writers of text-books for the public schools have been engaged upon this difficult problem. Religion must be banished, this is the first consideration, and every reference to God, to Jesus Christ, or to the Church, must be banished unless it serve to throw discredit upon the Church or her teachings and thus presumably to save the child from falling a victim to superstition. Of course there are many educators in this field who sincerely deplore the conditions which seem to render it necessary to banish religious instruction from our schools. Such men may be trusted not to sneer at religion or religious institutions, but their work at best is negative as far as religion is concerned.

As long as mere verbal drills were considered sufficient for the children in the primary grades it was easy enough to banish the religious content from the literature of this early period of school life, but with the advent of modern science and particularly with the development of genetic psychology in the last few decades, all educators who are really abreast of the times realize that something more than this is imperatively needed. The primary books must have a content that appeals to the child's imagination and shapes his activities. There must be continuity and action, there must be coherent drama and an unflagging interest so as to lift the content into the focus of the child's consciousness and keep the mere formal elements of language, whether spoken or written, in the penumbra of mental life where they may continue to function as means to an end. In the last number of the *Bulletin* we dealt with this topic at some length and we presented the views of Professor Balliet. Nothing further need be added here to show the bearings of the problem on the difficult art of teaching the children to read.

To those who realize that the content of a primary book is a matter of supreme value and that the growth of the child's

thought is of more concern than his ability to recognize printed words, there is a new problem presented and the first step in the solution of this problem is to find matter that the child can assimilate and the second step is to find a method of presenting this matter that will facilitate its assimilation by the child. Thus far there is practical agreement, but there is a third element in the problem like unto these two and this is to find the right material to develop the child-mind along the right lines so that the man may attain to his inheritance in all its fullness. In the solution of this element of the problem there is anything but unanimity.

In the words of John Dewey, "If there is one principle more than another upon which all educational practice, not simply education in art, must base itself, it is precisely this: that the realization of an idea in action through the medium of movement is as necessary to the formation of the mental image as is the expression, the technique, to the full play of the idea itself." The importance of the muscular sense in the education of the child is being very generally recognized, but it is well to remember that the better we succeed in securing mental assimilation on the part of the children the more disastrous will be the effects if the matter assimilated be of the wrong kind. Any kind of growth will not do. Of course it is possible for the school in competent hands to develop or mould the children into criminals or anarchists; probably the task would be easier than the one actually set the teacher, viz., that of developing the citizen, the gentleman and the Christian. The nature of the content cannot and must not be ignored, nor is the argument in favor of a given content that it appeals to the child and that he will readily assimilate it valid. All this is well, but more is needed and it is here that the difficulty of the problem confronting the author of suitable primary books for our public schools becomes manifest. Religion is banished. "Unless you become as one of these you shall not enter into the kingdom" might almost be reversed, for the kingdom and what it stands for is almost the only legitimate content for the child-mind. But let us see how attempts of this sort have actually fared.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

In the last few years much has been written and said of the School of Education in the University of Chicago. The doings of this school have been faithfully chronicled in our educational journals and the literature and methods of the school have been widely accepted in our public schools as ideals to be approximated as closely as circumstances would permit. It seems quite proper, therefore, in our study of this question, to turn to this source for light on the problem before us.

In 1903 there appeared the first volume of a series of primary readers, entitled Industrial and Social History Series, by Katharine Elizabeth Dopp, Ph. D., Instructor in the Extension Division of the University of Chicago. The second and third books of the series appeared shortly afterwards. If one may judge from the Preface, these books reflect the educational policies of many prominent authorities in the school world. "I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Dewey for the suggestions he has given me with reference to this series and to acknowledge that without the inspiration that has come through his teaching I should probably never have undertaken a work of this kind. Among the many friends to whom I am indebted for help and inspiration I would mention especially Professor W. I. Thomas and Professor Ella Flagg Young of the University of Chicago, Superintendent F. A. Manny of the Ethical Culture School, New York City; etc."

These books have not only been well sponsored but enthusiastically received in many parts of the country, and indeed, they have many things to recommend them, that is, if they are to be measured by their effectiveness in method. The language is simple and direct, although probably lacking somewhat in elegance and in progressive development. The motor and dramatic elements are splendidly developed. The interest is maintained throughout. No difficulty will be experienced in securing the attention of the children and there will probably be very little difficulty in securing fairly good dramatic action. For those, consequently, who look no further, the books are eminently satisfactory.

But for those who look for other things and who place the end to be attained in the fully developed man among the con-

siderations of highest importance, if not the very highest of all considerations, the books will hardly prove acceptable. The entire series must be examined, together with the illustrations, to gain a clear realization of what it means. The first volume, designed for the use of pupils six and one-half years old, is occupied wholly with the tree-dwellers of the Pleistocene period and would doubtless prove very acceptable to parents and teachers who would be willing to hand over the child at this tender age to the mercies of a resurrected tree-dweller and who would rest content with the education which she would be enabled to impart. Even without her aid a competent teacher will probably be able to bring the children in imagination back to this early time and help them to live over again these crude elemental experiences.

Let us examine a few of the lessons from this book, even though they suffer considerably by the absence of the illustrations, which are probably true enough to nature but are hardly ideals calculated to stimulate the development of the aesthetic sense. Lesson II is as follows: "THINGS TO THINK ABOUT: What do you need in order to live? What do you think that the tree-dwellers needed? *Sharptooth.* Sharptooth was a tree-dweller. She lived a long, long time ago. She did not have any home. Nobody had a home then. People wandered from place to place. They had no shelter except the trees. Each night Sharptooth slept in the branches. Each day she hunted for something to eat. Sometimes she was very hungry. She had hard work to find enough food. She could not go to a store to buy it. There were no stores then. She could not buy food of a farmer. There were no farmers then. All the plants were growing wild. All the animals were wild, too. Sharptooth was afraid of them. That is why she climbed the trees. THINGS TO DO. Go out where everything is growing wild and find a place where the tree-dwellers might have lived. Find as many wild foods as you can. Notice what places have the best wild foods. Find a place where the tree-dwellers might have protected themselves from the wild beasts. Find a picture of Sharptooth running away from a wild animal. Tell a story about this picture." (This lesson is accompanied by two pic-

tures of the heroine, Sharptooth. In one she is chasing a rabbit and in the other she is flying from Sabre-tooth). There is scarcely room to question the effectiveness of this lesson. The normal child will readily go back to it in imagination and live it over with a vividness that would discredit a jury on a murder trial visiting the scene of the tragedy.

In Lesson V the child is told that the tree-dwellers had only mothers to take care of them and in a later lesson he is told that when the babies grew big enough to find food for themselves they were pushed out to make room for other babies. By the time the child reaches Lesson XX he has followed Bodo, the eldest son of the heroine, through a number of very interesting experiences with the animals of the forest. Here is a part of Lesson XX: "The boys dropped their clubs and climbed a tree where they spent the night. They slept until the break of day. As they were rubbing their sleepy eyes, they heard a queer sound close by. 'What is that?' said Bodo. The boys listened. All was still. But they were sure some animal was near. There was a clump of alders within a stone's throw. Perhaps a bear was hiding there. The boys were eager to find out, but they knew better than to rush into danger. So they waited and listened. All was quiet. Bodo threw a stick. Not a sound could be heard. He called out. Still there was no sound. The boys slipped down the tree and picked up their clubs. They crept up softly and peeped into the alders. 'There's nothing there,' said One-Ear. Bodo knew better. He noticed a hump among the leaves. He reached out his hand and touched it. It was a little calf that had been hid there by its mother. It scarcely moved as Bodo touched it. Its mother had taught it to lie still. Many people might have passed it by. But Bodo had sharp eyes, and besides he was very hungry. So the boys killed the calf and began to eat the raw flesh. They ate until they were satisfied. Then they played among the trees. THINGS TO DO: Choose somebody to be Bodo and somebody to be One-Ear, and let them show how the boys found the calf. Model a calf in clay." One has almost a shock of disappointment at the closing instruction, it seemed so certain that the children would be allowed to kill the

calf and to eat the raw flesh. Lest one should accuse this series of text-books of failing to develop progressively the situations which create the interest in the books, we will give one more sample, this time from the Second Book, The Early Cave Dwellers, intended for children seven years of age.

"V. THINGS TO THINK ABOUT: What do you think the Cave-men will do with Sabre-tooth's skin? What will they do with his teeth and claws? What will they do with his flesh? Can you think of what they might do with his bones? How do you think they learned to cook food? *Preparation for the Feast.* How excited all the people on the hills were when they knew that Sabre-tooth had been killed. Every body wanted to see him. Young and old crowded around to see the monster as he lay stretched out on the ground. They gazed at the creature in silence. They admired his rich, tawny stripes. Not a man on the hills had ever before been able to get such a skin. They all wished that they might have it, but they knew that it belonged to Strongarm. They examined the two large sabre-teeth. They felt of the smaller teeth and claws. At length the men began to quarrel about the trophies, but Strongarm waved them back. He claimed one sabre tooth for himself and allowed the other to go to the brave old man. When Strongarm spoke the men kept silent, for they knew that the trophies belonged to the bravest men. But they were given a share in the smaller teeth and claws. While they were loosening them with stone hammers, the women were hunting for their stone knives. They were soon busy taking off Sabre-tooth's beautiful skin. When the heavy skin was off, they began to get ready for the feast. They ate pieces of raw flesh as they worked, and tossed pieces to the men and boys. They were all too hungry to wait for the feast. Besides, they were used to eating raw meat. But they had learned how to cook meat at this time. They had learned to roast meat in hot ashes. At first they roasted the animal in its skin, but now they knew a better way. They skinned the animal and cut out the ribs; then they buried them in hot ashes. They covered the ashes with hot coals. They cut slices of meat with their stone knives and put them on roasting sticks. Then they held these sticks over the hot coals just as we sometimes do to-day. THINGS

TO DO. Make believe that you are doing some of the work that the Cave-men did, and see if any one can guess what it is. See if you can cook something over the coals. Ask some one to read you a story that Charles Lamb wrote about Roast Pig. VI. THINGS TO THINK ABOUT: How do you think the Cave-men would act at a feast? What would they use for dishes? What would they do to entertain themselves and their neighbors? When would the neighbors go home? *The Feast.* Nobody knew just when the feast began. Nobody set the table, for there was no table to set. But the women brought bowls they had made out of hollow gourds. Before the meat was half cooked everybody was eating. Some ate thick slices that had been partly roasted on the sharp sticks. Others chewed raw meat from bones which they tore from the carcass. The children sucked strips of raw meat and picked the scraps from the ground. When the women lifted the ribs out of the hot ashes, they found a nice gravy. They dipped up the gravy in their gourd bowls and gave it to the men. Strongarm dipped some up with a bone dipper that had been made from the skull of a cave-bear. Then he tore out a rib from the carcass and gnawed the meat from the bone. They all held what they ate in their hands. They all ate very fast, and they ate a long time. At last their hunger was satisfied, and they began to crack the marrow bones and scrape the marrow out with sharp sticks and bones. When the men became tired of sucking the bones, they tossed them to the women and children. The men joined in a hunting dance while the women beat time with the bones. The women chanted, too, as they beat time. They danced until all became tired and the visitors were ready to go. Then Firekeeper loaded pieces of meat upon the backs of the women, and all gathered around to see the neighbors start home. As soon as they were gone the Cave-men prepared to rest for the night. THINGS TO DO. Take turns in doing something that the Cave-men did at the feast, and let the children guess what it is. Find some good marrow bones and crack them. Find out whether we use marrow bones for anything to-day. If you think that you can, make something of the marrow bones. Can you think why bones are filled with

marrow? See if you can beat time with marrow bones so as to help some one do his work. See if you can make dishes of pumpkins, squashes, melons, cucumbers, or any thing else that you can find."

Again we regret our inability to present here the attractive picture of the cave-dwellers butchering Sabre-tooth or the still more attractive picture of the cave-dwellers' banquet. Let us make amends, however, by copying the plan of one of the lessons as adjusted to the needs of adult readers. THINGS TO THINK ABOUT: What is the English equivalent of *O tempora! O mores!* ? How far are the stock-yards from the school of Education of the University of Chicago? What is meant by "reversion to primitive type"? When belief in the truths of Christianity is lost, what takes its place? What is the cause of the enormous increase in juvenile crime during the last few years? Was President Hall drawing on his imagination when he stated that the last few years had witnessed a phenomenal increase in hoodlumism among the school populations of our large cities? What are the laws of imitation? State their function in mental development? Does the Industrial and Social History Series of text-books embody the essential features of the culture epoch theory? What will be the effect on our public schools of the practice so prevalent during the last few years of the School Superintendents from all parts of the country visiting the School of Education of Chicago University and bringing home to their school system all of the spirit and method of this institution which they can carry? Is this school an appropriate place to give inspiration and guidance to the teachers in religious schools?

Those interested in the matter should provide themselves with a set of these readers, for no description will do them justice. We are warned not to criticise or find fault with these readers under penalty of being called hard names by the author. On page 133 of The Tree-Dwellers she says, in the suggestions to teachers: "The portrayal of the situation which caused our early forefathers to rob birds' nests and kill young animals will no doubt shock the sentimentalist who orders eggs or veal as a matter of course. There might be good ground for his feel-

ing were there not present in the child the instinct to do similar deeds even though living under social conditions that do not justify such acts. Any one who will take the trouble to recall his own childhood, or to make the acquaintance of children of six and a half or seven years, will realize that such instincts are present, and that they must find expression in one form or another. Is it wise to ignore the facts of the case and allow the child to form the habit of gratifying his blind instincts, or shall we recognize the situation and meet it with all the wisdom at our command? Is it not the better plan to tell the child frankly of the way in which people lived at the time when they did what he would like to do now, and lead him to discover the changes that have taken place that lead us to disapprove of actions, which, under different conditions, were considered good? . . . . A sounder morality can be developed by honestly facing the facts with the child and by giving him the benefit of a broader experience, than by leaving him to face the situation alone in the light of but part of the facts. The problems with which the child at this time is grappling are so similar in character to those of the race during the early period of its development that they afford the child a rich background of experience suitable to his needs. The successful solution of these problems is as important with reference to the development of the individual to-day as then in determining the welfare of the race. A firm basis for the development of the intellectual, the moral, and the physical life can thus be laid at this time by a wise use of the experiences of the race when it was laying the foundations upon which our civilization rests."

I have no desire to be classified with the sentimentalist, but as a lover of the sciences that deal with life and its development I must protest that this series of books embodies a gross error and is in direct contravention of the very doctrines to which it appeals for confirmation, namely, that ontogeny is a recapitulation of phyllogeny. But lest my convictions be supposed to emanate wholly from religious sources, it may be well to quote the testimony of Thomas Huxley, who never was accused of an overweening love for religion in any of its forms. He has the further advantage at present of being indifferent

to the hard names that may be called him as a weak brother of the faith scientific. "Man, the animal, in fact, has worked his way to the headship of the sentient world, and has become the superb animal which he is, in virtue of his success in the struggle for existence. The conditions having been of a certain order, man's organization has adjusted itself to them better than that of his competitors in the cosmic strife. In the case of mankind, the self-assertion, the unscrupulous seizing upon all that can be grasped, the tenacious holding of all that can be kept, which constitute the essence of the struggle for existence, have answered. For his successful progress, through the savage state, man has been largely indebted to those qualities which he shares with the ape and the tiger; his exceptional physical organization; his cunning, his sociability, his curiosity, and his imitativeness; his ruthless and ferocious destructiveness when his anger is roused by opposition. But in proportion as men have passed from anarchy to social organization, and in proportion as civilization has grown in worth, these deeply ingrained serviceable qualities have become defects. After the manner of successful persons, civilized man would gladly kick down the ladder by which he has climbed. He would be only too pleased to see 'the ape and tiger die.' But they refuse to suit his convenience; and the intrusion of these boon companions of his hot youth into the ranged existence of civil life adds pains and griefs innumerable and immeasurably great, to those which the cosmic process necessarily brings on the mere animal. In fact, civilized man brands all these ape and tiger promptings with the name of sins; he punishes many of the acts which flow from them as crimes; and, in extreme cases, he does his best to put an end to the survival of the fittest of former days by axe and rope. I have said that civilized man has reached this point; the assertion is perhaps too broad and general; I had better put it that ethical man has attained thereto. The science of ethics professes to furnish us with a reasoned rule of life; to tell us what is right action and why it is so. Whatever differences of opinion may exist among experts, there is a general consensus that the ape and tiger

methods of the struggle for existence are not reconcilable with sound ethical principles." [1]

Leaving out of account for the time being the objection against the *Industrial and Social History Series* of primary books that must be made in the name of religion and of decency, this series of books in themselves constitute an appalling revelation of the depravity into which an educational system may fall when left in the hands of those who reject the wisdom of the ages and the counsels of religion. But the books are as unscientific in their conception as they are gross and materialistic in their execution. It has cost the labor and the blood of unnumbered generations to rid civilized man of the dominance of those bestial elements which these educators would fan into flame in the hearts of the children of this generation. The whole striving of life in all its forms is to enable the offspring to begin the struggle where the parents have laid down the burden. But all this is brushed aside as of no avail in the series of books before us. The foundation upon which Miss Dopp would build a sound morality are the bestial promptings of Paleolithic man. Man's spiritual nature and his religious promptings are rejected and what else is there to build upon? The books are at least consistent and they should serve to show all who are interested in the problem what is the real meaning of the movement to banish religion from our schools that has gained such strength in our midst. Religion has lifted man from the slime of the earth and made him a child of God and when it ceases to exert its uplifting power man, like the fabled tortoise, falls back to his elemental condition. Our juvenile courts are crowded. Men on every side are deploring the rapid spread of juvenile crime and the disappearance of reverence from the hearts of our children. How long will it be before they turn their attention to the cause of the conditions which they deplore?

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

[1] Thomas H. Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics and other Essays*, New York, 1894, pp. 51–53.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Marie dans L'Église Anténicéenne, par E. Neubert. Paris : Victor Lecoffre (J. Gabalda & Cie). 12°, pp. xv, 282. 1908.

This work, a doctorate dissertation presented to the Faculty of Theology in the University of Freiburg (Switzerland), deals with the history of the doctrines regarding the Blessed Virgin from the time these doctrines found expression in the gospel narratives until the outbreak of the Arian controversy. It is divided into two parts : Mary in Dogma and Mary in Piety. The first part dealing with the "Human Maternity," "Virginity in the Conception of Jesus" and the "Divine Maternity" contains also a very useful chapter on the "Natus ex Maria Virgine" in the Creed. The second part takes up practically the same questions but from a different point of view. It contains chapters on the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin "in partu" and "post partum," on the Holiness of the Blessed Virgin, her coöperation in the work of Redemption and the veneration accorded to her in the early church.

An interesting conclusion to which the author arrives, as showing the unanimity of Christian tradition, is, that the formula γεννηθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου of the ante-Nicene church was the equivalent of the θεοτόκος of the post-Nestorian period. Though the purpose of the book is not polemical, it affords the most solid reasons for impeaching the validity of the arguments of Rösch, Lucius and others regarding the beginnings and the origin of devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Des Heiligen Irenäus Schrift zum Erweise der Apostolischen Verkündigung, ΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΓΜΑΤΟΣ, in armenischer Version entdeckt, herausgegeben und ins Deutsche übersetzt von Lic. Dr. Karapet, Ter-Mekerttschian, und Lic. Dr. Edward, Ter-Minassiantz, mit einem Nachwort und Anmerkungen von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1907. 8°, pp. viii, 69* + 66.

In 1904 the Archimandrite Karapet discovered in an Armenian translation this work of St. Irenaeus which previously was known

only through a reference in Eusebius, *His. Eccles.*, v. 26, who merely gives the title "In Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching" without quoting from it or indicating its contents. The learned Archimandrite and his confrère spent two years in preparing the Armenian text and a German translation for publication before sending it to Professor Harnack, who had one of his colleagues, Dr. Finck, examine the translation, which required few emendations. It is published as Part I of the thirtieth volume in the "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur." About the work itself little need be said. It is a "work of edification" addressed to a certain Marcian about whom nothing else is known, and while it cannot rank in importance with the "adversus Haereses" of the great bishop of Lyons, it occupies a unique place as throwing some light on the spiritual life of a second century Christian. The introduction by Dr. Karapet gives a valuable account of the way in which the work found its way into an Armenian translation, and the notes by Professor Harnack clear up many important historical questions in connection with the text itself.

P. J. Healy.

Index Patristicus sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum ex editione minore Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Lectionibus Editionum Minorum Funk et Lightfoot Admissis. Composuit Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph. D. Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1907. 8°, pp. viii + 262.

No more striking illustration of the progress made in patristic studies in recent years can be demanded than that offered by the publication of such a work as this. It is the last chapter to the controversy which shook Christendom a quarter of a century ago concerning the value of the works known as the writings of the "Apostolic Fathers." The defenders of the traditional opinions in regard to these documents achieved a substantial victory in their contention as to dates, authorship, etc., and so thoroughly vindicated the genuineness of the texts that no voice can now be raised against the advisability of publishing this concordance. The work of Professor Goodspeed and his collaborators is almost without a fault. If it would not be hypercritical one might say that it was not necessary to give separate references to different parts of the same noun or verb. Though published in Germany, the work was evidently prepared at the University of Chicago by Professor Goodspeed and ten of his pupils.

P. J. Healy.

Principles of Logic, by George Hayward Joyce, S. J., New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. Pp. xx + 431.

Catholic students who are preparing for public examinations at the non-Catholic Universities in Great Britain and Ireland, will find in this work an excellent summary of all they are required to know about the theory and practice of logic. They will welcome it as an excellent substitute for the works by Keynes, Welton, Fowler and Minto, on which they have hitherto been obliged to rely. They will find in it all that is worthy of commendation in the works by non-Catholic authors, and in addition, they will feel sure that the underlying theory of knowledge is neither the empiricism of Mill nor the idealism of Bradley and Green, but the traditional Aristotelian doctrine of the Schools.

In this country, where the standard is not fixed by public examinations, where the aim of the teacher is to impart a certain indispensable amount of information regarding the technicalities of logic, and over and above that, to train the mind of the pupil in the art of correct thinking and valid reasoning, the work before us will be found useful in the hands of a competent instructor. Its utility, however, would have been considerably enhanced and its general adoption as a text-book would have been facilitated, if the needs of the student and the requirements of pedagogical method, especially as these concern the beginner, had been kept clearly in view. Abstract ideas and technical definitions are, of course, inevitable in any work on logic; the important thing is to smooth the way for those who approach the subject with no other preparation than that which the usual Collegiate education supplies.

As a work intended for the teacher and the advanced student, it is excellent, both in content and in manner of presentation. A technical metaphysician may, indeed, pick a flaw in the definition of substances (page 137) as "Natures *which exist*, not as mere determinations, but in their own right," and the teacher who takes the pains to verify quotations, may discover that the citation from Jevons on pp. 321–322 is not textually accurate. The general reader may be somewhat bewildered by the ambiguous personal pronoun in the last sentence of the first paragraph on p. 121. But these are minor faults, which will, no doubt, be corrected in a future edition. German and French quotations (for instance on p. xii) will also bear revision and correction, and that distinguished Catholic layman, who has rendered such excellent service to scholastic philosophy, should be introduced to our

Catholic students of logic as Clemens Baeumker, not as A. Bäumker. In our opinion, the refutation of Mill's criticism of the syllogism should be stronger and more striking.

The work will probably supersede the volume on *Logic* in the Stonyhurst Series, and despite the few minor defects which have been mentioned, it must be regarded as an important and useful contribution to the science of logic.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Dieu et l'agnosticisme contemporain, par Georges Michelet, professeur à l'Institut catholique de Toulouse. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, 1909. 12mo, pp. xx + 416. Price, fr. 3.50.

During the past few years the problem of the origin and significance of religion has been one of the main objects of the attention of philosophers, and therefore no work could be more timely than a survey and discussion of the results obtained and the solutions attempted. By many it is held that the belief in God, as understood hitherto, is untenable, or, at least, no longer adapted to modern mental exigencies, and that in consequence traditional explanations of religious experience must be modified. Hence many criticisms have arisen, assuming different points of view, starting from different principles and proceeding by different methods, but all tending to revise our conceptions of God and to reconstruct the philosophy of religion on new bases. In the first part of his work, Professor Michelet classifies these critiques under three heads: the theory of the French sociological school, finding the adequate explanation of religious experience in social facts; religious pragmatism, especially that of James, with its theory of a subconscious origin of religion; and religious immanence both of liberal Protestants and of Modernists. While subjecting these theories to a thorough criticism and pointing out their deficiencies, he is ready to profit by whatever good is found in each, and to incorporate it into a less exclusive and less one-sided explanation, taking a comprehensive view of all the factors implied. In the second part these theories are contrasted with Christian spiritualism based on Thomistic psychology and philosophy. After examining the psychological origin of religion, and showing how the mind passes from a spontaneous to a reflective knowledge of God, the author proceeds to discuss the validity of this knowledge, and answers the objections raised by philosophical criticism (Bergson), scientific criti-

cism (Duhem, Poincaré) and religious criticism (Sabatier and the Modernists). The explanation given is far from that dry and lifeless intellectualism which alone falls under the criticism of pragmatists and immanentists. The rights of reason are asserted against their opponents, and at the same time man is not supposed to reach God only with his intelligence, but also with his heart, and will, and activity. "The solution offered by Christian spiritualism is a synthetic solution which sacrifices none of the legitimate exigencies of human nature, neither those of reason nor those of will." In the present condition of philosophical and religious unrest, Professor Michelet's work, for its forcible, yet always moderate, discussion of current views, as well as for its positive account of the religious life of humanity, is a valuable contribution to the problem of the philosophy of religion.

C. A. DUBRAY, S. M.

The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church, by Peter H. Burnett. Edited and abridged by Rev. James Sullivan, S. J. St. Louis: Herder, 1909. Pp. xxii + 425. Price, $1.50.

The fact that a book is reprinted fifty years after its publication is in itself no small indication of its merit. In the present instance, Father Sullivan has thought, and rightly, that our generation would derive some benefit from being shown the path which Governor Burnett, of California, began to follow sixty-five years ago, and which finally led him into the fold of the Church. Every step was taken with the greatest care, after weighing the evidence, considering the arguments and giving a verdict based exclusively on the merits of the case. Not unfrequently the author's conclusions are strengthened by principles from Kent, Blackstone and other eminent jurists, and throughout the work the reader feels that the writer himself is a most competent and impartial lawyer and judge. The first chapter is on the law of Christ, written and unwritten, its promulgation, authenticity, etc. Thence the author proceeds to study the visible Church of Christ, its governing power and infallibility, the primacy of Peter, the most important doctrines of the Catholic Church, and the objections against them. This new edition has been reduced to about one-half its original size by leaving out repetitions, subsidiary arguments and lengthy quotations. As it stands, it is both a well-merited tribute to

Judge Burnett's fair-mindedness and conscientiousness, and a putting forth in clear and forcible arguments of the claims of the Catholic Church and of the justice of these claims. Even if it does not meet all difficulties, nor perfectly suit all frames of mind—no apologetical work can do that—for Catholics and Protestants alike it will prove most useful and instructive reading.

C. A. DUBRAY, S. M.

Priest or Parson, or Let us be One; by Rev. James H. Fogarty. New York Christian Press, 1908. 12mo. 341 pp.

Many so-called Protestants of the present day are Protestants only in name. They have lost interest in the creeds of their fathers. They no longer read the bible. They rarely go to church. Of those who still remain faithful to their respective denominations, not a few are weary of the endless diversity of teaching that characterizes the Protestant pulpit, and are yearning for the reunion of the Christian churches.

It is chiefly to these classes of our separated brethren that the author of *Priest and Parson* addresses himself. He brings to them the kindly message that only in the Roman Catholic Church, founded by Christ, can true faith be found, and with it unity and fulness of Christian fellowship.

His book is easy reading, not burdened with much learning, not demanding deep thought. It seems to be meant for the busy man in the street. Its tone is friendly, courteous, sympathetic. The author reaches out the hand of welcome on the common ground of love of country and social morality, and invites his erring brethren to open their eyes to the bankruptcy of Protestantism and to the supreme excellence of Catholicism. His arguments are almost wholly those of testimony—tributes of eminent Catholics and non-Catholics to the excellence of the Roman Catholic Church, strictures by Protestant divines to the ineffective methods of Protestantism. In gathering this evidence to serve his purpose, the author has shown great diligence. His chief source has been the daily press. While he has produced a work both readable and useful for certain classes of minds, the friendly critic will wish that it had been better done. In the constructive portion, the claims of the Catholic Church are not set forth with sufficient fulness. There is no indication of the sources from which the numerous testimonies have been drawn. Most of these are clippings from newspapers, which the author probably thought it

needless to specify. But in chapter XI, and in the appendix, where the patristic evidence is given for early Christian belief in Church unity and in the divine institution of sacramental confession, testimonies occupying seventy-two pages and taken bodily from the work, *The Faith of Catholics*, the source of this borrowed material should have been indicated.

Some of the citations might have been curtailed, others omitted, without prejudice either to the argumentative or to the literary value of the volume. Thus the author might well have left the following anonymous citation where he found it :—"As the great river whose water leaps down a giant birth from its parent lake, ever blazing under the splendor of a tropical sun, yet ever fed by sources springing from snow-crowned mountains and changes in its course the desert into earth's fruitfullest region, so the river of God, welling forth on the day of Pentecost from the central abyss of divine love, bore down to all nations the one water of salvation" (p. 165). Nor is the language of the author himself always above reproach. There is more patriotism than grammatical neatness in this sentence found on page 30 :—"In the lurid glare and amid the din and smoke of battle, Catholic or Protestant, our war-cry has been identical :

> "The Union forever—Hurrah! boys, Hurrah!
> Down with the traitor—up with the stars."

The statement on page 159, "He charges thusly His apostles" grates harshly on the ear. Clearness cannot be predicated of the following sentence on page 272 :—"The spiritual anarchist may refuse to hear her, deny her truth and her mission, but she remains intact." In the opening pages, where love of country is shown to be a virtue common to Catholics and Protestants alike, the language is a little too bombastic, too suggestive of the fourth of July oration.

Will the majority of the readers into whose hands this book will fall, be blind to these deficiencies? Perhaps. At any rate, its genial optimism and readableness will help to make it acceptable.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Le catholicisme en Angleterre au XIX^e^ siècle, par Paul Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. 12mo., 256 pp.

The distinguished author of this little book has already written the history of the Catholic Revival in England in a recent work of three volumes, under the general title, *La renaissance catholique en Angle-*

terre au XIX^e siècle. The present volume consists of a series of six lectures delivered last spring in Paris, wherein the author gives a more succinct account of this highly interesting movement. After an introductory lecture, in which he gives a masterly survey of the wonderful growth of Catholicism during the last hundred years in Germany, the United States and England, he devotes the remaining five lectures to the story of the Oxford movement, which by its flood of conversions was instrumental in giving renewed life and prestige to the Catholic Church in England, and which at the same time, under the guidance of noble minded but inconsistent men like Pusey, developed in spite of bitter opposition, even persecution, into the numerous and energetic Ritualistic party. The great men who took a prominent part in the movement and in the Catholic Revival,—Cardinals Wiseman, Newman, Manning,—are admirably portrayed. Nor are the dark parts of the picture left out, particularly the unfortunate antagonism that arose between Manning and Newman, causing a breach in their friendship of earlier years that was destined never to be healed. The whole story is told with a breadth and sympathy of treatment, and with a literary skill that gives it the fascination of a romance.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Holy Eucharist, by the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, Bishop of Newport (The Westminster Library: a Series of manuals for Catholic Priests and Students, edited by the Right Rev. Bernard Ward, President of St. Edmund's College, and the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.). New York, London, Bombay, Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. xix–278.

"This book is presented to the reader as a useful manual and not as an exhaustive treatise." Manual or treatise, it is a model of clear and precise exposition of Catholic doctrine. Having studied the testimony of scripture about the institution of the Holy Eucharist, proved the Real Presence by Scripture and Tradition, Bishop Hedley states very distinctly the doctrine of Transubstantiation on this point. His careful and precise considerations about the notions of substance, species and accidents, as implied by the definition of the Church and the directions or enlightments which are therein given to the philosopher, may be especially mentioned. He then treats of the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrament, its use and effects, and of the question of frequent Communion. Studying the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrifice,

Bishop Hedley accepts the opinion which maintains that the very essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass consists in the double consecrations of the Bread and Wine ; he then describes the Liturgy of the Mass throughout the different countries and ages, past and present ; he explains the fruits and effects of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and closes with an important chapter for the most part historical, on the various forms of the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament.

All through the book, the exposition of the Catholic teaching is largely positive, yet the author has always an eye open to the contrary doctrine ; it is precise yet wonderfully clear, simple yet always scholarly. This book should be in the hands of every priest, seminarian and educated layman.

G. SAUVAGE.

Le guide des nerveux et des scrupuleux, par le R. P. Raymond, O. P., aumonier du Kneippianum a Woerishofen. Paris : G. Beauchesne et Cie, 1908. xvi + 452 pp. 3 francs, 50 centimes.

This book, as it suggested by the title, is essentially a practical work. The reader will not find here anything about the conditions of nervous disorders, hysteria or scruples which have not been described in divers medical treatises or by spiritual authors. He will however find these conditions adequately described and above all he will find enunciated in a simple, clear and very practical way the dispositions required and the directions to be followed in order to heal, or at least to help, both the soul and body of those who are the victims of these afflictions. The author is an experienced psychologist: on this point he has the valuable commendations of Drs. Bonnaynie of Lyons and Dubais of Berne ; but he is especially a priest speaking, consoling, encouraging and directing in a priestly way. We recommend this work to priests who have to deal with those who are afflicted by these most depressing infirmities.

G. SAUVAGE.

Le besoin et le devoir religieux, par Maurice Sérol, Docteur in Philosophie, Secrétaire Général de la *Revue de philosophie*. Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, 1908. 216 pp. 1 franc.

The general argument of this book is that in the present conditions of human life there is a fundamental tendency to action, orderly and harmonious action ; this tendency manifests the end which man is

obliged to reach. Yet man cannot find in his natural tendencies or in natural objects alone sufficient power or means to realize this activity. No naturalistic theory, Stoicism, pessimism or humanitarian evolutionism can possibly succeed in furnishing them ; far from perfecting human life, their principles destroy, depress or misdirect human activity. Religion alone is able to give the adequate means of fulfilling our human aspirations, and so the acceptance of religion appears as a need and a duty of man. But religion cannot exist unless it is based on dogmatic belief and directed by doctrinal authority ; it cannot last unless it is externally expressed in acts. The problem dealt with in this book is a fundamental one. The writer follows the classical argumentation so well outlined by Saint Thomas in his *Summa contra Gentes*, develops it with the data of psychology and opposes it successfully to various modern or modernistic theories.

G. Sauvage.

BOOK NOTICES.

Youthful aspirants to the ecclesiastical state will find very serviceable the English translation of PRIESTLY VOCATION AND TONSURE from the French of L. Bacuez, S. S. (New York, Cathedral Library Association, 1908, small 8o, pp. 314). The translator rightly says that there is nothing quite of its kind in English, also that the work has been considerably adapted and the chapter on clerical dress quite rewritten. As it is, the book "treats exhaustively of the first step in the ecclesiastical career, both as to instruction and meditation, being the ripe fruit of a rich experience," and exhibiting throughout both "unction and wisdom, a doctrine elevated and pure."

Catholic schools, families, and libraries, not to speak of individual readers, ought to rejoice at the appearance of "The St. Nicholas Series" of Catholic biographies, edited by the scholarly Dom Bede Camm (Benziger, New York, 1908). The neat and bright octavo volumes of something less than 200 pages each correspond to the "Saints" of the Paris house of Lecoffre, have each six excellent illustrations (colored, artistic, accurate) and sell for the modest price of eighty cents. Among the biographies so far printed we may mention VITTORINO DA FELTRE, A PRINCE OF TEACHERS, by a Sister of Notre Dame; THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH POPE, by F. M. Steele; GABRIEL GARCIA MORENO, REGENERATOR OF ECUADOR, by the Honorable Mrs. Maxwell-Scott; THE HOLY BLISSFUL MARTYR SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, by Robert Hugh Benson. These biographies are of course popularly written, but the well-known names of their authors are a guarantee that both text and spirit are what they ought to be for such works. The series deserves the highest praise both as to plan and execution. The paper, type, binding, and illustrations leave nothing to be desired. It is sincerely to be hoped that the venture will meet with great success, and that ere long the volumes will be numbered by hundreds. Possibly, at a later date, they might be issued in series of six or twelve, so as to form handy and portable libraries, *e. g.*, of statesmen, painters, educators, missionaries, etc., etc.

So much of early American ecclesiastical history was lived out along the lower Mississippi that all who are interested in the origins of the Church in the United States will welcome the charming booklet IN AND AROUND THE OLD ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL OF NEW ORLEANS by Rev. C. M. Chambon (New Orleans, Philippe's Printery, 1908, 8°, pp. 181). Both text and illustrations are very serviceable to the future historian, and Fr. Chambon deserves much credit for the pains and devotion he has given to this task of ecclesiastical piety.

It was quite fitting that the Westminster Eucharistic Congress of 1908 should call forth a reprint of the life of a saint whom Leo XIII in 1897 declared patron of all Eucharistic congresses and societies, both present and future, THE SAINT OF THE

EUCHARIST, SAINT PASCHAL BAYLON, patron of Eucharistic associations, adapted from the French of L. A. de Porrentruy (Paris, 1899), by Fr. Oswald Staniforth, O. S. F. C., (New York, Benziger, 1908, 8°, pp. 244, illustrated). The Spanish Franciscan, Saint Paschal Baylon (1540–1603), canonized in 1690 by Alexander VIII, exhibits in his humble origin, wonderful career, and later religious influence, the power of sainthood not only over individuals, but over nations and the entire Church. It is a wonderful tale, and worthy of frequent perusal, how this innocent shepherd lad of Aragon became an instrument of God for the regeneration of Catholicism amid the vicissitudinous conflicts of the latter half of the sixteenth century.

In sixty-two condensed chapters the gifted nun-authoress of the "Life of Catharine McAuley" and "Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy" begins the long and deeply interesting story of the Catholic Church in the far South, A CATHOLIC HISTORY OF ALABAMA AND THE FLORIDAS, by a Member of the Order of Mercy, Vol. I (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1908, 8°, pp. 373). Diocesan and institutional records have been put at her disposal; municipal records, files of old papers, valuable libraries, unpublished letters and diaries, have furnished her rare and interesting material. Standard works of civil and ecclesiastical history have been consulted, and out of it all a handsome volume has been made that reads like a romance, but is real truth, or rather the pale shadow of ancient historical truth, seeing that jealous time hangs an ever-thickening veil between the past and the present. Every chapter of United States Catholic missionary life is delightful reading for minds historically inclined, so rich, varied, lively, and highly personal are the details of such a narrative. But in this respect nothing can surpass the charm of a work in whose first chapters there pass rapidly before us the figures of De Soto, Las Casas, Admiral Melendez, Ponce de Leon, the martyr Father Cancer, the Irish governors O'Neil and O'Reilly, Galvez and Bishop Cyrillo, Lemoyne d'Iberville, the Hibernia Regiment and Irish priests in eighteenth century Florida, the Acadians, the trials and difficulties of religious and ecclesiastical life in Louisiana, the holy labors of the New Orleans Ursulines and the Mobile Visitandines, the generosity of an Almonaster too long forgotten, the strong personality of Patricio Walsh, etc., etc. It is to be hoped that an exhaustive index will accompany the closing volume of this work that deserves a place in every Catholic library, however humble, for it illustrates as few similar works do, the abiding power of the Word of God and the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, to overcome insuperable obstacles of climate, poverty, distance, apathy, neglect, and opposition, and to infuse forever into young hearts that spirit of self-sacrifice which is the great secret of the final successes of Catholicism. If the new South, as many believe, be trembling on the edge of a wonderful development, the Catholic Church will no doubt have her share of the hard work and the harvest, but can never afford to forget the pioneers of religion in earlier days.

Books of Sermons and religious instructions, though often apparently repetitions of one another, are also very often marked by an individuality of their own and continue therefore to find a reading public wider than many imagine; otherwise, publishers would scarcely accept so many such works. Among the latest is PENTECOST PREACHING, Twenty-Five Instructive Sermons on the Gospels for

the Sunday after Pentecost by Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist (London, Thomas Baker, 72 Newman Street, 1908, 8°, pp. 306). The diction of Fr. Devine is plain and clear, his doctrine accurate, his order simple and lucid. A useful synopsis precedes each sermon, making the book a very serviceable one, not only for the laity, but also for the clergy. Perhaps an "index rerum" would greatly enhance the utility of such a work that often contains gems of thought and diction not easily found by the reader who depends on the ordinary table of contents.

Some primitive martyrs, like Agatha and Cecilia, have at all times won the admiration of the Catholic world. Innocence, youth and beauty, crowned with the asphodels of violent death, appeal powerfully to every religious mind. The story of such an early martyr is told in a peculiar way in THE VENERATION OF SAINT AGNES, VIRGIN AND MARTYR, "Mary's waiting-maid," by Rev. Thomas Shearman, C. SS. R. (New York, Benziger, 8o, pp. 150). It is not so much the life of this holy Roman maiden that is put before us as a literary account of her veneration in Catholic liturgy, literature, and art; the devotion to her of saints and holy persons, popes and cardinals, religious orders and societies, and various countries. The work offers a multitude of interesting details, often romantic and poetic, and always of living interest and importance for the age to which they belong, whatever may be thought in individual cases, of their historic authenticity or reliability. Fr. Shearman has illustrated very well his theme, the universality, continuance and popularity of Catholic devotion to St. Agnes.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Bequest. By the will of the late Julius M. Foy of St. Louis, the University received the sum of One Thousand Dollars.

Visiting Committee. A Visiting Committee of the Board of Trustees, consisting of Archbishop Farley, Chairman, Archbishop Glennon, Bishop Harkins, Mr. George Walter Smith and the Rector, Very Rev. Dr. Shahan, met at Caldwell Hall, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, March 22, 23 and 24.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *May, 1909.* *No. 5.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED BY

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *May, 1909.* *No. 5.*

THE BLACK MONKS AND EDUCATION.

I.

The Rule of St. Benedict, crowded as it is with minute directions for the life of the monk, contains only a few short references to anything in the way of educational or intellectual work. In Chapter forty-eight "Of the daily manual Labour" we read, "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; and hence at certain seasons the brethren ought to occupy themselves in the labour of their hands, and at others in holy reading." Then the rule goes on to apportion the time for each of these occupations according to the horarium for the summer and winter months respectively. The period allowed for reading varies roughly between two and three hours, according to the season, while that allotted to manual labor is three or four times as long. In Lent the time for reading is lengthened by an hour; for, says the Saint, "In these days of Lent let each one receive a book from the library, and read it all through in order. These books are to be given out at the beginning of Lent." Moreover, "On Sunday let all occupy themselves in reading, except those who have been appointed to the various offices. And, if anyone should be found so ignorant and slothful as to be unwilling or unable to study or to read, let some task be given him which he may do and so avoid idleness."

At first, probably, the number of those unable to study or to

read was not inconsiderable, for, in Chapter thirty-eight "Of the weekly Reader," it is expressly provided that "the brethren are not to read . . . according to their order, but only such as may edify the hearers;" while the brother chosen as reader for the week must "ask all to pray for him, that God may turn away from him the spirit of pride."

Now it is a recognized fact that, within a few generations of St. Benedict's death, we find his monasteries the only homes of learning and education, and so it is but right to ask whence came the influence by which the relative positions of manual and mental labor were practically reversed.

Some three or four years before St. Benedict's death the old politician, Cassiodorus, himself an exact contemporary of the great monastic legislator, had retired in disgust from public service. "The dream of his life," writes Professor Hodgkin, "had been to build up an independent Italian state, strong with the strength of the Goths, and wise with the wisdom of the Romans. That dream was now scattered to the winds. Providence had made it plain that not by this bridge was civilization to pass over from the Old World to the New. Cassiodorus accepted the decision, and consecrated his old age to religious meditation and to a work even more important than any of his political labors . . ., the preservation by the pens of monastic copyists of the Christian Scriptures, and of the great works of classical antiquity."

Of course there had been learned monks before the time of Cassiodorus. Pelagius, Nestorius, Eutyches, all 'intellectuals' to the point of heresy, had evolved their misshapen systems in the cloister. Again, on the side of orthodoxy, the very type of the learned scholar is to be found in St. Jerome, a monk himself and probably the most eloquent apologist the monastic state has ever had.

Upon the whole, however, though the idea of using the monastery as a place of literary toil and intellectual activity was by no means new, Cassiodorus seems certainly the first to have used it for this purpose both systematically and on an extensive scale. Such an idea was entirely in harmony with the spirit of St. Benedict's rule, although it is certainly not

formulated therein, and Cassiodorus, as he grows eloquent over his monastic *Scriptorium* might be writing a commentary on the words of St. Benedict "*otiositas inimica est animae.*"

Monte Cassino, the home of St. Benedict's later years, is in Campania, some two hundred and thirty miles north of Squillace where Cassiodorus founded his two monasteries, and directly on the main road from that place to Rome. The old statesman must have passed beneath it time after time in the course of his long public career, but there is no indication to be found in his writings that he ever even heard of his great contemporary the 'Father of Monks' whose work was destined to so completely absorb his own.

Strange as this may be, however, it is but one more instance of the extent to which Providence took possession of the labors of these two men. Born in the same year, 480 A. D., the one at the age of sixteen fled from a world which he feared would be too strong for him, while the other left it at sixty confessing that his whole life's work had failed. Both sought sanctuary in the cloister. Probably as they did so, nothing was farther from the mind of either than that the result of their joint action was to be the reconstruction of the world they had abandoned.

For it is the spirit of Cassiodorus, regulated and developed by the discipline of St. Benedict, which produced the monastic idea of education, the monastic schools, writers and teachers. No one suggests that these teachers and writers were all of them scholars of exceptional ability. It is easy for us to criticize their ideas, and to smile at the homeliness of their methods. But, when all is said and done, it is to these men who loved learning for its own sake and for the sake of Him who is the source of wisdom, that we of to-day are indebted for the preservation, not only of the Sacred writings, but also for all that survives to us of the secular literature of a civilization from which they fled as it sickened and passed away.

It must be owned that, with regard to the kind of labor which should occupy a monk chiefly, the practice of the seventh or eight century differs not a little from the theory as laid down by St. Benedict in his rule. The question as to whether

or no this difference implies a change in anything essential involves a short enquiry into the fundamental principles of the monastic state.

At the very outset, in the Prologue to his rule, St. Benedict reminds the monk of the prime purpose of his life, viz., "that thou mayest return by the labor of obedience to Him from whom thou hadst departed by the sloth of disobedience." "We must there establish a school of the Lord's service," he continues later in the Prologue, "so that never departing from His guidance, but persevering in His teaching in the monastery till death, by patience we may share in the sufferings of Christ, and so may deserve to be partakers of His kingdom."

All the provisions of the Holy Rule; the three vows of stability, conversion and obedience, the prayer both public and private, the manual labor, silence, fasting and penance, all are enjoined to the one end, that by them the monk may return to a perfect obedience of the law of God from whom sin and disobedience has led him away.

There is here no notion of founding an "Order." St. Benedict has in his mind no special need of the Church to which his children shall minister. He is merely laying down a few directions, "a little rule which we have written for beginners," he calls it, to help any who may find it helpful, that "by observing it in monasteries, we may show ourselves to have some degree of goodness of life and a beginning of holiness." Nothing could be more general, more fundamental than the words in which he encourages his disciples to perseverance. "Let them most patiently endure one another's infirmities whether of body or of mind. Let them vie with one another in obedience. Let no one follow what seemeth good for himself but rather what seemeth good for another. Let them cherish fraternal charity with a pure love, let them fear God, let them love their Abbot with sincere and humble affection, and let them prefer nothing whatever to Christ."

Most men know how hard it is to apply the broad principles of Christian ethics to the petty details of everyday life. It was precisely to make this application easy for his monks that St. Benedict's rule was written. Every man who seeks his true

vocation asks himself the same question, "Where shall I, personally, be best able to serve and love God best?" In St. Benedict's time no small number found the answer, "In the cloister," and it was the saint's privilege to set down the main outlines which that service of love should take.

In St. Benedict's system there are two primal motives, labor and prayer: and from the union of these two a third proceeds inevitably and that is the love of God. The day begins with prayer: the tools and farm implements are brought into the choir and blessed, and at frequent intervals the round of labor is interrupted that the *Opus Dei* may be resumed in another of the Canonical Hours, and when night comes the dual service is completed with the office of Compline which many authorities hold to be the Saint's personal addition to the Divine Office.

Such a life, lived for the most part in silence, amid surroundings of a stern simplicity, would soon exhaust the endurance of any man if it were not sanctified and ennobled by the motive of love. Life for a monk means obedience, and in obedience the will of the servant is one with that of his master, and the union of wills is love. No one understands better than the monk those words of the beloved disciple, "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life." Finally, that this obedience of the monk's will to that of God may be as simple and direct as possible, St. Benedict writes, "The Abbot . . . is considered to hold in the monastery the place of Christ, since he is called by His name."

The purpose of the monk then in leaving the world is that he may live his life through in an obedience, as nearly perfect as possible, to Him whose kingdom is not of this world. As to the particular species of work which his Abbot gives him to do, that is the Abbot's affair, not the monk's. It is all one to him, manual labor or mental, pleasing or repugnant, his own will is sunk in the will of Christ and the Abbot fills Christ's place in the monastery. Nay, St. Benedict even legislates for the circumstance of his being ordered to do something impossible; "Let him seasonably and with patience lay before his Superior the reasons of his incapacity to obey, without showing pride, resistance or contradiction. If, however, after this

the Superior still persists in his command, let the younger know that it is expedient for him, and let him obey for the love of God trusting in His assistance."

Once, therefore, it is fully realized that the Rule of St. Benedict is not concerned with an "Order," but with a state of life, all the apparent inconsistency of the change from manual to mental labor vanishes. It remains, however, to explain why this change took place or rather what the circumstances were which led to the latter gradually supplanting the former in the almost imperceptible growth and development of the Western monastic system.

Of all the seventy-three chapters of the Holy Rule none is more surprising to the modern mind than chapter fifty-nine, "Of the sons of nobles or of poor men who are offered," it reads as follows: "If, perchance, any nobleman shall offer his son to God in the monastery, let the parents, should the boy himself be still in infancy, make his promise (petitionem) for him as aforesaid;[1] and let them wrap the child's hand and the promise itself, together with their oblation[2] in the altar cloth, and so offer him. With regard to his property they must in the same promise declare on oath that they never, either personally, or through any one else, or in any way at all, will give him anything or be an occasion of his owning anything. Or else, if they be unwilling to do this, and wish to offer something as an alms to the monastery for their own good, let them make a gift of whatever they will to the monastery reserving the income to themselves for life, if they so please. And by this means let all ways be barred so that no appearance (suspicio) may remain whereby the child may be deceived, which God forbid, and perish as we have known to happen. And in like manner also let those who are poorer do. But those who have nothing at all may simply make the written promise and offer their son with the oblation before witnesses."

[1] The reference is to the written schedule of profession—signed at the altar by the monk when he takes his vows, as detailed in the preceding chapter fifty-eight.

[2] *Cum oblatione*, that is with the offering of bread and wine, which the parents made at the offertory of the Mass in which their child was consecrated to God.

The children thus consecrated to God in the monastic state remained thenceforth in the monastery. Strange as it seems to us now, they were looked upon as being bound by the vows their parents made for them, just as fully as the ordinary monk was bound by the vows he made after his noviciate; and indeed we have no recorded instance where a child so offered and consecrated to the monastic state subsequently abandoned the cloister, though it is hard to think such cases can have been rare. Be that as it may, the child-monks were by no means few and, as they grew up their education had to be provided for; consequently, in meeting this need, the cloister of necessity developed into a school.

How long it was before the custom began of sending to the claustral schools boys not intended for the monastic state, it is very hard to say. There can be no doubt that when the great revival of religion came under Charlemagne the claustral schools extended their activities enormously, and some authorities have even gone so far as to assert that, before that time, no boy not intended for the monastic state was ever admitted into them. In view of the scarcity of evidence on this point, it is quite futile to dogmatise either way, but since apparently in Charlemagne's day the admission of many non-monastic pupils was effected without opposition on the part of the monastic authorities, it is probably the case that this class of scholars was not unknown in the preceding period.

The formal system of education followed in these claustral schools seems to have been remarkably uniform all over Europe. It was the old curriculum of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium,* or study of the Seven Sciences which, formulated ages before by the great heathen philosophers, had been adopted later by the Church largely through the influence of St. Augustine who describes it in his *De Ordine* as the fitting and sufficient preparation for theological learning.

Before proceeding to give its details, however, one other point deserves to be noticed. Children are proverbially impressionable. The children of the monastery, living always in an atmosphere of a very special type, the *summa quies* of monasticism, would naturally develop a special monastic cast of character.

The unvarying routine, the frequent services, the gradual procession of the liturgy throughout the year, all these would be so many educating influences at work to form a monastic character in the child of the promise, training him unconsciously in a kind of noviciate *after* the vows.

To this the education of the claustral school was superadded. The child-monk would not begin to be formally instructed until he reached his seventh year, but, without knowing it, he had been at school all his life and the cloister had been his schoolroom where, in St. Benedict's own words, he had been literally trained up in a "school of the Lord's service."

Already at seven years old the little monk would know the Psalter by heart, for this was a *sine qua non* for all ecclesiastics. It would be learned of course in the Latin version of the Church, which already in the Italy of St. Benedict's day was beginning to have an archaic taste in the mouths of those to whom Latin was a native tongue. Then, this great lesson mastered, the pupil entered the schoolroom proper and began upon his sevenfold course of study.

Part I, the *Trivium,* consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric and Dialectic, studied usually in that order, Grammar at any rate being always the first.

Grammatica, exclusively Latin, by the way, comprised:—(*a*) Grammar and Syntax; (*b*) Style, studied chiefly for subsequent use when the pupil reached the science of Rhetoric; (*c*) Prosody and Accentuation: verse writing being a highly valued accomplishment, though usually of a type rather far distant from the best classical models; (*d*) Punctuation and Orthography, which would include practical work in the monastic *Scriptorium;* (*e*) Literary Commentary.

For the study of Grammar, the mother of all seven sciences, the manuals of Priscian and Donatus were most commonly used. The great Latin poets, rhetoricians, and historians were the models of style, the number and variety read being fixed by the limits of the monastic library. Virgil, of course, came first of all in popular esteem, Livy and Suetonius were perhaps the next favorites after Virgil, but it would not be difficult

to produce evidence for the study of almost all the great Latin classics.

Rhetoric, the next branch of the *Trivium,* seems to have been far more limited in its scope than the previous study of Grammar. Attention was confined strictly to the study of actual Rhetoric, and in particular to forensic Oratory. Preaching, as we think of it to-day, seems at first to have been practically unknown among the monks. No doubt his knowledge of rhetoric would unconsciously train the monk for the work of preaching, but it was for legal purposes primarily that he studied Cicero and Quintilian.

Dialectica, which completed the *Trivium,* comprised (*a*) Logic, and (*b*) Elementary metaphysics and psychology. Of these Logic was made by far the more important branch. Much time was spent over it and the subject was treated with the utmost minuteness. For Dialectic the favorite books were Aristotle's *Organon,* translated by Boethius, and Cicero's *Topics* annotated by the same hand. Besides these Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle, and the writings of Victorinus the Orator were largely used. Not unfrequently also the student would venture further afield in such works as Plato's *Timaeus,* the *Consolations of Philosophy,* by Boethius, and St. Augustine's *De Libero Arbitrio.*

Thus the *Trivium* was really a grounding in what is now called *litterae humaniores,* intended to educate and expand the mental powers *before* they were directed to the study of "Science," in the modern sense of the word, or of other more specialized subjects.

Part II, the *Quadrivium,* was subdivided into Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music, the names being used in a somewhat different sense from what they convey nowadays.

Arithmetica: this was the science of number. Actual arithmetical science was then very complicated as the Roman, not the Arabic, system of numeration was used. For convenience in calculation use was made of a mechanical contrivance called the *abacus.* This was a table or board strewn with powder on which were traced columns proportionate in number to the extent of the sums to be multiplied or divided; units, tens,

hundreds, etc., each having their proper column. In more elaborate examples the table had grooves with sliding buttons instead of columns traced in dust.

The study of Arithmetic was undertaken very largely for the sake of the *Computum* or science of the ecclesiastical calendar, which involved also some knowledge of astronomy. Besides this much of the student's attention was devoted to the mystical significations of numbers. To us nowadays there is something rather childish and irritating in the elaborate interpretations of scripture based upon the mystical value of figures; but the fact that men like St. Gregory the Great literally revelled in this kind of exegesis shows clearly how differently it was regarded in the early mediæval centuries. At first the chief manuals of the science were those of Boethius and Cassiodorus, which were superseded later by the works of Ven. Bede, Alcuin, Abbo of Fleury and Gerbert (Sylvester II).

Geometria comprised merely the elementary portions of what is now called practical geometry. It consisted almost wholly of simple rules for the measurement of plane surfaces, and of heights and depths. Even Gerbert's treatise on the subject does not go beyond this.

Astronomia, as might be expected, was of a very primitive type. The current orthodox theory conceived of the earth as a plane, beneath the solid vault of the sky, which vault revolved from East to West completing one revolution every twenty-four hours. The Earth itself was regarded as divided into five zones, septentrional, torrid, equinoctial, foggy and austral. The student was required to know the signs of the Zodiac, the principal fixed stars, the planets, the solstices and equinoxes, and the movements of the Sun and Moon. Comets, which were known as "hairy stars" were regarded as portents, usually foreboding ill.

The popular manual on the subject was the Ven. Bede's compilation from Pliny and Denis the Little. In the twelfth century the works of Ptolemy, which had been in common use among the Arabs during the whole mediæval period, began once more to attract some attention in the West. For practical purposes the sole use made of the science of Astronomy was for

calculating the ecclesiastical calendar. It tended, however, to degenerate into Astrology as appears from many popular legends to be found all over Europe.

The idea of the monastic educators clearly was that science itself and scientific studies were for men and men only. It was necessary therefore that the mental powers of the student should be 'broadened and deepened and heightened' by the preliminary course of the *Trivium,* before proceeding to branches of study liable to do as much harm as good to minds which approached them without being trained and tempered by the previous systematic exercises.

Musica, the last branch of the *Quadrivium* was not the practical teaching of choir music. That was called *Cantus,* was taught by the Precentor and learned almost entirely by rote until the ninth century, when musical notation began to be used as an aid to memory. The Science of Music, which is here referred to, consisted in the study of the relation of sound to number, the laws of acoustic, the harmony of the stars and of creation. It was considered as the perfection and linking up of all the preceding sciences, and in it the student might spend many years of private study and speculation for, practically speaking, it amounted to the theory and practice of Mysticism.

Such in brief outline was the course of education which the claustral school offered, and it is worth notice how, but for the absence of Greek, it presents in the main very much the same features as did the Public School and University course of Europe until quite recent times.

The belief in the excellence of the great classical writers as a mental training; the postponement of all specializing until these were thoroughly mastered, and the relatively small value of the scientific portion, in the modern sense of the word, as compared with the classical one; all these are to be found in both the systems under comparison. Nor will the wise critic find much to quarrel with in the theory so far as it was able to go in the period of which we have been speaking. Nothing probably can be found comparable to the ancient classics as a mental training, and if the necessary time be given to securing

this first of all, it will not be found wasted when, later on, the attention is turned to more specialized or more scientific subjects. Of course if there is an absolute necessity of getting the earliest possible return in cash for what has been expended in education, then the complete ideal may have to be curtailed with the risk or the certainty of some intellectual jerry-building; but if it can be and is in fact carried through to completion, then the whole educational edifice, based on the firm pediment of ancient knowledge and completed with the latest attainments of science will produce a breadth of view and a sureness of mental grip which cannot be attained in any other way.

Beyond the curriculum outlined above the education of the monastic school would not go unless the subject were intended for the priesthood, or else displayed a marked aptitude for some special branch of study. The later branches of science or art would take one or other of the following forms.

Theology. Before the eleventh century this consisted almost entirely in the collection of authoritative texts from Holy Scripture and from the Fathers. These *loci* were arranged in order and explained or commented on literally, allegorically, morally, and mystically. Not a few such *catenae* of passages have come down to us, but nothing in the way of a regular system or of reasoned deduction from these premises seems to have been attempted before the time of Lanfranc.

The Learned Languages, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic were all studied, here and there, by a few scholars. Such studies, however, were outside the usual course of education and can usually be traced to some special cause, such for example as the appointment of the Greek monk Theodore as Archbishop of Canterbury, and disappear rapidly with the removal of the exceptional circumstances which evoked them.

Civil and Canon Law claimed attention in most of the larger monasteries. As the great Abbeys increased in wealth and influence it was inevitable that they should be involved in disputes regarding their rights both civil and ecclesiastical. Moreover, the archives of these great monastic corporations soon came to be of the utmost importance in disputes relating to

real property, since their charters and records furnished valuable evidence, often the only evidence, as to the past history of families, lands, manors, etc. The chief authorities studied were Justinian, Denis the Little, the *Codex Canonum,* and, in the twelfth century, Gratian.

The Study of Medicine. The Jews were the physicians in highest repute during the Middle Ages, but in the monasteries much study was devoted to Celsus, Galen and Hippocrates. Herbalism also was both taught and practised, and the hospitals of the time were usually to be found attached to monasteries. Every house had its own 'Infirmarian' and the care of the sick has always been a special feature among the monks ever since St. Benedict ordered in his rule that "they be served in very deed as Christ himself."

The Fine Arts, lastly, especially Architecture, Goldsmiths' work, Painting and Illuminating, were held in the highest esteem in the monasteries. We have in Museums, Cathedrals and elsewhere such countless exquisite examples of monastic skill in these arts that it is difficult to realize that all this wealth of beautiful things forms but the merest fraction of the sum total of artistic creation turned out century after century by these skilful and untiring craftsmen. It is probably the case that what has perished by destruction, loss and decay would outweigh many times over the entire mass of mediæval art work now in existence, and of this far the larger portion was produced in the workshop of the cloister.

Enough has now been said of the general idea of education which prevailed in the monastic schools during the mediæval period, comprising the years often described as the 'Benedictine centuries.' It remains now to show how this educational idea worked out in practice and covered Europe with a network of monasteries, some great, some humble, but all in their degree contributing to carry on that work of re-casting a world in which the older civilization had perished, and in the process unconsciously evolving what is probably the most perfect presentment of the Church One, Catholic and Holy which the ages have ever seen.

G. Roger Hudleston, O. S. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

NOTE.—It would be quite easy to construct a Bibliography of several thousand entries bearing on the subject matter of these articles. In compiling the present lists a selection has been made of those volumes, articles, etc., which the writer has found most useful, or which give full details of matters merely indicated in the text. In some cases a short note has been added to explain the special value or bearing of the work in question. It has been thought best to give a bibliographical list with each article, but the general works mentioned at the outset will not be again referred to, it being understood that they cover the subject more or less completely. The present list therefore includes for the most part works dealing with the subject in general, the later articles will have more special bibliographies for individual countries, schools, etc. Should it happen that lists aiming at completeness be desired they may be found in various Standard Bibliographies of which the following are perhaps the most useful.

Chevalier, U. *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age.* 4 vols. Paris, 1877–1907.

Courtenay, W. P. *Register of National Bibliography.* 2 vols. London, 1905. (Useful but incomplete.)

Hurter, H. *Nomenclator Literarius.* 4 vols. Innsbruck, 1892–1899.

Langlois, Ch. V. *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique.* Paris, 1896.

Potthast, A. *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1896. (Quite indispensable.)

Stein, H. *Manuel de Bibliographie Générale.* Paris, 1897. (Invaluable.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO ARTICLE I.

(1) BIBLIOGRAPHIES; MONASTIC AND EDUCATIONAL.

Francois, Dom. *Bibliothèque Générale des Écrivains de l'Ordre S. B.* 4 vols. Bouillon, 1777.

Ziegelbauer, M. *Historia Rei Literariae O. S. B.* 4 vols. Aug: Vin: 1754.

Hall, G. S. & Mansfield, J. M. *Hints towards a . . . Bibliography of Education.* Boston, 1886.

Sonnenschein's *Cyclopedia of Education*, ed. A. E. Fletcher. 1892, pp. 522–562.

(2) GENERAL HISTORIES; MONASTIC AND EDUCATIONAL.

d'Achéry, L. *Specilegium*, ed. Baluze & Marténe. 3 vols. Paris, 1723.

Mabillon, J. *Annales O. S. B.* 6 vols. Paris, 1703–1739.

" *Acta Sanctorum O. S. B.* 9 vols. 1668–1701.

Yepes, A. de. *Cronica General de la Orden O. S. B.* 7 vols. Valladolid, 1609–1621. (Invaluable but very rare.)

Drane, A. T. *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 2 vols. London, 1867. (Useful, rather popular.)

Maitre, L. *Les Écoles Épiscopales et Monastiques.* A. D. 768–1180. Paris, 1866. (Useful, but rather out of date.)

Theiner, A. *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten.* Mainz, 1835.

(3) St. Benedict and Cassiodorus.

Benedict, St. *Regula.* P. L., LXVI, 215–932.
Acta Sanctorum Boll. 21 Martii, III, 274–277.
Gregory, St. *Dialogues Book II.* P. L., LXVI, 126–204, and many translations.
l'Huillier, A. *Le Patriarche S. Benoit.* Paris, 1905.
Tosti, L. *Life of St. Benedict,* transl.: W. R. Woods. London, 1896.
Cassiodorus, M. A. *Opera.* P. L., LXIX, LXX.
Franz, A. *M. A. Cassiodorus Senator.* Breslau, 1872.
Hodgkin, T. *Letters of Cassiodorus.* London, 1886. (Contains valuable introduction.)
Mommsen, Th. *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator.* Leipzig, 1861. (Introduction specially valuable.)
Olleris, A. *Cassiodore conservateur des livres de l'antiquité Latine.* Paris, 1841.
Strangl, Th. *Zu Cassiodorus Senator.* Vienna, 1888.
Tross, L. *Nachricht f. d. kunftigen Bearbeiter des Cassiodor. In Pertz.* Archiv, VI, p. 487.

(4) Benedictine Development.

Digby, K. H. *Mores Catholici.* Book X. London, 1840.
Grutzmacher, G. *Die Bedeutung Benedikts in der Geschichte des Mönchtums.* Berlin, 1892.
Hannay, J. O. *Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism.* London, 1903.
Montalembert, Cte. *Monks of the West.* 6 vols. London, 1896. (See especially Introduction to this edition by Dom F. A. Gasquet.)
Newman, J. H. *Mission of St. Benedict.* (One of the most masterly studies on monasticism ever written.)
——. *Benedictine Schools.* (Sequel to the above.) Both reprinted in Historical Sketches, II.
Rabanus Maurus. *De Oblatione Puerorum.* P. L., CVII, 419–440.

(5) Educational Development.

Augustine, St. *De Doctrina Christiana.* P. L., XXXIV, 15–122.
Alcuin, B. *Opera Didascalica.* P. L., CI, 849–1002.
Histoire Litteraire de la France, publ. par les Bénédictins de la Cong. de France. Vols. IV–XV. Paris, 1733–1893.
Hugli, P. *Der h. Benedict. Erziehung der studierenden Jugend,* in *Studien u. Mittheilungen aus dem Benediktiner-Orden,* VI (1885). Band I, 141–162.
Hugh of St. Victor. *Didascalicum.* P. L., CLXXVI, 739–838.
Isidore of Seville, St. *Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX.* P. L., LXXXII, 73–848.
John of Salisbury. *Metalogicus.* P. L., CXCIX, 823–946.
Mabillon, J. *Traité des Études Monastiques.* Paris, 1691.
Marcianus Capella. *Satyricon.* Libri IX.
Rabanus Maurus. *De Institutione Clericorum.* P. L., CVII, 293–420.
Specht, F. A. *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland.* Stuttgart, 1883.
Willmann, O. *Arts, the Seven Liberal, Cath. Encyc.,* I, 760–765. New York, 1907.

THE CATHOLIC GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL; ITS AIMS AND IDEALS.

Historically, the High-school or Academy holds the primacy among our educational institutions. Our present elementary school system is of comparatively recent origin. The Universities of to-day can trace the story of their origins in the records of the mediæval universities of Paris and Bologna and Oxford. But four centuries before Stephen Langton [1] was the distinguished head of the incipient University of Paris, High-schools had sprung up under the fostering hand of Charlemagne in practically every Cathedral city of Europe. The Irish monks who flocked to the shores of continental Europe, "contempto pelagi discrimine" as a tenth century writer [2] puts it, nobly seconded the work which had been begun by Alcuin, the Father of modern education. The seven liberal arts which comprised the course of study in the cathedral and monastic schools of Alcuin's day were the forerunners of the enriched curricula which are placed before High-school pupils to-day. An institution which has served the cultural and practical needs of humanity for upward of eleven hundred years and still flourishes with the vigor of youth, must have aims and ideals which are worthy of study. It is to this subject, therefore, that I wish to direct attention in the following pages.

To attempt to assign any single object as the exclusive aim of High-school training would be a futile and unprofitable task. There are those who say that the function of the High-school is to impart culture, to lay broad and deep the foundations of a liberal education. Others there are who insist that such Academic training should be eminently practical and should fit the pupils for the immediate duties of life. The fact is that the purpose of Academic education is not simple but com-

[1] "Gymnasii Parisiensis decus et rector;" Trithemius, CDXXIII.
[2] See Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 242.

plex, not one but manifold. Professor James, of Harvard, tells us that each person is composed of several selves, of a hierarchy of *mes*.[3] There is the physical me, my bodily make-up; then there is the social me, which consists of my relations to the rest of the world, and finally there is the intellectual or spiritual me, the mind. Here are three selves, as it were, and Academic education must aim at the appropriate development of each and at the same time the harmonious development of all.

It will be seen at a glance that the arrangement of the High-school curriculum is a great and complex problem. And this problem, difficult in itself, has been indefinitely complicated by the attempt to provide an Academic course equally suited to boys and girls. The co-educational High-school is an educational blunder because the general aim of a girl's education is different from that of boys. True education means the natural development of our faculties, and all authorities agree that men and women differ characteristically in every organ and tissue and faculty.[4] As Huxley once observed, "What has been decided among pre-historic protozoa cannot be annulled by act of Parliament." A condition which is inherent in human nature will not be altered by the decision of a school-board. Girls are not inferior to boys; they are simply different. The education of one is not suited to the needs of the other. The identical education of boys and girls must tend to feminize the boys and de-feminize the girls. No stretch of imagination can justify an education which aims to approximate the ideals, the lives and habits of women to those of men. Our Catholic education must aim to make boys more manly and girls more womanly. As Bishop Spalding says: "Nor gods nor men love mannish woman or a womanish man." The Catholic Church, therefore, with the wisdom that has always characterized her, has here anticipated the teaching of the most advanced pedagogy and has given her adolescent girls to the care of the devoted Sisters, while she places her boys under the firmer hand of manly discipline.

[3] *Psychology*, I, 291-296.

[4] "Our modern knowledge of woman represents her as having characteristic differences from man in every organ and tissue." G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, II, 561. Cf. also, Shields, *The Education of our Girls*, chapters II and XI.

When we pass from the general to the particular aims of Academic training, the same truth is borne home to us with increasing conviction. The important physical changes which take place during the age of adolescence make it the primary duty of the school to provide for the health and physical constitution of the pupils. The attempt to subject girls to the same severe grind and strain which boys must be put through cannot but be productive of anæmic and nervous children who will never thank you for the intellectual training that has been purchased at the cost of their life's blood. This is the crime of contemporary education—the pitting of girls against boys in the class-room, between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The boys need constantly to be urged on; the girls are goaded on by the spurs meant for the boys, until their physical strength is stretched to the breaking point and there comes a physical collapse that not all the pharmacies in the world can repair. I think that we ought to baptize Hygeia, the old Greek goddess of health, and erect an altar to her in every girls' High-school.

Closely related to the hygienic aim of the school is the economic. The school is a preparation for life and life's problems. While our boys are in the trades' school or taking a course in industrial training in the High-school, our girls must pursue a course in domestic science. It is Professor Dewey [5] who says that the correlation of studies in the High-school will never be effective until the studies are correlated with life. It is in the laboratory and workshop, in the class of industrial training and domestic science that the school is brought into touch with life. It was an old Jewish maxim that he who teaches not his son a trade doth the same as if he taught him to be a thief. If we cannot say the same of the mother who fails to instruct her daughter in domestic economy, we can at least declare with all emphasis that no girl is educated who is not a competent housekeeper. Our girls will not be asked as St. Paul was when he was in Jerusalem, "Canst thou speak Greek?" but she will be asked, Can you manage a household economically?

Above and beyond its immediate and practical utility, in-

[5] *School and Society*, pp. 77–110.

dustrial and domestic training has an influence on the ideals of the pupil which is freighted with untold benefits to the individual and to society. There is no social ideal to-day so false and so pernicious as that which has given rise to the servant problem. There is no more damaging indictment that can be brought against the educational system of to-day than this, that it has fostered the idea that service is ignoble. We have had a generation of High-school boys who disdained to accept an apprenticeship in the industrial trades. No! They were not educated for that, and they have broken the hearts of their parents and have filled the penitentiaries with educated criminals. We have had a generation of High-school girls who knew little and cared less about the care of the household. Their chief concerns were the fripperies of dress and the trivialities of their social existence. They have been the source of the gravest of our sociological problems because young men of moderate income could not afford to marry them, or they have flooded the divorce courts because they were neither willing nor able to adjust themselves to the simple duties of the home. Industrial or domestic training in the school should give pupils a truer perspective in life; it should teach them that work and service are ennobling. It should spread the spirit of Him who was foretold by the prophets as the "Servant of Israel," who labored at the humble duties of the carpenter trade and who has left for His followers the sublime law of Service; "Whosoever shall be the greater among you, let him be your minister, and he that will be first among you, shall be your servant." This will be the solution of the greatest of our social problems, and here and not in the extension of suffrage nor other political machinery lies the hope of the future.

The cultivation of the intellect, the expansion of the mental faculties by appropriating the spiritual inheritances of the race, such is commonly conceded to be the crowning purpose of Academic training.[6] It has been the dream of educators to

[6] Thus Butler defines education as "a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race." *The Meaning of Education*, p. 17. On this view the High School enjoys the primacy educationally as well as historically.

devise a universal High-school curriculum which would be administered impartially to all pupils and through which the maximum of intellectual culture would be imparted. It is a dream which can be entertained no longer. Such a curriculum might have been possible in a school devoted to a single social class before the wonderful expansion of knowledge which has come in these recent times. But in a condition such as obtains in America where the school must address itself to every social class, and in an age when the well-springs of knowledge are bursting forth on every side it is futile to talk of a one course High-school. We beg, too, respectfully to bid adieu to the educational theory that there are certain branches which possess an overwhelming disciplinary importance apart from their content.[7] We must recognize that every department of knowledge has an educational value just in proportion as its subject matter opens the mental vision of the pupil to new realms of culture and creates in the heart a love for high ideals and an ambition to attain them. Interest, says Schurman, is the greatest word in education. And interest is created among pupils only by touching on responsive chords. There should consequently be a wide range of well organized courses open to the pupil. Interest is the difference between work and drudgery. And the motto of Academic training should be the maximum of work and the minimum of drudgery.

The Catholic religion touches life at so many points that it lends an added interest to the study of every department of knowledge. We are the heirs of all the ages and consequently in the study of history and literature and art we are simply entering into our inheritance. The study of Latin has gained very much in our American High-schools during the last ten years. For most pupils it is a subject of passing interest but for Catholics what a treasure house of sacred liturgy it opens up, what a wealth of noble literature it enshrines, what a spiritual inspiration it becomes not merely during school days but for life. In view of these facts it would seem the part of

[7] See the able discussion of this question by De Garmo, *Principles of Secondary Education*, chap. I, passim.

wisdom to introduce the literature of the Roman Missal as a substitute for the tedious rehearsal of marches and bridge-building that fills the pages of the Bellum Gallicum. Then in history! What Academic pupil will not delight in being introduced to a study of historical sources by a first-hand acquaintance with the Gospels, wherein is depicted with matchless skill the record of those thrice ten sinless years beneath the Syrian blue? And it is during the closing year of the High-school course that the student should become familiar with the fundamental principles of sound philosophy. This may seem to be forcing advanced studies into the High-school, but it is simply initiating the pupil into the bracing and invigorating atmosphere of thought which every educated Catholic must breathe. And in advocating these studies for the High-school one can take refuge under the mantle of the Father of Academic education, Alcuin, who wrote a commentary on the Gospel of St. John at the instance of two young ladies who attended his classes and dedicated a treatise on the nature of the soul to another young woman in his school.[8]

Such are the commonly accepted aims of Academic training. But in the Catholic scheme of education there is another element; there is the culture of the spiritual self. And just as the soul permeates the body and gives life to every organ, so all other aims of the school must be permeated and transfused with the spiritual ideal. It is the religious ideal that gives balance and harmony and proportion to every detail of education. Education does not consist merely in acquiring knowledge; it consists far more in the formation of ideals. The ideals of boys should be noble men and the ideals of girls should be noble women. And the ideal of the eternally womanly is noble only when it is spiritual. It is not to be found in such masculine types as George Eliot, George Sand or Charlotte Bronte. The eternal womanly is not an iridescent dream. The best of women enjoy perennial youth. Legend says of our Blessed Lady that her bodily frame never aged, and it is true

[8] See *Epistola ad Sororem et Filiam*, Migne, P. L. tom. C. col. 737, and *De Animae Ratione Liber ad Eulaliam Virginem*, P. L. tom. CI., col. 639.

of those who model their lives on hers that their hearts never lose the sweetness and bloom of adolescence.

Education is a question of ideals and it is herein that the Catholic Girls' High School has a world of advantage. Has it not been the Catholic ideal of womanhood that has created the Christian home, the foundation stone of our civilization? In several schools that we know the Alumnae have founded a "Library of Notable Women" for their Alma Mater, wherein will be gathered the record of woman's contribution to human progess, the *Gesta Dei per Feminas.* What names, think you, will be found in the register of that Library? Will it include the list of masculine women ending with Emma Goldman? No! It is not by the seed of such as these that salvation is brought to Israel. The ideals of true womanhood are the virgins and mothers whom the Catholic Church has raised to her altars. They are the countless virgins consecrated to social service, nobly giving their lives for the orphan and the magdalen, the aged and infirm, or devoting themselves to the work of Christian education. They are found in the glorious succession of noble mothers from the Holy Mother herself to the humblest Christian mother to-day who is rearing her family in the fear and love of God, whose children will rise up to bless her, for in a nobler sense than that intended by the mother of Gracchi she will present them as her jewels before the throne of God.

You cannot over-estimate the value of this noble ideal in education. John Ruskin has borne eloquent testimony to the worth of the veneration of the Madonna. He writes: "There has probably not been an innocent home throughout Europe during the period of Christianity in which the imagined presence of the Madonna has not given sanctity to the duties and comfort of the trials of women; and every brightest and loftiest achievement of the art and strength of manhood has been the fulfillment of the poor Israelite maiden's, He that is mighty hath magnified me." And listen to what a great American psychologist, a non-Catholic, has to say in discussing this very question of the ideals of a Girls' High School; Dr. Hall, Pres-

ident of Clark University in his work on *Adolescence* [9] writes: "I keenly envy my Catholic friends their Mariolatry(!) Who ever asked if the Holy Mother whom the wise men adored knew the astronomy of the Chaldees or had studied Egyptian or Babylonian . . . . and who has ever thought of caring? We cannot conceive that she bemoaned any of the limitations of her sex, but she has been an object of adoration all these centuries because she glorified womanhood by being more generic, nearer the race, and richer in love, pity, unselfish devotion and intuition than men. The glorified Madonna ideal shows us how much more whole and holy it is to be a woman than to be artist, orator, professor or expert. The Madonna ideal expresses man's highest conception of woman's true nature."

By a wonderful miracle and a marvellous condescension of God's Providence, she who has been called blessed by all nations is at once the model and highest ideal of mother and maiden, of maturity and virginity. Here is the ideal which elevates the Catholic Girls' High School above the aims which dominate secular education; it is the wonderful influence that makes our schools to be what it has been finely said they ought to be; true workshops of the Holy Ghost.

And, herein, and not in any attempt to approximate the lives of women to those of men, not in any self-appointed task of lifting

> "The woman's fallen divinity
> Upon an even pedestal with man,"

but in the cultivating and fostering of this noble womanly ideal, consists the richest privilege and the crowning glory of the Catholic Girls' High School.

EDWIN V. O'HARA.

PORTLAND, OREGON.

[9] *Adolescence*, II, 646.

THE ENGLISH MIRACLE PLAY.

Boswell stands sponsor for the statement that Samuel Johnson loved the Old Black Letter Books since they were rich in matter although inelegant in style. For precisely the same reason, the *Literati* of to-day are beginning to make the Middle Ages the basis for liberal investigation. We have come along so far in this that no writer of scholarly attainment can be found repeating, page upon page, the worn-out stories of forbidden Bibles, wicked clergymen, and benighted Christians.

Especially is this true in the present active interest shown by recent writers in regard to the English Miracle Plays of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. So many facts are at hand illustrative of the true condition, both moral and social, of the great body of English speaking people, that former writers such as Warton and Sharp, who in their time were considered courts of final appeal in matters of literary history, are now read with due allowance for their many but perhaps pardonable shortcomings.

It is a source of joyful satisfaction to every Catholic to see the change of attitude which non-Catholic scholars have been forced to assume in the added light of more scientific research work. Mr. William Hone, who in 1823 published his celebrated essay: "Ancient Mysteries Described," does not hesitate to say the following concerning the development of the Church during the Middle Ages: "Suddenly acquiring power and finally assuming infallibility, observing pagan feasts as religious festivals, consecrating heathen rites into Christian solemnities and transforming the non-observances of primitive simplicity into precedents for gorgeous ceremonies, the Church blazed with a scorching splendor that withered up the heart of man." [1] This is in perfect keeping with Dr. Maitland's estimate of popular sentiment with respect to the *Dark Ages*: "I believe

[1] Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, p. 154. London, 1823.

that the idea which many persons have of ecclesiastical history may be briefly stated thus: That the Christian Church was a small, scattered, and persecuted flock until the time of Constantine, that then at once as if by magic the Roman world became Christian, that this Universal Christianity, not being of a very pure, solid or durable nature, melted down into a filthy mass called Popery which held its place during the dark ages, until the revival of pagan literature, and the consequent march of intellect sharpened men's wits and brought about the Reformation; when it was discovered that the Pope was anti-Christ and that the saints had been in the hands of the little horn predicted by the prophet Daniel for hundreds of years without knowing so awful a fact, or suspecting anything of the kind." [2]

The rejection of such prejudice by most modern scholars is a triumph for the Catholic position. It has proven especially useful in presenting the English Miracle Play in a proper light. So much depends upon the viewpoint in interpreting Mediæval Drama that some attempt at historical accuracy is acknowledged to be necessary for even an approach to the subject. Dr. Davidson in his Yale Doctorate Dissertation, *Studies in English Mystery Plays,* hints at this when he says: "Literary motives know no national boundaries; therefore, it is not surprising that we find our English plays in close connection with the French and can watch in Italian and German the action of the National spirit under diverse literary influences upon a common literary material. But this inheritance came from the mother church. The church of the middle ages was the conservator of letters. A spirit of devotion produced the church drama. A comprehension of this drama within the church and of the causes that gave rise to it can be gained only through the study of the liturgy and its sources, which, in turn, leads us back to the foundation of the church itself." [3]

It will be the work of many years to fill out in a satisfactory manner the outline above indicated. The Old English

[2] S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages,* p. 217. London, 1890.

[3] Chas. Davidson, "English Mystery Plays," see *Transactions of the Conn. Academy,* Vol. 9, p. 295.

Text Societies grind slowly and until each phase of the vast study is investigated by specialists the plan must remain incomplete. But this need not prevent a reasonably accurate knowledge of the general facts relative to the Plays. The subject is an interesting one to every Catholic for it tells the story of the earnest solicitude of the Church for the instruction and edification of her children.

Some confusion has arisen owing to the indiscriminate use of the words "Miracle" and "Mystery" as applied to the Mediæval drama: Warton [4] does not adhere strictly to Matthew Paris who classes all *specula* under the general name "Miracle Plays," but there is little doubt that such application was the one commonly in use. Collier is convinced that "Their proper designation is Miracles or Plays of Miracles" and in concluding an historical note on the subject he says: "The compound term of Miracle-play seemed to me best adapted according to the old authorities to express briefly the origin and nature of the representation." [5] Those who differentiate them have in mind the subject matter which they present. Ten Brink speaks of "Mysteries which grew out of the Christmas and Easter festivities," and of "Miracle Plays which were acted in honor of the saints." [6]

The discussion is thus referred to by Mr. Pollard: "The word *miraculorum* in this quotation (cited by him just previously) and the phrase *quem miracula vulgariter appellamus* used by Matthew Paris in writing of the play of St. Katherine, reminds us of a distinction between Miracle Plays and Mysteries of which a great deal is made in all text-books of English Literature, but which in England had no existence in fact during the centuries in which the sacred drama chiefly flourished." [7] He quotes Professor Ward as saying: "Properly speaking Mysteries deal with Gospel illustration of the prophetic history of the Old Testament and more particularly of

[4] Thos. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, p. 157. London, 1781.
[5] J. P. Collier, *English Dramatic Poetry*, Vol. 2, p. 123. London, 1831.
[6] Ten Brink, *English Literature*, Vol. II, p. 235. New York, 1893.
[7] Alfred W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, Introduction, p. xix. Clarendon Press, 1904.

the fulfilling history of the New, the central mystery of the Redemption of the world as accomplished by the Nativity, the Passion and the Resurrection. Miracle Plays, on the other hand, are concerned with incidents derived from the legends of the saints of the church." [8] Mr. Pollard continues: "The distinction in itself is, as Professor Ward remarks, a legitimate one, but it is rendered rather confusing by the fact that while in England we have no single extant example of a pure Miracle Play as thus defined, all dramatic representations on this subject were called by this name, and the word mystery is said to have been first applied to them in this country by Dodsley in the preface to his collection of Old Plays, early in the 18th century."

The English Miracle Plays—to adopt the more ancient term—were based upon the scriptural narrative, the apocryphal evangelia and the mediæval legends. Since their mission was principally a didactic one they strove to represent the divine plan of creation, redemption and final reward. Each cycle aimed to be a complete treatise of popular theology. Usually the first and second play represented the creation of the world and the fall of Lucifer; the second, the creation of Adam and Eve; the third, the temptation of our first parents and their fall, and thus through the history of God's relations to mankind, closing with the dreadful day of doom, the last judgment.

Dr. Gayley [9] has written an instructive chapter on the historical order of these dramatic cycles. What he calls the "Great Cycles" are: the York Cycle, composed between 1340 and 1350, which contains forty-eight plays.[10] The Wakefield or Townley Plays (sometimes referred to as Widkirk, Woodkirk) [11] are thirty-two in number but their dates and origin are still much disputed. Dr. Gayley quotes Mr. Pollard [12] as giving at least

[8] A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I, p. 23. New York, 1899.

[9] C. M. Gayley, *Plays of our Fore-Fathers*, p. 125. New York, 1907.

[10] Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, Introduction. Oxford, 1885.

[11] See Introduction, Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*.

[12] E. E. T. S., "Extra Series, LXXI."

three distinct stages ranging in time from 1360 to 1410 as the period of their composition. The Chester series is made up of twenty-four plays composed between 1591 and 1607. That of Coventry contained forty-two. The date remains conjectural.[13]

The presentation of the above named cycles was not of course confined to the cities of York, Wakefield, Coventry and Chester. Mr. Chambers,[14] enumerates over 100 centres of the mediæval drama. Wherever the social or religious gild flourished, it usually called to its aid the uplifting influence which the portrayal of the life of Christ produced. These pageants were important events in a town's history and their successful presentation demanded the coöperation of many crafts, each of these companies being responsible for one play. Davies[15] cites a proclamation from the City Council of York issued on the eve of the Feast of Corpus Christi which directed "All manner of craftsman to bringe furthe ther pageantes in order and course, by good players well arayed and openly spekyng," and further cautioned "Every player that should play to be redy in his pageant at convenyant time, that is to say, at the mydhoure betwix iiijth and Vth of the cloke in the mornying, and then all other pageants fast folowing, ilkon after other as the course is, without tarieng."

The most important institution outside of the Church which helped to fashion mediæval society was undoubtedly the gild. Dr. Brentano[16] in his General Introduction to Smith's *English Gilds,* classes them as: Religious, Town and Craft. All were based upon the family idea, each having in view a singleness of purpose and a union of effort which secured for them the loyal support of civil and ecclesiastical authority. Since they were the approved auxiliaries of the Church it was but natural that upon them should fall the duty of presenting the Miracle Plays when the character of the drama demanded a less restricted stage than the sanctuary. The Gilds bound together the many

[13] See p. 106 of Henry Morley's *English Writers,* Vol. I-V.

[14] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage,* Vol. 2 (Appendix W.) Clarendon Press, 1903.

[15] Robert Davies, *York Records* (Appendix).

[16] Lujo Brentano, *History of Gilds,* E. E. T. S., No. 40 (1870).

interests of their time into a glorious enthusiasm for the frequent representation of the religious drama. Their spirit animated the populace, and for centuries law, order and religion reaped the benefit of their zeal.

The gild brotherhood stood for these things by the terms of their foundation. The duties of each were set forth in unmistakable language. Much care was exercised in admitting new members. Among the statutes of the gild of St. Katherine at Stamford is found the admonition that "Noo mann ne persoun shalbe admitted unto this Gilde but if a bee founde of goode name and fame, of goode conuersucon, and honeste in his demeanor, and of goode rule."[17] That this purpose was not lost as the Gilds gained in numbers and in influence may be best seen in an examination of the various ordinances issued from time to time by the municipal authorities under whose protection the Gilds worked. A typical one is that of the City Council of York relating to the performance of Miracle Plays:

"In the Name of God. Amen. Whereas for a long course of time the artificers and tradesmen of the city of York have, at their own expense, acted plays; and particularly a certain sumptuous play, exhibited in several pageants, wherein the history of the Old and New Testament in divers places of the said city, in the feast of Corpus Christi, by a solemn procession is represented, in reverence to the sacrament of the body of Christ. Beginning first at the great gates of the priory of the Holy Trinity in York, and so going in procession to and into the Cathedral Church of the same; and afterwards to the hospital of St. Leonard, in York, leaving the aforesaid sacrament in that place. Preceded by a vast number of lighted torches and a great multitude of priests in their proper habits, and followed by the mayor and citizens, with a prodigious crowd of the populace attending.

"And Whereas, upon this, a certain very religious father, William Melton, of the order of the Friars Minors, professor of holy pageantry (holy writ) and a most famous preacher of the word of God, coming to this city, in several sermons recommended the aforesaid play to the people, affirming that it was good in

[17] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, E. E. T. S., No. 40 (1870), p. 190.

itself, and very commendable so to do. Yet also said that the citizens of the said city, and other strangers coming to the said feast, had greatly disgraced the play by revellings, drunkenness, shouts, songs, and other insolencies, little regarding the divine offices of the said day. And what is to be lamented they lose, for that reason, the Indulgences by the holy father, Pope Urban IV (who instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1264), in this part graciously conceded. Those, namely, faithful in Christ, who attended (here follows the indulgences), and therefore, as it seemed most wholesome to the said father William, the people of the city were inclined that the play should be played on one day, and the procession on another, so that the people might attend divine service at the churches on the said feast for the indulgences aforesaid.

"WHEREFORE Peter Buckey, mayor of this city of York (here follow the names of two Sheriffs, ten Aldermen, and twenty-one burgesses), were met in the Council Chamber of the said city, the 6th day of June, 1426, and by the said wholesome exhortations and admonitions of the said father William being incited, that it is no crime, nor can it offend God, if good be converted into better.

"THEREFORE, having diligently considered of the premises, they gave their express and unanimous consent that the course aforesaid should be published to the whole city in the Common Hall of the same, and having their consent that the premises should be better reformed. Upon which the aforesaid mayor convened the citizens together in the said hall, the 10th day of the month aforesaid, and the same year, and made proclamation in a solemn manner, where it was ordained by the common consent that this solemn play of Corpus Christi should be played every year on the vigil of the said feast, and that the procession should be made constantly on the day of the said feast, so that all people being in the said city might have leisure to attend devoutly the matins, vespers, and the other hours of the said feast, and be made partakers of the indulgences in that part by the said Roman Pope Urban the fourth most graciously granted and confirmed."[18]

The manner of presenting the Miracle Play has been often described. The City Corporation had general charge of the performance, and that they might have a sufficient number of

[18] Sidney M. Clarke, *The Miracle Play in England* (Appendix).

craftsmen "well arayed and openly spekyng" they took the precaution to select the players early in the year as is evident from the following order made in the year 1476:

"Yerely in the tyme of Lentyn there shall be called afore the Maire for the tyme beyng, four of the moste conyng, discrete, and able plaiers within this city, to serche, here, and examen all the plaiers, plaies, and pageants, thrughoute all the artificers belonging to Corpus Xti plaie; and all such as thay shall fynde sufficiant in personne and conyng to the honour of the city, and the worship of the craftes, for to admitte, and all other insufficiant personnes either in conyng, voice, or personne, to discharge, amove, and avoide. And that no plaier that shall plaie in the Corpus Xti plaie be conducte and retayned to plaie but twise on the day of the saide playe, and that he or they so plaieng, plaie not over twise the said day, upon payne of xls to forfet unto the chambre as often times as he or thay shall be founden defaultre in the same." [19]

The manner of presenting the Miracle Plays of Chester is thus described by Archdeacon Rogers: "The time of the year they were played was on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Whitsun week. The manner of these plays were, every company had his pageant or part, which pageants were a high scaffold with two rooms, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher room they played, being all open on the top, that all beholders might hear and see them. The places where they played them was in every street. They began first at the abbey gates; and when the first pageant was played, it was wheeled to the High Cross before the mayor, and so to every street; and so every street had a pageant playing before them at one time. And when one pageant was ended, word was brought from street to street, that so they might come in place thereof, exceeding orderly: and all the streets have their pageants afore them, all at one time, playing together. To see which plays was great resort; and also scaffold and stages made in the streets in those places where they determined to play their pageants." [20]

[19] Robert Davies, *York Records*, p. 237. London, 1843.

[20] Thomas Wright, *Chester Plays*, Introduction, xix. London, 1843.

There is one feature of the presentation which demands special consideration owing to the adverse criticism to which it has given rise. It is the question of costume. It is easily understood that the esthetic taste of mediæval England could not have been high. The simple life which is praised so much in speech and pamphlet in this our own day, was then the common lot of all. They were a fun-loving people. Yet theirs was a gayety arising from a sense of security. Their religious convictions were fixed, and their aim in life directed in a large measure by that of their fathers. Professor Hamelius [21] in *The Character of Cain in the Townley Plays,* says: "If the modern descendants of the Puritans are shocked at the merriment thus called forth, let them find fault with their own narrowness of mind rather than with the broad and healthy philosophy of the Middle Ages, that was able to look at religious subjects without constrained gravity and to associate them naturally with all its feelings and experiences." This freedom, according to Warton, did not stop short of positive indecency. Contending for absolute realism in the Garden of Eden, he says: "This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of Scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the Sacred Text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity." [22]

More recent scholars have taken quite a different view. "Adam and Eve, in the Garden of Eden," says Mr. Sidney M. Clark, "were dressed in close fitting coats of white leather and hose, stained or dyed to (probably) a flesh color. At the proper time they put on over these 'fleshings' rough garments of skins. 'Two cotes and a payre hosen for Eve stayned: A cote and hosen for Adam steyned.' The tradition that they appeared naked on the stage is quite unfounded, and it is

[21] See *Journal of Comp. Literature,* p. 343, Vol. I (1903).
[22] Thos. Warton, *History of English Poetry,* p. 162, London (1781).

hardly necessary to say that female characters were acted by men and boys." [23]

Mr. Chambers says: "Many writers have followed Warton in asserting that Adam and Eve were represented on the stage in actual nakedness. The statement is chiefly based upon a too literal interpretation of the stage directions of the Chester Plays. There is a fine *a priori* improbability about it, and as a matter of fact there can be very little doubt that the parts were played, as they would have been on any other stage in any other period of the world's history—except possibly at the Roman *Floralia*—in fleshings. Jordan is quite explicit,—Adam and Eve are to be 'aparlet in whytt lether' and although Jordan's play is a late one, I think it may be taken for granted that white leather was sufficient to meet the exigencies even of Mediæval realism." [24] The same opinion is expressed by the distinguished English scholar of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Schelling: "The devils were ordinarily clothed in leather, which being white of color, sufficiently served to represent the nakedness of our first parents in the garden of Eden." [25]

The restless mind of modern civilization wandering back beyond the fitful passion-fires of the Reformation period, has entered the light of more tranquil days. It has set itself to resurvey the long neglected fields of the Middle Ages (not with a view to substantiate preconceived theories, but with the hope of opening up that much maligned country to the footsteps of friend and foe. With this will come a truer perspective, and thus gradually, the vindication of mediæval teaching will be secured. There is still much to be done before all may be able to appreciate those ages of faith, but the readjustment by modern scholars, of old positions in matters mediæval, promises a great deal for the honor and exaltation of the Church. The present noteworthy interest in the Miracle Plays is sure to contribute a generous share, since in their study is revealed the inmost heart of mediæval society.

FRANCIS O'NEILL, O. P.

[23] Sidney M. Clarke, *The Miracle Play in England*, p. 76. London, no date.
[24] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. 2, p. 142. Clarendon Press, 1903.
[25] Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, Vol. 1, p. 25. Boston, 1908.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

The children in the primary grades have heretofore suffered more than any other portion of the school population from the prevalence of two ideals in the field of education that were fundamentally at variance with the needs of the child's developing conscious life. The first of these ideals would be phrased in biological terminology as "direct development," that is, the adult structure is laid down at once without any provision being made for a transitional form. Under the influence of this ideal the teacher kept his eye fixed steadily upon the man and failed to see the boy or to comprehend his needs. The child was treated throughout as if he were a man of diminutive mental stature. The second of these ideals kept the several branches of knowledge in the focus of attention as isolated and separate entities. Under its influence the business of education was to load the mind of the child with a body of definite knowledge in the various fields of arithmetic, history, physiology, literature, etc. The effect on the mind and the character was supposed to be produced in some unconscious way and whether the teacher realized the connection between these various branches of knowledge or not, the machinery of education rendered it well-nigh impossible for the child to weave them into one living structure.

To-day these two ideals are being reversed as a result of the development of the psychological sciences and particularly as a result of the development of genetic psychology. Educationists are everywhere striving to adjust the curriculum to the child's needs and the child's point of view. In the measure in which this movement is successful the work of the school becomes vital; interest in the content takes the place of lifeless memory drills and continuity of mental content replaces the fragmentation so obvious in the old curriculum.

In the teaching of Religion, therefore, one of the first things to be attended to is to adjust the matter and form of instruction to the needs and capacity of the child, and if we are considering the children in the first grade this necessarily implies a careful study of the child in the home and in the process of being transplanted from the home into the school. And the second consideration leads to the study of the religious content to be presented in its relations to the other elements of the curriculum in the first grade. Before we proceed further in our study of the method of teaching Religion, it will be desirable to study the work of the child's first year in school as a whole.

Let it be said that the transition from the former to the present point of view cannot be brought about suddenly. Teachers, methods, text-books, all must be gradually transformed in the light of our present knowledge. The task is difficult and time will necessarily be required for its successful accomplishment. Religion, First Book, was prepared with a view to facilitate this transition and it is believed that the competent primary teacher will find little difficulty in substituting it for the reader previously in use. In making this substitution she does not stand in need of advice. In the use of this book, as in all the other details of her work, she must be left free if she is to attain the highest success. However, in compliance with the numerous requests that have reached us from schools that contemplate using this book, we shall present here a somewhat detailed account of the work of the first grade as we should like to see it carried out where Religion, First Book, is in the hands of the children. Of course it is expected that the competent teacher will depart from this plan whenever the circumstances seem to justify it and whenever her own judgment suggests a profitable variation in the details of method. To bind her to the letter of a stereotyped plan is no part of our purpose. On the contrary, we would leave her as free as possible. It is precisely to secure her a larger freedom which can be attained only through a fuller comprehension of educational principles that we are here presenting these principles in a concrete setting. To the candidate who has still to gain her experience in a primary room this outline will serve an

additional purpose. It will help her to map out a definite plan of work for each day of the week and for each week of the school year. The importance to the inexperienced teacher of such definiteness of outline is obvious.

The teacher needs both a clear comprehension of fundamental principles and experience in the actual work of teaching before she can prudently dispense with guidance in determining the details and the general character of the children's work. No amount of theoretical knowledge without experience nor any amount of experience without clear knowledge of fundamental principles gives the teacher the right to determine the lines along which the minds and hearts of the children committed to the care of the school are to be developed. If freer scope is demanded for the individuality of the teacher the implication is, obviously, that the right to freedom has been acquired and its profitable use guaranteed by the teacher's grasp and thorough comprehension of method. It is only natural that those devices should be eagerly sought after which promise immediate results in teaching the various school subjects. That many of these are tried and found wanting is due probably to the notion that they are patent, automatic and unfailing. And this notion, in turn, is only a special instance of the tendency to look for results and let some one else take care of the process. In consequence the method is condemned or the victim of its application is given up as defective, while the important factor seeks consolation in more experience.

It is hoped that the experienced and the inexperienced teacher alike, bearing in mind Our Lord's warning, "The letter killeth, it is the spirit that giveth life," will remember that the underlying principle is the only matter of real importance and that the details, as outlined below, are intended mainly to illustrate the meaning and scope of educational principles rather than to crystallize methods and convert them into school fetishes.

The Child's Preliminary Training.

Children applying for admission to the first grade may be divided into three groups in the first of which are found the

children who have attended a kindergarten, in the second are the children who have been trained in a preliminary grade, and in the third group are found all the children who come directly from home without any previous school experience.

The advantages of a good kindergarten training are obvious. It accustoms the children to being away from home for several hours each day; it familiarizes them with the school building and its appurtenances, with teachers and playmates; it frees them from the inhibitions arising from native timidity and a strange environment. It thus helps in no small measure to bridge over the chasm which would otherwise exist for the child between the home and the school. Besides, in a well conducted kindergarten the social side of the child's nature is developed to some extent. The children are taught to coöperate in many ways: they learn to sing together and to move and act in groups; they learn to measure their actions and the expenditure of their energy by external standards; through their imitative tendencies they take over and organize in themselves the experience and the growth of a large number of children who are near them in the developmental stage; they coöperate at times in the attainment of a common object and in the performance of simple social functions. In a properly conducted kindergarten, moreover, the spoken vocabulary of the children is enlarged and perfected and what is, in the judgment of many educators, the most conspicuous advantage of the kindergarten, the children learn to use their muscles and to coördinate the activities of eye and hand in the performance of many actions and in the construction of many simple objects.

But however desirable the kindergarten may be, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that it is at present beyond the reach of multitudes of our children and these unfortunate little ones must be dealt with in the first grade. It will readily be admitted that the absence of kindergarten training increases the work to be done in the first primary grade and in many ways renders the task of the teacher more difficult. It should be added, however, that the presence of even a half-dozen well trained kindergarten children suffices to supply suitable leadership to the other children and thus materially lightens the task of the teacher during the first weeks of the school year.

The second group of children who enter the primary grade which we are here considering are those who have had a year's preliminary training. In New England, where it is customary to count nine grammar grades, this preliminary year is known as the first grade. The children are admitted to it at the age of five. What is elsewhere known as first grade corresponds with the second grade of these schools. In St. Paul, Minnesota, where the kindergarten system prevails, they number only eight grammar grades and the children admitted to the first grade are six years old. Similarly in Minneapolis they count only eight grammar grades, but the children are admitted at five years of age and spend two years in the first grade. The preliminary grade being known as the B first.

The children of the third group to be considered here enter the first grade at six years of age without having had the advantage of training either in a kindergarten or in a preliminary grade. These children have the maturity of children of six, usually they have received less formal training, but their individuality is likely to be more pronounced, they are more timid in their new surroundings, less capable of expressing themselves before strangers, and usually have a less varied mental content than the children of the same age who have had a year's training in school. It must not be supposed, however, that these children's development was arrested during the year in which their companions attended school. What they have learned at home, in the fields or on the streets they have learned intensely and their minds will frequently be found to possess the native vigor of unmolested growth which will show to good advantage after the transition from home to school has been successfully made.

It has already been stated that Religion, First Book, is designed to meet the needs of children between six and seven years old. No text-book should be placed in the hands of the younger children whether in the kindergarten or in the preliminary grade. Nevertheless, the work in these preliminary courses should take into account the extent and scope of the first book which is to be placed in the children's hands. Moreover, when the children enter the first grade without prelimi-

nary training no book should be placed in their hands during the first six or eight weeks of the school year. It will require careful work during this brief interval to prepare the children to use a first reader with profit.

The four chief things to be accomplished for the children during the period of their preliminary preparation, whether this extend through a whole scholastic year or be confined to a few weeks at the beginning of the usual first grade, may be summed up under the following four heads: 1) To give the children a realization of the school as an enlarged and specialized home; 2) To develop the individual child's power of adjusting himself to his physical environment; 3) To teach the children to coöperate with each other and with their teacher; 4) To enlarge the children's spoken vocabulary and to develop in them a limited written vocabulary with direct reference to their first reader. Other objects, such as increasing the child's power of observation, establishing his faith in written language as a source of help and pleasure, etc., are all connected more or less directly with the four ends above mentioned and do not call for special treatment in this place.

I. From Home to School.

The unity and continuity of the child's unfolding mental life demand that the transition from home to school be made with as little shock to the child as possible. Every available means should be employed to bridge over the chasm which too frequently separates the school from the home. The home is the only world known to the child during the pre-school period of his existence. In all his mental attitudes, from the dawn of his conscious life to the moment of his advent in school, he leans upon the members of the home group. Nothing has any value in his eyes until it is brought into the home circle and nothing is understood until it is taken up by apperception masses that are derived wholly from home experience. Hence, the competent primary teacher will seek out every available means of bringing the home into the school and of bringing the

school into the homes of the children. At all stages in the educational process the coöperation of the home and the school is desirable, but at no other stage is it so necessary as during the first days of the child's school life.

To enlarge the child's mental horizon and to render him self-helpful and self-reliant are among the recognized functions of the school, but it must not be forgotten that these qualities cannot be developed in the child if the continuity of his mental life is broken. Instinct and the early home experiences of the child constitute the nucleus of his growing mental life. Only such elements as are incorporated by this growing nucleus can ever live in his mind; all else must remain foreign and dead, a mere memory-load at best. It is for this reason that stress is here laid upon making the transition from home to school as gradual as possible. The competent teacher will find in the local situation many suggestions that will prove helpful in the difficult task of transplanting the child into the school. The few suggestions here offered should be considered in the light of examples rather than as a summary of what may be accomplished in this direction.

Visiting.—The mother or some other responsible member of the home group should, whenever possible, accompany the child to school on the first day and present him to the teacher. This visit should be followed at comparatively brief intervals by other visits of the parent or guardian to the child's class-room. In this way the child is made to feel that the members of the home group are interested in all that he does in school and they thus continue, in a diminished degree, to be his standard of reference while he is acquiring new standards and new interests. Advantages distinct from the foregoing but similar in many ways may be derived from the teacher's visits to the children in their homes. The teacher's first visit to the child in his home environment makes her in a measure a member of the home group and gives the child a feeling of confidence in her judgments just because it gives him a realization that she understands all those things that have hitherto made up his world and in this the child's judgment is not far from the truth. The teacher will gain in insight and in sympathy for

the children almost as much as the children gain in other ways from her visit. Moreover, through this interchange of visits between parents and teachers much may be accomplished in the securing of a closer coöperation between the home and the school in the development of the children.

Gifts.—Among all primitive peoples gifts are a token of friendship and they are used as a means of uniting various social groups. This practice would seem to have an instinctive basis in the child's life. In any case it is deep-seated and potent in its effects. The wise parent will consequently teach the children to take little gifts, such as flowers, fruit, sweets, etc., to their teacher. And one of the first occupations of the children in school should be the making of things for home inspection and for gifts to the members of the home circle.

School possessions.—When a man buys a home he takes root in the place and become interested in his neighbors and in the prosperity of the entire community. This is an outcome of the property instinct which may be observed even among animals. This instinct holds no inconsiderable place in the child's life and it should be utilized in making him feel at home in the school, hence he should be given a seat and a desk as soon as possible. These will constitute for him a home in this new social environment. In his desk he should accumulate as his own the tools and instruments which he uses in his school work. It is a mistake of the gravest nature that leads to socialism and anarchy as its legitimate fruit to have everything in the school belong to the school and to have nothing in it belong to the children. The instinct of individual ownership is the root of many of the noblest virtues of individual life and of many of the fundamental social institutions in our civilization. Here we can only hint at a few of these, such as a sense of personal responsibility, a sense of honesty and integrity in dealing with others, neatness and care in the performance of the tasks of everyday life. These and similar virtues are in large measure the results of this instinct properly directed and modified. And home itself may be numbered among the first social institutions to spring from this apparently selfish instinct.

Love.—Parental love is the dominant element in the life of

the normal child during the first years of his existence and consequently the child in reality is not transferred to the school until this love between the parent and child is transferred in due measure to the new relationship between teacher and child. As a rule the hearts of young children are easily won. The difficulty, wherever it arises, may be found in the teacher. If the teacher really loves the children as a mother should, she will rarely meet with any great obstacle in winning their hearts. The teacher in a primary room should never forget that she stands there as the representative of the mother and that unless she loves the children she is as much out of place there as a mother who does not love her children would be out of place in a home, and she is as great a monster. On the other hand, where the bond of love between the child and the teacher is highly developed, the school becomes a veritable home for the child and he will grow there naturally both in knowledge and in love.

Religion.—Religion binds the home and the school together and makes them parts of a larger whole. Just as in our travels the sun, the moon and the stars accompany us and make us realize that there are bonds which bind together the most distant shores, and as the Catholic who on his journey in foreign lands enters a Catholic church and assists at Mass realizes that he is in his Father's home and for the time being ceases to think of race or color, or national boundaries or intervening oceans, so the properly taught child on entering school brings with him God, Jesus, Mary and Joseph, his guardian angel, and all the inhabitants of the spiritual world. When he joins his companions in prayer on his first morning in school he is more conscious of the tie that binds the home and the school together than he is of the great distances that in so many respects separate for him the home from the school. Of course he does not reason about this nor separate likenesses and differences from each other; he is simply conscious that his spiritual world has remained unchanged while all that is material and visible in his environment is shifting and taking on new forms. Thus the religious element in the child's life is rendered more explicit and gains in strength.

Religion is not only the most important element in the child's education, but it furnishes the most potent means of transplanting the child without shock from the home to the school. The religious teacher, accordingly, will not fail to take advantage of this side of the child's nature to make him feel at home in the school as those teachers do who lay the chief emphasis on the secular elements of the child's education.

In summing up what has just been said it will be seen that home and religion are the two main factors in the process of transferring the child without shock from the home to the school. And from what has been said in the preceding numbers of the *Bulletin* it will be seen that these are the two main elements in Religion, First Book, for which the children are being prepared.

II. Physical Adjustment.

The child spends the first five or six years of his conscious life in the home exploring his physical environment and learning how to adjust himself to it. During those early years he has accomplished tasks as difficult as any that he will be called upon to perform in any similar period of after life. He has learned how to stand erect and to walk. He has learned how to talk and has probably acquired a relatively large oral vocabulary. He has learned to do many things with his hands and through imitating the actions and the attitudes of the people about him he has learned to interpret looks, gestures, and actions of many kinds.

If the continuity of his mental life is to be preserved, his early occupations in school must be closely allied to his previous home occupations. What was begun in the home must be continued and completed in the school, while new occupations are gradually introduced as modifications of the old. His first weeks in school will consequently be occupied in large measure in perfecting his adjustments to his physical environment. This is demanded in order to bridge over the chasm between the school and the home and it is demanded for other reasons also. To preserve the child's health it is necessary to develop

his heart and his lungs and his muscles. He must not be allowed to sit still during long periods. All of his first year, and particularly the first few weeks, should be full of action. His mind must be put in control of his body. His muscles must be brought under the ready control of his will; freedom and grace of movement are desirable from a hygienic as well as from a practical and an æsthetic point of view.

The sensory motor reaction is the first element to be developed in the child's conscious life and its importance throughout the entire developmental process can scarcely be overestimated. It is the basis of all other modes of expression and even cognition does not proceed far in advance of it. This constant relation between impression and expression, between cognition and action, has been pointed out elsewhere. If anyone be disposed to question the advisability of making the child's first days in school predominantly days of action instead of days of passivity and reception, he need only turn to the Gospel where he will learn that only those who are faithful over a few things will be placed over many; that those who enter the kingdom do the will of the Father, rather than say Lord, Lord.

Before loading the child's memory with truths that are to be assimilated, it is highly important that he be given freedom in his movements and accuracy in their coördination. He must be given some measure of skill in handling his instruments and in dealing with his material in order that he may find effectual means of expressing his growing thought. All this is generally admitted to-day and the primary room, instead of being a sad, quiet place where little children fear to move lest they should disturb a nervous teacher or break in upon the profound trains of thought whereby their young companions learn to master the a, b, c, is a joyous, active scene where the children learn from each other more than they learn from the teacher and where they learn by doing rather than by hearing or seeing.

A great many exercises have been suggested for the first grade and a variety of exercises is highly desirable. In this way symmetry is preserved and the interest of the children is

more readily held. But if good results are to be hoped for, the work should be carefully planned for the attainment of definite ends. Present space forbids mentioning more than a few typical exercises.

Action Games.—Flying, running, hopping, skipping, dancing, and similar exercises familiar to the modern primary teacher, give healthful exercise to the larger muscles. They impart freedom and grace to the bodily movements and when properly conducted minister to the child's health by developing his heart and lungs as well as his voluntary muscles. These exercises should also be made the basis of written and oral languages.

Rhythmic Work.—Rhythm is one of the most far-reaching laws in the physical universe. Everywhere from the rhythmic movement of the planet in its elliptical orbit to the furthermost bounds of the realm of thought the law of rhythm holds supreme sway. Action and reaction are everywhere equal and opposite. It will therefore surprise no one who is familiar with the law of rhythm to find that it is the joy of the child's life. Through it he gains control of his voluntary muscles. Everything in his physical being moves in obedience to the law of rhythm. Rhythm governs his respiration, the beating of his heart, the nutrition of his tissues, and all his vegetative functions. Even in adult life the most thoroughly trained group of muscles in his body remain difficult to manage without the aid of rhythm. The soldier can march twelve miles to fife and drum with the expenditure of energy that would be required to march seven miles without music. What wonder, then, that rhythm should be called upon to aid the young child in gaining control of his muscular movements and in establishing difficult and complex coördinations. In dancing rhythm gives grace of movement and ready control of the larger muscles, while in blackboard exercises, such as drawing and writing, the movement of the whole body to some simple tune serves to remove stiffness and cramp from the hand and wrist.

Constructive Work.—The manual work of the first grade, such as cutting and folding paper, demonstrating with the sand table, clay modeling, drawing and painting with water-colors

serves to give precision to the hand and helps to coördinate its movements with visual impressions.

III. Coöperation.

The child begins his existence in total dependence upon his parents and he must learn to be self-helpful before he proceeds to help others. In other words, the individual side of his nature, in his development, naturally precedes the social side. Of course, it is in a sense by virtue of the social side of his nature that the child is enabled to receive help from his parents, but this phase of the subject is not here under consideration. It is through self-love that they learn a love of others, through self-helpfulness that they learn to help others. Children must be taught to do things separately before they can do them jointly and this, by the way, is true not only of children but also of adults. While it is true that man attains his highest level and tastes his sweetest joys as a social being, it does not cease to be true that the roots of his being, from which flow all the sap and energy of his life, are to be found in the individual side of his nature. This fundamental truth is overlooked by the socialist and the anarchist.

But while this is all true, and in recognition of this truth the child's school work should begin with the individual side of his nature, it is equally true that it should not end there. Man is essentially a social being and he must learn to coöperate with his fellow man in the attainment of all the higher ends of life. This coöperation has, in fact, begun in the pre-school period of the child's existence and it must be continued and perfected in the school. There are few who would be willing to controvert this truth to-day and it is being recognized extensively in the work of the primary grade in such exercises as singing, marching, dramatic games, coöperative industry. These exercises are so familiar and so varied that we need not pause here to dwell upon them. They are obviously and of necessity closely connected with the exercises mentioned in the preceding section. The same ends are attained with the ad-

dition of the social element which gives buoyancy and joy to what would otherwise frequently drag and lose interest for the child. And it should be observed here that zest is a large element in the good results to be attained through these exercises.

Man's social proclivities and the glory of his intellectual achievements should not blind us to the fact that he has not ceased to be an animal, nor to the further fact that the animal side of his nature is the foundation of all his higher faculties and that this side of his nature still calls imperatively for the old forms of response to feeling and to sense-impressions. This demand for motor expression is particularly urgent during the years of physical development and the strength of heart and brain, of muscle and lung, in the adult depends in large measure upon their healthful exercise in the running games of childhood. It should be remembered, however, that no formal exercise performed in obedience to disciplinarians can ever minister efficiently to the growing framework of life. Where the motor response is the natural terminus of an impulse arising in sense-impressions, the stream of vital energy flowing through channels prearranged by ages of inheritance tends to build up the organism symmetrically and to preserve the balance between the functions of its various organs. The artificial training of the motor side of the child, however necessary under abnormal conditions, can rarely if ever, without permanent injury to him, be substituted for the natural process. Where exercise is indulged in as a task, the motor activities cease to be the natural expression of the sensory impulse and the organs called into play, not by the impulses of surging life, but by the command of the will, are restricted in large measure to those which are directly employed in the execution of the voluntary command; all the other organs that would have functioned concomitantly under normal conditions and that would have consequently developed symmetrically here remain unexercised and undeveloped.

From this it is evident that the spirit of joyousness should pervade the primary classroom and that the element of play should hold a large and important place in it, but it is not and

it should not be made the center of the school life, nor the most important element in it, nor should we make the mistake of supposing that play is the only source of the child's joy. The highest joys he knows, even in those early years, are derived from successful achievement and his sweetest moments are those that register in his consciousness duties well done.

Language, the fourth element of the work for the preparatory period, will be dealt with in the next number of the "Notes on Education."

The Religious Element in the Public Schools.

Under the above title, H. H. Schroeder, of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Wisconsin, contributes a very interesting article of fifteen pages to the April number of *The Educational Review*. All who are familiar with the educational thought and the educational literature of this country during the past twenty-five years are aware of the fact that there has been a long continued and determined effort made by the secularists to banish every form of religious instruction from the public schools. The practical embodiment of this policy in the work of our public schools has produced such alarming results that earnest men and women in all parts of the country are rising up and demanding that religion be put back in the schools. Associations of influential citizens have been formed with this end in view.

Joseph V. Collins, of the State Normal School at Stephen's Point, Wisconsin, writing in *The Educational Review,* for March, 1909, on Religious Education and the Sunday School, says: "American writers and thinkers have not been blind to the situation. They have recognized most clearly two things: first, that religious education is essential to the life of the nation; and, second, that the Sunday School, as now constituted, is not supplying the nation with religious education. The vision of an oncoming irreligious citizenship has driven many a clergyman and writer wild with concern for the future. For

years past a perfect flood of literature has poured forth dealing with religious and moral education in the public schools. It is doubtful if any other single topic in education has been so widely considered. And what has been the outcome of it all? The answer is, nothing—practically nothing. The cosmopolitan population of the United States brought up in many religions and in no religion cannot agree, except in isolated communities, on any plan of religious education satisfactory to all the parties concerned." And then Mr. Collins proceeds to quote with approval this statement from a writer in the *London Times*: "America is committed apparently irrevocably, for weal or for woe, to exclusively secular education in the public schools."

Many have accepted and still accept this situation as inevitable, but there is a growing number among the educational leaders in our public school system who are seemingly afraid of the gathering forces in favor of the restoration of religious instruction in our public schools and it is a very interesting spectacle to watch their manoeuvres. Professor Dewey would give us religion in name. A new religion, he tells us, is being developed in our schools. When all religious creeds and traditional beliefs are banished a new and fairer religion will gradually unfold in place of the religions of the past. These men would deceive the unwary by retaining the name of religion while banishing every shred of substance or of power for which the name religion stands. Those who wish to understand what this new religion really means might well be directed to the experimental School of Education in the University of Chicago, which was practically called into being by the spirit of Professor Dewey. The attention of the reader was called to this school of education in the last number of the *Bulletin*. Mr. Schroeder's article, to which we have referred above, furnishes another excellent illustration of the tactics of this party. He very frankly admits the necessity of religious instruction and then proceeds to offer us a religion which is as far removed from the genuine article as is the *materia prima* of the Schoolmen from the Being of God. But let us listen to Mr. Schroeder's own words:

"Of recent years one of the most important educational problems has been that of moral and religious instruction. Many of those interested in education have long felt that the traditional practice of the exclusion of religious instruction from the public school curriculum has been tested and found wanting. In many quarters the conviction has been growing that our civilization has failed to stand the test of morality and character in face of the temptation offered in industrial, commercial, and political fields in this land of natural resources and opportunity, and that this lack in our manhood is due to a defect in our educational system. From here it is but a short step to the conclusion that this defect is to be found in the absence of religious instruction in the public schools. There has also been the feeling that if our children are to receive an all-round development, the demands of the religious side of their nature must not be ignored. And so, either because many of our homes are thought to be no longer religious, or because the home and the church are assumed to be neglecting their duty in this direction, it is contended that the public schools should attend to this need. It is argued that religious training need not be of a sectarian nature, that there is a common ground on which all sects can stand in harmony, and that hence the traditional argument is null and void. Religious training is demanded not only as an aid to morality, but for its own sake."

All this seems very fair. It looks like a surrender of the secularists to those who demand religious education for the youths of the nation. But before coming to a conclusion it is well to ascertain what Mr. Schroeder means by religion. He says: "Perhaps the more common fault with the definitions of religion is that they are too narrow. Theologians are apt to limit the term so as to include only faith in one God; but this would exclude all primitive forms of religion; similarly, it would exclude Buddhism, second only to Christianity in the number of its adherents. Sometimes prayer is included as one of the essentials of religion, and yet there have been sects in the history of religion that dispensed with formal prayer as wicked. Kant, one of the most religious of our moral philosophers —Kant, who brought the theologians and the church in his day

back to the essentials of religion when they had wandered too far from the straight and narrow path—has this to say regarding prayer: 'Praying, as an inner form of divine worship, and therefore thought of as a means of grace, is a superstitious delusion (fetishism); for it is simply an expressed wish towards a being, that is in no need of an expression of the inner sentiments of the one wishing; whereby, therefore, nothing is accomplished and therefore none of the duties is practised, that are incumbent upon us as the commandments of God, and therefore God is really not served.'"

So we may have religion provided that it isn't narrow enough to be confined to belief in one God nor superstitious enough to think of prayer as a means of grace. But we must not stop here. Mr. Schroeder continues: "Some writers again, like Fiske, contend that the belief in immortality is an essential of religion, and they mean by the term 'immortality' the continued existence of the self after death. The ancient Hebrews before the time of the apocalyptic writers, the Hebrews of the law and the earlier prophets, of the Psalms and the Proverbs, were certainly most religious people; yet they did not believe in a continuance of the life of the ego after death. Similarly to-day, many of our religious people no longer hold to such a view. Among our eminent philosophers and psychologists, including professors of philosophy and psychology in our theological seminaries, there are many that have discarded such belief, and yet they certainly include in their number men of deep and genuine piety. . . . . The most nearly satisfactory definition of religion the writer has been able to find is that by Dr. Leopold von Schroeder of the University of Vienna, who defines as follows: 'Religion is the faith in spiritual beings or powers holding sway outside of and above the sphere of man, the *feeling* of dependence on them and the need of faith in spiritual beings or powers.'"

We forbear to quote further along this line. The religion that will meet the demands of these various thinkers and furnish the common basis for the religion of them all is as nearly *materia prima* as is to be found in the modern world. Mr. Schroeder's individual view of the nature of religion is of in-

terest to Mr. Schroeder and to the large and influential school in the field of education who agree with him that if any religion is to be introduced into our schools it must be religion of this nature. But it is a matter of deep concern to all who are interested in the problem and who want religious instruction introduced into our public schools to know just what the nature of the religious instruction proposed is to be, so that they may be able to form an intelligent opinion as to its probable effects upon the morality and the citizenship of the coming generation. For this reason we will quote once more from Mr. Schroeder: "But now comes the most essential consideration: Religion has two fairly well defined phases: on the one hand, the feeling-will side, and on the other, the intellectual side. The first, to my mind, is the real, inner, essential side; the other, dealing with our *interpretation* of the nature of the force or forces affecting our destinies, in other words, the opinion side is the less essential side. . . . . These feelings and resulting conduct of what constitute the body and soul and essence of religion, truly its eternal verities, and those other elements but the ephemeral habiliments that will be discarded and replaced by others, as we gain more intelligent insight into the intricate phenomena by which we are surrounded in this world of mystery. In fact Kant calls the one religion, the other faith. Perhaps it would be better to distinguish between them as religiosity and religious faith or religious views. It is the latter phase that is the source of formulas, of creeds, of doctrine, and of dogma,—the changing side. If this latter were religion, then we could truly say that religion, in large part at least, is false; for all opinion as to most of these intricate and difficult problems that religion deals with, must in the very nature of things, be inadequate and incorrect."

We are scarcely interested, then, when, on a later page of this same article, Mr. Schroeder informs us that "if we use the term religion in its true signification" it is an essential part of man's nature as well as a potent aid to morality. "It follows that it is to the interest of the people to have our children receive religious training." All creeds and religious beliefs, all faith in one God, in the efficacy of prayer as a means of

grace, in immortality, all these things are mere opinions in Mr. Schroeder's mind and must be ruled out of our public schools as unjustifiable, and so he concludes his article in these words: "And now in conclusion: let the public schools forever rule out mere opinion, especially as to those interests that lie nearest the hearts of men; let them teach knowledge and truth, approaching them in the true spirit; let the teachers develop in the pupils respect for self, for parents, for the aged, for human nature, for constituted authority, for law, by being themselves truly respectful even to the least of things,—and, we may rest assurred, the public schools will do their share to develop those desirable habits of mind."

After reading Mr. Schroeder's article through one is inclined to wipe his glasses and read it again to make sure that one is not dreaming. It is really hard to comprehend the fact that men holding responsible positions in an educational system supported by the people for the enlightenment of their children could seriously hold many of the views expressed in this article. A thing drops from the region of fact and verity into that of mere opinion and falsehood if there may be found any other man or body of men who dispute it no matter how ignorant the latter may be or how little time they may have devoted to the subject-matter under consideration. The mere animal acts from blind instinct and feeling. Conduct becomes human and intelligent in so far as it flows from the wellsprings of conviction, but these men would rule out judgment and reason and in the name of education reduce our children to unintelligent imitation of models set before them. The public school teachers are called upon to teach knowledge and truth, approaching them in the true spirit (by ruling out all religious beliefs in one God, in immortality, prayer, etc.) and these same teachers are called upon to develop in the pupils a set of qualities and habits of action solely by acting as models for their imitation. This is really what our teachers have been doing during the generation in which religion was frankly banished from our schools. And if the results of the experiment have proven disastrous, what man in his senses will believe that the results may be altered by a mere bit of word juggling with supposed feelings

that are denied all legitimate channels of expression and that must not be embodied in any form or formula lest it become fetishism? If modern psychology is making anything plain it is this: that it is the rôle of intellect and reason to inform feelings and emotions and that such feelings and emotions lifted to the plane of intelligence must find expression before they can be rendered functional in the life of the individual, and the vitality of any such element is in direct proportion to the adequacy of its expression. But enough of this. The thing is not worth argument, nor would it be worthy of notice were it not for the fact that such clap-trap is made use of to impose on a credulous public.

Fundamentals in the Elementary School Curriculum.

At the last meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association held at Chicago, Illinois, February, 1909, Professor J. L. Meriam, of Teachers' College, University of Missouri, read a paper under the above title which is worthy of close study by all who are interested in the problems of primary education. It contains an analysis of the present curriculum together with a very frank exhibit of its weakness and defects. It also suggests a new curriculum for use in the primary grades which will commend itself to the progressive educator who is seeking to dispense wholly with the positive teachings of religion.

"Waste in school work," he says, "is due to a mal-adjustment between means and ends. Too frequently educators look for the solvents of this waste in better systems of management and better methods of instruction. On the contrary, I am forced to believe that the real source of the waste is the mal-adjustment between the content of the curriculum on the one hand and the needs of the pupils and the needs of the community, on the other. Time is wasted, not by reason of a lack of machine-like organization, but rather by reason of the presence of a dozen or more ill-chosen subjects in each grade."

Mr. Meriam has here touched the heart of the subject. The failure and waste of time in our primary grades is usually due to the source which he points out. The matter of the curriculum for the primary grades, especially, needs the most careful selection and the selection must be guided by the child's needs and by the needs of the adult. Mr. Meriam considers the curriculum from the point of view of the adult and from that of the child. From the adult point of view preparation for complete living has, according to Mr. Meriam, too long dominated educational thought. " The adult, with this aim in mind, selects and arranges the content of our elementary school curriculum. It is probable under the influence of science that the adult has been led to analyse his varied experiences and to arrange them in the categories of arithmetic, geography, reading, grammar, etc. As human experiences may be thus classified, it has apparently been assumed that instruction should be given in these subjects. So it is that we have our program of studies. In early ages life was exceeding simple; little more than the three R's sufficed to classify such experience. Twentieth century life, on the contrary, is so complex that almost a score of school subjects are used. Such a curriculum may be described as follows: First: It is an arrangement of isolated, unrelated experiences: arithmetic with no essential relation to geography; drawing with no close relation to nature study; and so with all the subjects. Second: The curriculum is congested. The ever increasing number of subjects and topics are only the inevitable result of the ever increasing complexity of our civilization. These subjects are generalizations of our experiences. If the curriculum is to consist of such generalizations the congestion cannot be avoided. Third: The curriculum is abstract rather than concrete. Dr. Frank McMurry is right when he claims that materials of instruction are ' concrete only when they deal with things and with actual, significant situations.' Facts, isolated from their original associations and having now no specific function, are abstract. Accepting this we are forced to regard as abstract practically all the content of our curriculum, as it is usually arranged. . . . The evils of such a situation are too

obvious to mention. But to counteract these evils and to make the curriculum more efficient three special remedies have been proposed in recent years. First: Enrich the work. This has been done by increasing subjects, topics, and details, and by applying the abstract in concrete situations. The former has only crowded the schedule and the latter has proven superficial. Second: Relieve congestion by omission. Conservatism and personal prejudice have blocked progress here. Further, omission is seen to be only a temporary relief, not a principle providing for permanent prevention of congestion. Third: Correlate the subjects. The result has been a forced adaptation of one subject to another and therefore wholly unnatural and superficial."

Such is the curriculum constructed from the adult point of view. Mr. Meriam goes on to point out that a serious injustice is done the boy when he is judged by adult standards, "And it is exactly such standards that we use when we insist that the boy learn the principles of percentage and the geography of Australia because, perchance, he may have use for that information in adult life. The school boy is as yet too limited in experience to plan for the future. His is to live in the immediate present. He cares for arithmetic only so far as it contributes to his present needs; for geographical facts only so far as they contribute to his immediate interests. And we adults are slowly coming to this view. . . . But we are learning that the most adequate adjustment to-day prepares best for adequate adjustment to-morrow. The boy cares little to prepare for the future; his great desire is to act now. This child view is in strict accord with recent thought designated by the term pragmatism. To use the words of Professor Woodbridge: 'It would aim to introduce subjects into the general course of study at the times when these subjects are needed for the exension of knowledge already acquired. It would make against the tendency to insist on certain subjects on the ground that they may prove of advantage to the student in later life.'"

Professor Meriam then proceeds to lay down four principles to guide us in the selection and arrangement of the content of the curriculum.

"First: That content has a place in the curriculum which meets real, present needs of the pupils. . . . The real needs referred to in this principle are not limited to vocational interests of youth and adult life. They must extend down to the child first entering school. Any of his normal, wholesome activities may rightfully claim assistance from the school.

"Second: Only that content has a rightful place, in the study of which the pupil has a conscious motive. Here will be debarred practically all that is formal and abstract in our present curriculum. This principle does not refer to that which is superficially interesting, but rather to that in which the pupil finds a contribution to his needs, and which thus supplies a real motive.

"Third: Only that content may be admitted which the pupil can comprehend and the significance of which he can appreciate. This principle debars practically all that is usually given as mere discipline.

"Fourth: Only that content may be admitted which contributes to the continuity in the development of the special problem being studied. This principle debars all isolated bits of information, but on the positive side suggests a wholly natural scheme of correlation."

Professor Meriam then proceeds to map out on these principles a wholly new curriculum for our primary and grammar grades. The principles he lays down are in strict accord with pedagogical science and if we quarrel with the actual curriculum, our quarrel must arise from a divergence of view as to the nature of the child's present needs and present activities and as to the kind of man we wish to develop by the activities which we select for development. "During the first two or three years of school life," he says, "play, simple observation of any wholesome thing within reach, and commonplace hand work are dominant." It is to be noticed that throughout the curriculum mapped out the religious nature of the child is wholly overlooked. It will be seen that the curriculum which we are outlining for the first grade work is in strict accordance with these fundamental principles and yet the result, as measured by the child's development, it will be recognized at

once, must be something very different from that obtained in the schools where this purely secular program is in force. One more point of difference should be noted. The home element is largely ignored in Professor Meriam's curriculum, whereas it obtains a large part in the curriculum as we propose it. The religious and the domestic elements in the child's nature are in reality the dominant elements and by ignoring them and developing play, observation and work the result must inevitably be an adult upon whom the ideals of religion and Christian morality will have little hold.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS AND THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAL.[1]

Mr. Chairman, Brother Knights:—

I feel tolerably certain that it is not the Universal Church in whose name you ask me to respond to-night. I hope I am a modest man, and as such I must shrink from a task that calls for the breadth of vision and the eloquence of an Augustine, the fulness and precision of a Thomas Aquinas, and the poetry of a Dante. I take it for granted that you mean the Catholic Church in the United States, whose devoted children we all are, whose honor we all cherish, and whose prosperity we are all anxious to further. If we look only at its external status, we are struck at once by certain extraordinary figures and facts—her fourteen or fifteen millions of children in continental United States, her nearly one hundred dioceses, her army of active priests, and her greater army of religious men and women devoted to a vast system of public works of religion, charitable and educational, all of them unsurpassed for number, size, variety, and prosperity.

Generally speaking, all these workers are everywhere ensouled with a generous and ardent spirit. Moreover, this great Church, at once very new and very old, is everywhere quite identical with itself, so that a Knight of Columbus who yesterday assisted at Mass in your cathedral could next Sunday kneel before an altar of his faith in Los Angeles or New Orleans or Seattle and recognize no difference in the form of worship, the teaching of his clergy, the close union with their people, the institutions and associations and works they were creating and guiding. In other words he would find among us, and only

[1] This discourse was delivered by the Very Reverend Pro-Rector in reply to the toast "The Church in the United States," at the annual banquet of the State Officers of the Knights of Columbus, at the Hotel Brunswick, Boston, Mass., April 19, 1909.

among us, a perfect unity of faith and worship, of religious discipline and moral principles, and all that over a territory as vast or even vaster than the Roman Empire.

Merely, therefore, to consider the Catholic Church in this nation as she appears to the man in the street is to look on a unique fact in our modern religious life. This condition of things would still be wonderful if it were the result of several centuries; if it took place in one homogeneous people; if it represented the slow but regular growth of many generations identical in race, language, social habits, national experience, popular ideals, venerating the same heroes and worthies, closely welded by the many influences that affect men when they live long under the same sky and use familiarly the same institutions. But all this has come in less than a century. In that time the Church has been put together out of various races, speaking different tongues, dissimilar in social habits and political training. It was a harder task than the Roman Empire had to face when it brought Germany and Gaul, Spain and Britain under the yoke of one common culture. That was done by force, this amid all freedom; that took place from without, this from within; that was accomplished under the iron rule of one city, this took place amid the freest political life the world has yet seen. It is to be noted also that this growth coincides with the opening of a larger and more responsible political life for our beloved fatherland, its entry into that deep and remote Orient whose mystery has forever solicited the men of the West. Moreover, this wonderful growth of Catholic religious life takes place not at the end of our mighty nation's political career but just when the latter has rounded out at home its splendid national domain in the choicest part of North America, bounded and surveyed and generally improved it, made it known and accessible to all, and revealed from ocean to ocean a new and limitless moral province, the province of opportunity, a richer and a higher earthly life for all citizens than has yet fallen to the lot of mankind. All this, however, has not been accomplished without the special good-will and help of Almighty God. Now Our Heavenly Father looks to the race as well as to the individual, to the whole Church as well as to the great national

families, to the future of the Church as well as to the welfare of its actual members.

Opportunity, therefore, means *Responsibility, i. e.,* our concern for the future ought to be in keeping with the conditions of the present. We may put it down as a principle that we shall grow in the future in proportion as we are faithful to the principles under which our present prosperity has been reached, *i. e.,* faithful, first to the civic ideals, and second, to the religious ideals of those who were the pioneers of the Catholic Church in this glorious land of freedom for all and injustice towards none, the Carrolls, the Englands, the Fenwicks, the Hugheses, the Fitzpatricks and the Williamses. Those principles are visibly illustrated in the lives of the great majority of American Catholics, and to their more secure growth and preservation this order of Knights of Columbus has from the beginning consecrated itself with an ardent and holy intensity of conviction. These principles, moreover, have been sealed in blood on every battlefield of the Republic. They resound without ceasing from every Catholic pulpit as a fundamental expression of personal duty, and to go no farther they are very clearly set forth by our beloved Cardinal Gibbons in his recent article in the *North American Review* on "The Church and the Republic."

On the other hand the future of Catholicism in this country is no less intimately connected with the principle of fidelity to the peculiar genius and spirit of our holy religion that is ever the same, whether its altars are poor and lowly or rich and splendid, whether its members suffer contumely and persecution or share the power and the glory of a great state. And if you ask me to say at once by what special mark we shall know that American Catholicism is not weakening in tone or fibre, I will say that it is the preservation and deepening of its affection for the See of Peter, that unshakable Rock to which our fathers clung through long centuries of oppression, religious, social, political, economical, and to which they owe it that they were not submerged in so great and so long a storm, simply blotted off the catalogue of nations and peoples. This double inheritance, however, that we would hand down, un-

diminished love of the Republic and untarnished Catholic faith, can only be preserved in one way, through Education. It is as needless, of course, for me to insist on this axiom of political and religious experience as to prove that the sun shines. As these two great duties of American Catholic citizens have been handed down to us in the past through the lives of American Catholics, taught from childhood to be at once exemplary citizens of the State and exemplary sons of Holy Church, so must it be in the future, under the auspices of an education at once thoroughly American and thoroughly Catholic, that this double treasure shall be shared perpetually by all those who are called to follow us and to take up in our stead the problems and the burdens, as well as the honors and the emoluments, of the civil and the religious life. It is this higher plane of patriotic zeal and religious endeavor that particularly commends itself to a great association of men like the Catholic Knights of Columbus. Formerly all the ranks of Catholic society engaged in the building of those splendid cathedrals that ornament Europe and are yet the pride of the Catholic religion whose unique monuments they are. Or, again, at the call of the Vicar of Christ thousands of men gave themselves to the high ideal of rescuing the Holy Land and securing for Christian love and piety the sites where Jesus Christ the God-man was born, lived and died. Thus arose the great orders of knighthood and chivalry whose influence on charity, worship, the fine arts, on all modern idealism, is so recognizedly great. The ages in which these men lived have passed away, and with them all that was individual and transitory. Not so, however, the monuments which they raised in pure and holy idealism. These survive, even as the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, founded in great measure by Catholics, survive yet and dispense wisdom and culture, even civil power and influence, through a mighty nation. I commend you strongly, Sir Knights, for the beneficent ideal of education, at once patriotic and religious, that you have set before yourselves. You began by founding in the Catholic University of America the Chair of American History that is doing daily a very creditable work in the patriotic formation of a large

class of young men, both priests and laymen, both secular clergy and members of religious orders. And now you have undertaken to create in the same school a fund of five hundred thousand dollars for the perpetual endowment of fifty scholarships, of ten thousand dollars each. The magnitude of the enterprise is only surpassed by its novelty, and without doubt could be undertaken in no other land than ours. In company with the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America you have already entered upon the ways of a noble and generous idealism, you have revealed at once a new secret of honorable greatness for our larger Catholic associations and an easy means of consolidating our Catholic educational efforts. From this high ideal, thus translated by you into a wonderful public monument, there must react in due time upon yourselves, but above all upon your children and your children's children, strong elevating influences all of them making steadily for that love of country and that love of pure religion which Pius X only yesterday publicly approved and crowned when at St. Peter's in Rome he lifted to the altars of the Catholic Church the Blessed Joan of Arc, that tender maiden who was at seventeen a commander of armies and at nineteen perished as a victim on that altar of patriotism which President Lincoln so feelingly described in his famous letter to Mrs. Bixby. I will not further detain you except to say that in the future when it is asked whether the Knights of Columbus are Catholic in temper and purpose you will only need to point to the works that you have done for the direct need of the Catholic Church, which is confessedly religious education; when again it is asked if you are truly American in spirit and temper, you will only need to point to the many citizens young and old, who will owe it to your bounty that they have been able to serve the Republic not only with that general devotion that all citizens owe her for the countless benefits she secures us, but also with that trained intelligence and that perfected affection in which true scholarship should always culminate.

BOOK REVIEWS.

La Vie de Saint Patrice; Mystère Breton en trois actes. Texte et Traduction. Par Joseph Dunn, Professeur à l'Université Catholique de Washington. Paris, Champion; London, David Nutt. 1909. 8°, pp. xxxii + 265.

The revival of interest in hagiographical studies during the last few decades has not been without considerable profit to the historian. At one time it might have been found that critical science which had removed so many of the legends of saints and martyrs from the category of authentic history was going to result disastrously for the great mass of literature made up of Acta and Vitae and Passiones. That time has passed, however, and it is now generally recognized that all these various documents are of inestimable value as guides to the thought and culture of the period when they were composed, in fact that they represent the very kernel of the life of Western Europe in the middle ages. Faith and religion were then the well-springs of action and it was but natural for the people of that period, looking to Christ as the source of all the blessings they enjoyed, to make heroes of those whose distinction lay in having imitated Him most closely. One of those heroes of the faith whose life and deeds filled the popular imagination was St. Patrick, the national apostle of Ireland. It is manifest in view of the widespread missionary activity of the Irish in the time when the foundations of Christianity were being laid among the Teutons and the French that the name of St. Patrick would be widely known among those peoples, and one of the facts, which is emerging more clearly into the light of history as a result of better knowledge of the prominent part played by the Irish missionaries in the development and organization of European civilization, is that the fame of St. Patrick was by no means confined to Ireland and the Irish people. The learned labors of Delehaye are revealing the curious beliefs connected with the Purgatory of St. Patrick as they existed on the continent of Europe and the closer study of the early literatures of France and Spain show that St. Patrick was the subject of many curious compositions. Of a piece with these but in a different order is this

Breton play which Dr. Dunn has edited and translated. Here we have evidence of the manner in which the Bretons, congeners in blood and language to the Irish, had presented to them the life and deeds of St. Patrick. The play is published from a MS. which was transcribed about the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. The archaic language in which it is written points to a time of composition much anterior to this. In the Introduction Dr. Dunn discusses at length various questions connected with the manuscript which was never before printed, its authorship, date and literary value, etc. Though undertaken as a labor of love, the importance of the play and its literary excellencies do not evoke any extravagant praise and one feels that in such hands as those of Dr. Dunn the literary and historical value of such works as this will be appraised at their proper value. The most interesting portion of the Introduction is perhaps that which deals with the sources for this life of St. Patrick. The author points out its connection with many of the mediæval lives of St. Patrick which had an influence on the literature of the middle ages and comes to the conclusion that it may have been derived from the work known as *Flos Sanctorum Hiberniae*. Many interesting matters are discussed in this Introduction and it is no exaggeration to say that in it we have a step forward in the settlement of the question regarding the place which St. Patrick occupied in history and tradition as well popular as literary. The learned notes of a linguistic and philological character will of course commend the work to a class of readers who are not interested in its literary or hagiographical character. The play itself contains a wealth of interesting settings in which is shown the naïve faith of the people untroubled by any critical or chronological doubts. Dr. Dunn is very much to be congratulated on the excellent work he has achieved and it will no doubt be a source of pride to the Founders of the Chair of Celtic Language and Literature, at the Catholic University, that this work showing the influence of St. Patrick in other days and other lands, thus connecting more closely with the great streams of European civilization the Irish apostle and the Irish people, should come from the pen of the incumbent of that chair.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu: Eine patristische exegetische Studie. Biblische Studien von Dr. Wilhelm Homanner, herausgegeben von Bardenhewer in München. Band XIII. Heft 3. Herder. Freiburg, 1908. 8°, pp. vi + 123.

Dr. Homanner undertakes in this work a fresh discussion of the old question regarding the length of Our Lord's public life. As a preliminary to the main question and because of recent publications on the Synoptic problem the author treats of the historicity of the Gospels in general and their witness to the chronology of the Life of Our Lord. The next section takes up the traditional views regarding the duration of the public life of Christ as found in the works of the Fathers and how certain conclusions are arrived at, namely, that if this question is to be solved at all the statements of the Fathers, varying as they do and derived entirely from the Gospel text, are of no assistance. Hence the solution must come from an examination of the inspired records themselves. This is the purpose of the last chapter, in which, besides dealing with the vexed question of the general chronology of Our Lord's life, the author discusses the theories of Van Bibber, Scott, Belser and others, and declares himself most unreservedly in favor of a period of three years or a little more as representing the time of Our Lord's active ministry.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Versio Latina des Barnabas-briefes und ihr Verhältnis zur altlateinischen Bibel. Erstmals untersucht, nebst Ausgabe und Glosser des Griechischen und Lateinischen Textes, von Joseph Michael Herr. Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908. 8°, pp. lxxxiv + 132.

Besides being a valuable introduction to the Epistle of Barnabas and besides containing a wealth of textual and literary information, this work lays bare a new field of investigation in its discussion of this important question regarding the existence of an old Latin version of the Bible antedating the Italian and the Vulgate from indications found in the Latin version of the Epistle. It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that the author has proved his

case, but at any rate he has raised some problems which will not be easily solved along lines far different from those he has indicated.

P. J. Healy.

Zur Textgeschichte der Civitas Dei Augustins seit dem Entstehen der ersten Drucke, von Bernhard Dombart. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, herausgegeben von Adolf Harnach und Karl Schmidt. Band xxxii, Heft 22. Hinrich's, Leipzig, 1908. 8°, pp. 56.

The author of this interesting study did not live to see it published and this last contribution of his pen to historical science was issued by his friend Dr. Stählin. The work is a valuable aid to judge the value of the various printed editions of the *Civitas Dei*. One fact not generally known is brought out by the author, namely, that the first printed copy of the work is not that of Venice, 1470, but that of Subiaco, 1467. By means of a series of comparative tables the author calls attention to the various readings found in the different editions. Several special chapters are devoted to the history and sources of the various editions in which their interdependence is advocated and discussed, another chapter deals with the headings of chapters in the *De Civitate*.

P. J. Healy.

Ten Personal Studies by Wilfrid Ward. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. Pp. xvii + 300.

These Essays by the Editor of the *Dublin Review* are something more than mere biographical sketches. They are psychological studies of some of the men who have figured in recent history, political and ecclesiastical. The subjects of the studies are Mr. Balfour, the three editors, Delane, Hutton and Knowles, Professor Sedgwick, Lord Lytton, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Leo XIII, Cardinals Wiseman and Newman and Father Ryder. The study of Mr. Balfour is the most detailed in the Collection and as the subtitle "A political Fabius Maximus," suggests, explains the apparent inconsistencies, hesitancies and contradictions of the ex-Premier's politi-

cal career on the theory of deliberate and on the whole justifiable "policy of dawdling with a purpose." The Essay on Leo XIII, while not so explicitly psychological, is a thoughtful study of the principal events of the reign of the late Pontiff, of those events, in particular, which marked the trend of the Pontiff's thought in matters philosophical and theological. We can hardly agree, however, with the author in describing certain enactments of Leo XIII as inspired by "His ideal of a universal reign of Thomistic philosophy." And incidentally, we may remark that it was not Leo but Pius IX who "added the North American" to the National Colleges already existing in Rome. Neither did Pope Leo found a University "at Baltimore" but at Washington, D. C. The study of Newman is, as one would expect, a sympathetic estimation of the qualities mental and personal of the great Tractarian. "Newman's sensitiveness to *fact*" is a happy phrase and describes an educational element in Newman's works which should not be overlooked in our theological curricula. The volume is full of suggestiveness and will, we have no doubt, be a valuable addition to the library of the thoughtful student of contemporary history.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Early Christian Hymns. Translations of the Verses of the Most Notable Latin Writers of the Early Middle Ages. By Daniel Joseph Donahoe. New York: The Grafton Press, 1908. Pp. xii + 271.

This is a collection of translations of the best religious songs of all the ages of the Latin Church. The hymns are arranged in chronological order according to authors, from St. Hilary down to Urban VIII. Each group is preceded by a brief sketch of the ecclesiastical poet to whom they are ascribed, and the whole collection is rendered easy of access by an alphabetical index of the Latin titles. All lovers of the fine old church songs, and especially the priest who has by his daily recitation of the Breviary grown to love the sacred psalmody of the Latin Church, will welcome this volume and will share the "exhilaration of spirit" which the translator experienced in performing what was evidently a labor of love.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Sermons by Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D. Edited by Rev. J. H. Cronenberges, C. S. Sp. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, 1908. Pp. xiv + 462.

The late Dr. Reuben Parsons is well known to a large circle of readers in this country as a writer on Ecclesiastical History. In the volume before us he appears as a thoughtful and effective writer of sermons. The praise bestowed on these discourses by the Editor when he describes them as "solid in doctrine, substantial in thought, elegant in expression, eminently practical in aim," seems to us on the whole to be deserved. There are in all forty-three sermons in the volume. "Incredulity," "The Liturgy of the Mass," "Conscience," "The Primacy of the Pope," "God in the School,"—these are some of the titles and may serve to indicate the variety of the themes chosen.

WILLIAM TURNER.

---

1. **La Philosophie de Taine.** Essai Critique par Paul Nève, Docteur en philosophie. Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. Pp. xvi + 359.
2. **Leibniz,** Avec de nombreux textes inédits. Par Jean Baruzi. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. Pp. 386.
3. **Les idées Morales de Chateaubriand.** 2me. éd. Par Maurice Sourian. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. Pp. 96.
4. **Pensées** par F. De La Mennais. Avec une introduction et des Notes par Christian Maréchal. Bloud et Cie, 1909. Pp. 63.

The cause of Christian philosophy is being ably championed in French-speaking countries and during the last decade a very considerable service has been done to that cause by the publication of several series of philosophical works. The *Grands Philosophes,* edited by Abbé Clodius Piat, of the Institut Catholique, of Paris, is well known to students of philosophy, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, all the world over. The *Bibliothèque de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie,* of Louvain, though less restricted both in its scope and in the number of volumes published, is also well known. The latest addition to it is Dr. Nève's study of the philosophy of Taine. Less well known, though by no means less

deserving of recognition, are the Collections published by Bloud and Company, Paris, namely, *La Pensée chretienne, Philosophes et penseurs* and *Chefs-d'Oeuvre de Littérature Religieuse,* to which the *Leibniz,* the *Chateaubriand* and the *De La Mennais,* the complete titles of which are given above, belong respectively.

1. The chief merit of Dr. Nève's critical essay on Taine is the successful attempt to show that in spite of Taine's oft-quoted rejection of Metaphysics, there is nevertheless running through his psychology, his ethics, his logic, and even his political theories what we may call a latent metaphysics, and, as documents recently published show beyond all doubt, he did not consistently live up to his determination to relegate metaphysical speculation to the region of poetic fancy. The author devotes twenty-six pages to a sketch of the life and a catalogue of the writings of Taine. He then takes up Taine's philosophy, dividing his exposition and criticism into two parts. The first is entitled "Causes," and includes metaphysics, cosmology, sociology, psychology, religious and political institutions and esthetics. The second is entitled "Norms," and includes ethics, logic, social organization, and the ideal in art. In a concluding chapter on the influence of Taine, the author shows that while what was erroneous in Taine's philosophy was tried and found wanting, what is of permanent value still influences the intellectual, moral, esthetic and political life of France.

2. M. Baruzi's *Leibniz* has first of all the merit of an original contribution to our knowledge of the doctrines of the great seventeenth century thinker. The work is enriched with numerous documents hitherto unedited. These are excerpts from MSS. on theological and philosophical subjects, letters, etc. Leibniz said of himself "Qui me non nisi editis novit, non novit." It was well known that only a small part of his writings was edited during his lifetime. But no one until the year 1900 began to suspect what an immense amount of unedited material was at hand especially in the Archives of Hanover. The result of the study of this new material has been to transform our idea of Leibniz from that of a comparatively simple, in the sense of academically concise, thinker to that of a highly complex and exceptionally wideranging student of religion, science and literature, whose thoughts do not easily fit into any of the historian's categories of philosophical

systems. This is the impression which a study of M. Baruzi's volume conveys. The work will be read with great interest by students and teachers of the history of philosophy.

3. The author of the *Genius of Christianity* and of *Atala* wrote in answer to the criticisms of the latter work that so long as the critics admitted that *Atala* had the effect of making people love Christianity he was satisfied. On another occasion he formulated the maxim that it is more becoming and productive of better results to see in everything the beauty which exists everywhere and not to criticise the faults and defects which exist in everything human. This sane and salutary optimism was won in Chateaubriand's case by constant struggle with a natural disposition to pessimism which was aggravated by the circumstances of his early life. The story is admirably told in M. Sourian's volume, which is at once a biography of the mental life of Chateaubriand and a lucid exposition of principles which inspired his moral life. The account of the *Voyage en Amérique* will be found especially interesting.

4. The peculiar power of De La Mennais' poetic prose, the burning eloquence, the conciseness, the brilliancy, the mordacity of the style, the deep religious feeling, the heart of the man quick to respond to every note of suffering in nature and in humanity, mark off his *Pensées* from everything else that he wrote, and place them in a class by themselves, rendering them different from, if not superior to, every other contribution to that kind of literature. The collection contained in M. Maréchal's little volume belongs to the years 1819-1826, that is to the orthodox period of De La Mennais' career. The *Thoughts* are mostly on moral subjects, with occasional references to the problems of religion and philosophy, references which seem to have been occasioned by the line of thought of the *Essai sur l'indifférence*. For instance, "Knowledge serves only to give us an idea of the extent of our ignorance," "All men pretend to love the truth, and this is one of the greatest proofs of the obligation to love it truly." The editor's notes add much to the pleasure of reading these sometimes paradoxical sayings.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Modern Spiritism. A Critical Examination of its Phenomena, Character, and Teaching, in the Light of the Known Facts. By J. Godfrey Raupert. Second Edition. St. Louis : Herder, 1909. Pp. vi + 261. Price, $1.25 net.

The contents of this book may for convenience be reduced to three parts: the facts, the theological hypothesis, and the philosophical hypothesis. By the facts we mean the phenomena, all of which are, to say the least, extraordinary: luminous appearances, phantom forms and faces, communications by word and writing from deceased friends and relatives, rising of tables, chairs, etc., off the ground, movement of bodies from one room to another, alteration of weight of bodies. To reject all these as so much "fraud" would be as rash as it would be foolhardy to admit them all, and give them full credence. One who has never witnessed any of them must be prepared to examine the authority on which each of them rests and should have the courage to reject or accept them according to result of his examination. Taking the ensemble of facts presented in the book before us, and examining the testimony adduced, we are forced to the conclusion that the trustworthiness of the witnesses is not always and in each case above suspicion. Mr. Raupert himself, when he wishes to show that the power behind the phenomena is not a disembodied human soul, demonstrates clearly (pp. 134 ff.) that many of the phenomena are open to the suspicion of fraud. But taking the facts as alleged, what are we to think of them? The author of *Modern Spiritism* does not hesitate to affirm his belief that they are manifestations of the power of evil spirits. He is, of course, entitled to that belief, and no Catholic can consistently maintain that the explanation is an impossible one. So long, however, as there is a possibility of some other explanation being true, we are not obliged to invoke the preternatural. Mr. Raupert's conclusion is not theologically unsound; but is it scientifically and philosophically, and above all, logically sound? His chief argument in favor of his explanation seems to be that the "intelligences" are fond of denying the fundamental principles of Christianity. So are many evil-minded men. Must we then conclude that the agnostic, the atheist, the sceptic "has a devil?" If the "sensitive" is capable of fraud is he not capable of impiety as well?

We turn, next, to the philosophical hypothesis which, as we

understand it, is not an alternative, but a supplement of the theological explanation. If we mistake not, the author holds that when the evil spirit is in control of the medium there emanates from the body of the medium some "psychic substance" which forms the "luminous appearance," and sometimes takes on human shape and features, is photographed, has its pulse felt, etc., and that as a consequence, the *weight* of the "sensitive," or medium, is diminished. We think we are not wrong in inferring that this is the philosophical faith of the author. He writes "What this psychic substance which can thus be extracted and manipulated by intelligence precisely is, from what portion of the body it is chiefly withdrawn, what other elements are superadded to it, we have no means whatever of determining" (p. 68). Now our chief objection to the book is that this theory of a "psychic substance" partly material, partly spiritual, is a very old error, long ago discussed, rejected and condemned by the best Catholic philosophers. It goes back to the earliest Neo-Platonic heresies; during the Middle Ages it assumed the guise of the *Mediator plasticus;* its ghost, if we may be pardoned the use of the word here, was finally laid by St. Thomas (see especially, *Quæst. Disp. De Anima,* art. 10), and we doubt very much whether the definitions of the Councils of Vienne (1311), and Fifth Lateran (1515) and the Letter of Pope Pius IX to the Archbishop of Cologne (1857) do not by implication at least condemn the theory of a substance intermediate between body and soul.

One assurance we may give the author: so far as our experience goes, and so far as we have learned from men long engaged in the work of the ministry in the United States, Spiritism is not so much of a menace to our Catholic people as it is, apparently, in other countries. Our people have a natural, but not more than a normal, curiosity concerning the unusual, the weird, and even the preternatural. However, a conscious and explicit determination to have recourse to demoniacal agencies is a sin which our Catholic people abhor and is not likely to become prevalent among those who frequent the sacraments. Whatever be our explanation of Spiritism, we know that its moral dangers are great, and a people once warned against those dangers is in no need of additional deterrents.

WILLIAM TURNER.

L'église et le progrès du monde, par Charles S. Devas, traduit de l'anglais par père J.-D. Folghera. Paris: Gabalda et Cie, 1909. 12mo, 301 pp.

Professor Devas, well known for his scholarly studies in Political Economy, brought out in the spring of 1906 an apologetic work of great usefulness, entitled, *The Key to the World's Progress.* It is largely historical and sociological. An able survey of the various attempts to solve the world problem leads to the recognition of the Catholic Church as alone possessing the key to right progress and to the proper understanding of life. The distinguished author did not live to see the full success of his work. He died in the fall of 1906. But its value has been so widely recognized that a cheap paper edition was published last year by Longmans, Green and Co. There now appears with the date 1909 the above cited translation of this work by the French Dominican, Father Folghera. The version is well done, and ought to prove a popular addition to the rich store of religious literature in the French language.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Le védisme, par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. 16mo, 129 pp.

This little book, by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, is one of a very useful and interesting series published by Bloud and Company, dealing with the history of religions. It is a popular treatise, based chiefly on the classic works of Barth and Oldenberg. It limits its scope to early Brahmanism or Vedism as it is often called, after the early Brahman sacred books known as the Vedas. In the short compass of 126 small pages, it offers a large amount of well digested information on the religion practised in India by the ancient Aryan invaders.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

L'Enfance de Jésus Christ dans les Évangiles canoniques suivie d'une étude sur Les Frères du Seigneur, par le P. A. Durand, S. J. Paris : G. Beauchesne, 1908. 16°, pp. xli + 287.

Like everything else published by Fr. Durand, S. J., this study on "the Infancy Gospel" bears the stamp of genuine scholarship. Its main object is to vindicate the historical reliability of Matthew I-II and Luke I-II, III, 23-38; and, however short this study may be, we think that for the present, without new material, it will be hard to establish the historical character of those chapters on more solid grounds. Fr. Durand first proves their reliability by an appeal to the trustworthiness of both Matthew and Luke, as proven by the rest of their Gospels. Afterwards he examines the narratives in detail. The language and style of this charming little volume are as clear and simple as its contents are scientific. The author refutes the different objections, which, in both ancient and modern times, have been raised against the historicity of the wonderful events related in those passages. It stands to reason that, in this discussion, the Christian belief in the Virgin Birth, at the present day denied by so many non-Catholic scholars, receives that special attention which the subject deserves. Fr. Durand has no difficulty in showing the fallacy of the theories of Paulus, Strauss, Schmiedel, Harnack, Loisy, "Herzog," and others, who attempt to explain this early belief in the Virgin Birth so clearly expressed both in Matthew and Luke, without admitting its historical character. He moreover attempts to point out the sources from which the two Gospel writers drew their information concerning our Lord's infancy, and shows that even from a purely scientific standpoint, this history is most likely based upon the contemporary and direct testimonies of the relatives themselves of Mary and Joseph.

Fr. Durand is too good a scholar to pretend that, after his new publication on the subject, the first chapters of Matthew and Luke offer no longer any difficulty to the Bible student. He himself realizes certain difficulties much better then probably most of his readers will do. He even does not hesitate to call attention to those points, where thus far Christian Apologetics have not entirely succeeded in establishing the Christian contention. But although therefore, in a certain sense, the fortifications be not entirely finished, the reading of this little volume must needs impress its

readers with the impregnable character of the mighty wall which protects the Catholic faith on these points against all the attacks of modern historians and critics.

When we opened this new study on the Infancy Gospel there was especially one question on which we hoped the author would throw some more light. On page 11 Fr. Durand tells us that one can point out "le joint" or the place, where Luke, to make his narrative complete, ought to have mentioned the flight into Egypt. In our opinion the greatest difficulty in the Infancy Gospel is precisely that of finding room for the events related by Matthew in the narrative of Luke, where the holy family seems to go straight from Bethlehem or Jerusalem to Nazareth. We are sorry to say that Fr. Durand also, like so many of his predecessors, does not give a satisfactory solution of this difficulty.

The question of "the Brothers of the Lord" is discussed in an Appendix that covers sixty pages. Fr. Durand first gives the facts with which the readers of the New Testament are confronted. He then reviews the different explanations of those facts, which in the course of time have been proposed by Christian scholars. Finally, in a third and last little chapter, he draws his own conclusions. Whenever Fr. Durand declares himself convinced by the evidence at hand, the readers will find it hard to disagree with him.

However scholarly the whole little volume may be, there is not one page which we read with greater pleasure than p. 214 f., where Fr. Durand quotes Fr. de Grandmaison, S. J., and appeals to the "ensemble doctrinal" of our Catholic faith.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees. The spring meeting of the Board of Trustees took place at the University, April 23. There were present the Chancellor, Cardinal Gibbons, and Archbishops Ryan, Riordan, Ireland, Farley, Glennon, and Moeller; also Bishops Maes, Harkins and Foley, Monsignor Lavelle, Messrs. Michael Jenkins, of Baltimore, Richard C. Kerens, of St. Louis, Walter George Smith, of Philadelphia, Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, and the Very Reverend Pro-Rector, Dr. Thomas J. Shahan. Among the most important decisions of the Board was to transfer the General Library of the University from its present quarters under the house chapel of Divinity Hall to the western half of the first floor of MacMahon Hall. The University Library numbers at present some 60,000 volumes. By this change of quarters space will be found for over 130,000 volumes, besides much better ventilation and light. The former quarters were becoming quite overcrowded.—The election of Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aiken as Dean of the Faculty of Theology was formally approved.

The K. of C. and the A. O. H. Endowments. Satisfactory progress is reported in the plans of the Knights of Columbus to create at the University an Endowment Fund of five hundred thousand dollars. With this generous sum it is intended to create fifty scholarships of ten thousand dollars each. The Ancient Order of Hibernians are also active in the establishment of a large number of scholarships at the University for the study of the Gaelic language and literature.

The Catholic Knights of America. At the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees progress was reported in the project of the Catholic Knights of America to endow a chair at the University.

The Rector of the University. The Very Reverend Pro-Rector presided at Philadelphia, Saturday, April 17, at the afternoon session of the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences. He also preached at High Mass at the Cathedral the following Sunday. Monday evening, April 19, he attended the Annual Banquet of the State Officers of the Knights of Columbus at the Hotel Brunswick, Boston, where he replied to the toast "The Church in the United States," and took occasion to commend highly the magnificent act of Catholic faith by which the Knights have undertaken to add $500,000 to the endowment fund of the University.

University Publications. Among the recent publications of the professors of the University we may mention *The Making and Unmaking of a Dullard,* by Dr. Thomas E. Shields, and *La vie de Saint Patrice,* a Breton mystery play, in three acts, edited and translated into modern French by Dr. Joseph Dunn. Rev. Cornelius T. Holland, of Providence, R. I., a licentiate of the University, has recently published *The Divine Story,* an adaptation of the Gospels for Sunday School use.—*The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda,* edited by Dr. George M. Bolling, is being published at Halle, Germany.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *June, 1909.* *No. 6.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

Published by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Washington, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS
BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *June, 1909.* *No. 6.*

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE—A CRITICISM.

In two previous articles [1] we have outlined with all possible impartiality and precision, although briefly, the principles of the New Philosophy. So far, we have not entered into their applications to the various problems of philosophy and to their solutions. It would have been necessary for that purpose to go through the whole field of philosophy. In the course of our criticism, however, we shall have occasion to determine more exactly the meaning of these principles and to discuss more effectively their value.

The purpose of this article and of the following is precisely to examine the value of these principles. Our criticism will be as frank as our exposition has been accurate. We shall point out the partial truth which the New Philosophy contains; it is to be found especially in its criticism of the pseudo-scientific materialism and empirical associations which dominated the latter part of the nineteenth century and found in Herbert Spencer its chief exponent; in its emphasis of the importance in the life of thought of certain elements which some philosophers had a tendency to neglect; in some very brilliant psychological analyses which have had a great share in the success of the new School. In the same way we shall indicate what we consider to be the errors of the New Philosophy. To our mind,

[1] Cf. *The Catholic University Bulletin*, April, 1906; March, 1908.

they are in its principles; not indeed that there is no element of truth in them, but that they are false in the particular and original sense in which the New Philosophy understands them, as well as in the place and function which it gives them in the structure and growth of philosophy.

The New Philosophy, as has been already said, is based on two fundamental theories which complete each other; a theory of science and its value, and a theory of intuition; these theories implying as a first principle the primacy of the will over the intellect and leading to a particular conception of the relations between Science and Philosophy as well as to a new conception of the chief notions and principles of Metaphysics.

Our present criticism will be limited to these two theories and will touch the other points only in so far as will be necessary for the full discussion of these theories.[2]

I. The Value of Science.

The New Philosophy has its starting point, negative though it be, in the criticism of what is called the intellectualistic conception of science. It holds that scientific reflexion and processes are unable to put us in mental contact with reality; that their results cannot succeed in explaining or even in representing it; that these results indeed do not express truth but they furnish us with means of action. It is on these principles that the New Philosophy bases its charge of inability to know the truth against intellectualism.[3]

Rightly so or not, the New Philosophy in this criticism of our scientific knowledge pretends to be in agreement with the scientific movement that has taken place more especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century. We have alluded to it in our first article; but in order to judge with more competency

[2] The reader will find a brief summary and an excellent criticism of the notion of truth in the New Philosophy in J. de Tonquédec's *La Notion de Vérité dans la Philosophie Nouvelle.* Paris, 1908.

[3] It is the same conception of science and truth that is at the basis of Pragmatism. It is that accepted by W. James in his recent book, *Pragmatism.* Cf. Lect. II, pp. 53-63, and Lect. VI, "The notion of truth."

and with more interest to the reader, the true meaning of this movement and to show that it implies neither the principles nor the solutions which the New Philosophy and even some scientists think it implies, we deem it useful to sketch this movement briefly, as far as it is concerned with the value of scientific method and solutions, and as exactly as is possible for one who is not a specialist in the matter but who has studied it mainly from the standpoint of its philosophical significance. The clear exposition, in special publications, by some of the leading scientists, of the data of the problem and their solution of it, facilitate not a little the writer's task. The works of Poincaré and Duhem [4] may be especially mentioned. As physical sciences have been the more direct object of this criticism (although Poincaré has also turned his attention to the value of mathematical sciences) and as these sciences are more closely connected with reality we shall confine our exposition to them.

In a general way, physical theory, until the nineteenth century, had been considered as an explanation of reality; it claimed to put the human mind in possession of the efficient causes and constitutive elements of material phenomena. Observation ascertained the facts and discovered their mutual and necessary relations or laws; then, comparing all these different laws, the human mind attempted to reduce them until it had found the elements whose various relations constituted the essence of objective nature and regulated its course. Physical theory therefore was considered as essentially explanatory; on the other hand, these simple elements were identified with material or representative entities: material points and motion, laws of local change through impact, pressure, attraction and repulsion; it was a mechanical theory. These elements were

[4] H. Poincaré: *La Science et l'Hypothèse*, Paris, 1902; *La Valeur de la Science*, Paris, 1905.

P. Duhem: *La Théorie physique, son objet et sa structure*, Paris, 1906. Cf. also, A. Rey: *La Théorie de la physique chez les physisiens contemporains*, Paris, 1907. This latter book contains a good exposition of the divers conceptions of the physical theories and many interesting remarks concerning their value. But the author is a positivist. He professes to ignore the principles of Metaphysics and yet uses them unconsciously at every step.

accepted as the very matter, causes and laws of nature, its qualities and action. Physical theory was thus given as an objective reproduction of nature.

It is especially with the development of thermo-dynamics based on the principle of the mechanical theory of heat generalized into the principle of conservation of energy, and on the principle of Carnot-Clausius; also with the conception of energy, which, according to many, flows as a consequence from them, that the notion of physical theory was changed. Abstract notions and schematic constructions were substituted for material elements and explanatory reproductions; the concept of energy for the concept of matter and motion; and magnitudes instead of being represented and measured geometrically as special changes relatively to a given point, were represented and measured algebraically, as numbers relatively to a conventional scale. So physics, abandoning the principles and elements of mechanics, accepted those of thermo-dynamics. It no longer claimed to be immediately a systematic explanation and objective representation of nature and of its material phenomena but rather to furnish a method of representation that would enable us to take possession, by prevision and control, of natural forces. Even those, who remained faithful to the principle of mechanics, modified their notion of its elements and a new conception of the nature and value of the physical theory was accepted. This new conception differs, indeed, according to the physicists who accepted it, taking divers aspects and giving divers interpretations to the question of the relations of Physics with reality; hence we must carefully distinguish their several views regarding the nature and value of the physical theory according as it is considered as a method of research or as an expression of results,—a point that has not been sufficiently noted by the New Philosophy and on which we shall insist further on. In its general character, however, this conception substitutes representation for explanation as the function of physical theory.[5]

This new view was inaugurated by Rankine in England, elaborated by E. Mach and Oswald in Germany; Clerk Maxwell and

[5] Cf. A. Rey, *op. cit.*

W. Thomson (Lord Kelvin) in England have also given a large place to the representation in physics by the introduction of "mechanical models." Poincaré and Duhem in France, with certain differences, however, have insisted on the character of representation in physical theory.

According to Rankine,[6] two periods must be distinguished in the construction of physical theory. In the first period the relations between the natural and experimental facts are observed and expressed in propositions or formal laws; in the second the formal laws of a class of phenomena are systematically reduced and the physicist looks for the simplest system of principles from which all the formal laws can be deduced; this system of principles constitutes the physical theory. Not being imposed immediately by experience, this theory may be built in divers ways: either a class of objects is defined through the common properties of this object as perceived by our senses, without the use of any hypothesis, and designated by a name or symbol: this is the abstract method; or this class of objects is defined through some hypothesis suggested by analogy with other laws already known; then the agreement between the consequences deduced from such an hypothesis and experience verifies the definitions: this is the hypothetical method. The former is the true method, says Rankine. By applying it, we reach the conception of energy as a property common to all physical phenomena; all physical phenomena are then varieties of one and the same energy, homogeneous and subject to mathematical measurement. In this conception physical theory becomes a natural classification, a method of representation of the phenomena and of their relations.

E. Mach[7] exposes his views of the value of science in connection with his system of philosophy which is phenomenist, sensualist and evolutionist. According to him, the history of scientific progress has passed through three periods: the first is the experimental period, which merely observes facts and

[6] J. McQuorn Rankine: *Outlines of the Science of Energetics.* (*Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, vol. III); cf. also, Rey, *op. cit.*

[7] *Die Analyse der Empfindungen; Die Mechanik in ihrer Entwicklung, historisch-kritisch dargestellt.* Leipzig, 1883.

groups them according to more or less empirical principles. In the deductive period the mind substitutes for facts some abstract concepts out of which reality is reproduced systematically; this is, in Physics, the period of "mechanicism." The third period is the formal or perfect period; here the end of science is not to reproduce reality but to build a system that economizes our efforts of thought,—for the great law of the human mind is the law of the economy of effort; energetics realize this period in physics.

According to Mach, sensation is the only reality and it is something essentially relative. The object of science is to determine the relations upon which our sensations depend; it is an analysis of our sensations. Physics is the science that studies the external relations of our sensations; it became truly scientific the day it attempted to replace experience by a type of the facts that would be easy to handle. This copy is obtained through a systematization guided by the principle of economy of effort, a principle formed in the human mind by the collective experience of the race and confirmed by its practical results. It is the fundamental principle of the human mind and the source of progress; the value of a physical theory is measured by it. The best theory is that which represents the greatest number of relations with the least possible effort.

So, in this system, science appears to have primarily a pragmatic value. This view has also been mentioned by Oswald.[8]

With the English school of modern physicists, Faraday, Clerk Maxwell, and W. Thomson (Lord Kelvin), mechanicism seems to dominate again in Physics and the physical theory seems, at bottom, to be an explanation of reality. The original part in their conception is the place given to the mechanical models. For them, for Thomson especially, a physical theory is not truly understood until it has been illustrated; and this illustration is obtained through mechanical models; the more analogous to the phenomena this model is, the better the theory is understood. A line with its direction and magnitude is illustrated by a vulcanized rubber tube, rigidity by a piece of

[8] "Theorie und Praxis" in *Zeitschr. des Oesterrischen Ingenieur und Architecten-Vereins*, 1905.

steel, flexibility by a thread of cotton, etc.; again, laws are illustrated by a combination of balls, springs, etc., or algebraic symbols. These models are not used to satisfy our reason but to please the imagination; hence, they are not subject to the laws of logic. Thus one group of phenomena may be represented by one model, another group by another model, without any relation to the former or even in contradiction to it; or, again, the same group may be represented by different models. It seems at first that in such a conception, physical theory, by reason of the place given to the model in its formation, is reduced to a mere scheme of representation and to a mere practical value. We shall see, however, that such a judgment would be rather superficial.

The work of Prof. P. Duhem deserves a very special mention. By his undisputed familiarity with the problems of mechanics and thermo-dynamics, by the depth of his thought and the extension of his scientific erudition, Professor Duhem has won for himself a place among the masters of contemporary Physics. In a recent book he wrote on this very subject of the physical theory, he examines its object, formation and value; it is this work that we shall summarize presently.[9]

According to Professor Duhem, the object of a physical theory is not to explain but to represent as simply and as exactly as possible through some few principles the different laws obtained in experimentation. Four successive operations concur in its formation: (1) the determination of the elementary properties and their representation by mathematical symbols which will be in relation to them as a sign to the thing specified; (2) the connection of these mathematical symbols by some few principles, largely arbitrary, but subject to the law of contradiction, and also the formulation of hypotheses; (3) the deduction from these principles of all their possible consequences through mathematical analysis; (4) the comparison of these conclusions with the experimental laws to be represented. The physical theory is precisely verified by this conformity with experience. Its usefulness consists in this that it makes possible the intellectual

[9] *La Théorie physique, son objet et sa structure.* Paris, 1906.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

economy of thought and furnishes a classification of laws, and that moreover it develops a certain divination of the real affinities between things that will tend progressively to change this classification into a natural classification and to allow the prevision of new laws. Therefore, says Professor Duhem, in spite of its utility, the theory of illustrative representation of the English physicist should not be accepted, for, although our hypotheses may be to a certain extent arbitrary, they must, however, always respect the law of non-contradiction which common sense imposes on all our scientific reflexions. Physical theory is neither explanatory nor merely illustrative, it is a representation built according to the law of non-contradiction and order, and it attempts to furnish a classification of a group of experimental laws.

In order to connect in a logical order its experimental laws, theoretical Physics must use the language of the most logical science, viz., mathematics. But under what conditions can a physical property be represented by a mathematical symbol? Only quantity can be expressed in numbers and physical properties are not quantities but qualities; and quality, although admitting of different degrees of intensity, is not reducible to quantity. In order to use the language of algebra in physics, the physicist then will be obliged to substitute for the quality a numerical symbol, *e. g.,* for heat, that of temperature; to this symbol he will add some concrete process apt to obtain the scale of intensities and the knowledge of this scale will allow him to give a physical meaning to the algebraic propositions; in this manner, for instance, the divers quantities or dilatations of mercury under the influence of a certain more or less intense degree of heat will furnish us with a thermometer that will enable us to determine numerically the different degrees of the intensity of heat. We do not add the intensities of heat but the numbers measuring the expansion produced by them.

Now, how shall we realize the successive operations that are to give us the physical theory? We have first to determine by a method of analysis and reduction the primary qualities, a determination that will always remain more or less provisional and

relative. After this determination of the primary qualities and of their mathematical symbols, we have to study the relations existing between the symbols; here we have the use of hypotheses,—of these we shall speak later on. Then comes the question of mathematical development. The purposes of the mathematical deduction is to teach us that by virtue of all the hypotheses accepted, given circumstances will produce certain consequences. But how are we to represent these mutual relations of facts or laws? And what is the nature of the facts used by the mathematical deduction and of the laws represented? The circumstances observed through experiment form the "practical fact"; translated into their mathematical symbols, they form a "theoretical fact." This translation is never absolutely adequate but only more or less exact. To say that the temperature of a body is 10° or 9.99° or 10.01° is to formulate three different and incompatible theoretical facts; and yet the three correspond to one and the same practical fact if our thermometer is not precise to the 1/50 of a degree. Again, experimental laws are the result of experiment, and experiment in Physics, although an exact observation of concrete facts, is at the same time an interpretation of them through the substitution, for these concrete data, of symbolical representations that correspond to them according to the theories antecedently accepted. So, in Physics, theory precedes scientific observation. Again, instruments of observation are constructed on the plan suggested by the theory that has been accepted. Physical laws, therefore, are only approximate, relative and provisory.

Now, what is the value of physical theories, or rather, what is the value of the hypotheses upon which these theories are based? The physicist does not find them either in Metaphysics, since they are applied not to things themselves but to their symbols; or through experience and induction, although experience and common sense may sometimes exclude or modify those that have been accepted. Where then will he get them? In his selection, the physicist is first of all guided by the law of non-contradiction; the different hypotheses must not be contradictory. Moreover, they must be selected in such a way that he may, through mathematical deduction, draw from them consequences

that will represent with sufficient approximation all experimental laws. Outside of these rules the physicist is free; yet freedom does not mean arbitrary caprice. The physicist belongs to an epoch scientifically characterized so that his freedom is guided and sometimes controlled by present circumstances. In reality, physical theory is the result of a slow and progressive evolution to which each age brings its share of enlightenment; the hypothesis of gravitation developed gradually from the time of Aristotle and the Greek philosophers to the days of Newton. Such are, according to Professor Duhem, the object, the formulation and the value of physical theory.

It is partly under the influence of this scientific movement interpreted by them, both as an affirmation of contingency and freedom in the field of science and as a reaction against the usurpations of logical necessity in the process of thought, that Professor Bergson and his disciples, Professor Le Roy especially, have developed their criticism of intellectualism in general, of science and its value in particular. We explained their principles [10] in our first article; we summarize them here briefly. According to Professor Bergson, all our knowledge has its starting point in the data of common sense; but if common sense puts us in contact with reality, it represents that reality to us not in its immediate and pure data but as the result of a certain interpretation. Common sense is essentially directed to the satisfaction of our daily needs; therefore it perceives reality under this aspect and selects in it what is useful for our ordinary action. Its data for us do not primarily represent reality as it is in itself, but in its relations to our needs. This is a first deformation of reality. What is then the value of science? Science does not represent pure reality. First of all, it has its starting point in common sense which is an interpretation rather than a representation of reality; again, its primary purpose is not to make the data of common sense more precise in order to know them more deeply but to express them so as to use them better, to dominate nature and foresee its course more surely. It is under these influences, Professor Bergson says, that we

[10] *The Catholic University Bulletin*, April, 1906.

substitute discontinuity for continuity, quantity for quality, numerical multiplicity, geometrical extension and homogeneous time for concrete and real duration, measure for motion, etc. What then regulates our scientific concepts is not knowledge but practical use. We select in common sense these data that are of interest for our actions and we express them in laws and theories formed according to this criterion.

Professor Le Roy has summed up his conceptions in the following propositions.[11] "The facts our laws must connect together are, in the measure in which they are scientific and not mere crude facts, made by the scientist as far as the decrees of common sense allow it; laws themselves are either conventional definitions or practical directions (recettes pratiques); as dogmatic definitions, and only as such, they can be general and rigorous; but then they cease, properly speaking, to be subject to verification; as practical directions they are not true but efficacious; they do not possess interest for our knowledge so much as for our action; they enable us to use rather than to discover the order of nature.

"The results of positive science are contingent (from the point of view of knowledge): (1) because they rest upon principles of common sense, without which the fundamental definitions are mere vicious circles; (2) because they proceed from a discursive parcelling out (morecelage) of nature by ourselves when, however, analysis shows that each act of parcelling implies at bottom the whole of science.

"Science has a value: (1) from the standpoint of our practical action either industrial or discursive; (2) from the standpoint of knowledge, in this sense that each one of its results furnishes us with a starting point for a critical study of reality; but science is neither autonomous as a whole nor necessary in its details." [12]

Such is the position taken by the New Philosophy in this problem of the value of science. This criticism of Intellectu-

[11] *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie,* 1901.

[12] Cf. in W. James' *Pragmatism,* the same conception of common sense, science and truth. Lect. II, pp. 190-194; Lect. VI, "Pragmatism's conception of Truth."

alism is one of its important elements since it is used as a principle upon which to establish not only the distinction between philosophy and science but also their separation and to judge of the value of our concepts as elements of true knowledge; and moreover as a starting point to put in new terms the various problems of Philosophy and to advocate intuition as the true method of Philosophy.

This then is the position we have now to examine. At first glance it seems that according to the different conceptions exposed above, scientific theories have merely a subjective, symbolical or practical value. In reality this conclusion is the result of a superficial view. We do not deny that among scientists there may be some who admit it, but we maintain that in their case, this opinion is the consequence, not of scientific considerations, but of the philosophical principles antecedently accepted by them. We maintain that the divers scientific notions, facts, concepts, laws or theories, considered in themselves, analysed in the fulness of their data, elements and meaning are the source and the object of a true knowledge,—of a knowledge truly representative and, thus far, explanatory of reality, although more or less adequate and subject to progress;—of a knowledge that has its starting point as well as its rule in the objective reality, not in our mind; that scientific notions have primarily and immediately a value for knowledge and only consequently a value for action and use. We do not, indeed, deny that our mind plays its active part in this knowledge and in its progress; but we maintain that the part played by the mind consists in furnishing means and not in creating results; that even in this coöperation, the mind is not left to its caprice or choice but is always regulated first in its general direction, and then more and more closely in its particular determinations by objective reality; that it is therefore by an artificial interpretation of the scientific movement as well as by a false analysis of common and intellectual knowledge that the New Philosophy has been led to its conception of Science as having a merely artificial and provisory value as knowledge.

It is admitted by all that science,—we speak especially of physical science—has its starting point in the data of experience

or facts, that it attempts to express these data through *laws* and to systematize these laws through *theories.* Let us examine these successive steps in the formation of our scientific knowledge.

As to the facts or data of experience,—these data have their source in experience or common sense; but, we are told, the scientist sees them in another way than the ordinary or ignorant man and there is an essential difference between the *crude and practical fact* and the *scientific fact.* The crude fact is simply seen by the ignorant; the scientific fact is *made* or *created* by the scientist who selects among the data of common sense those that appear more interesting and better adapted to his dominion over, and his foresight of, the course of nature.

Professor Poincaré forcefully and rightly protests against such a proposition, against what he calls "M. Le Roy's Nominalism." He maintains that there is no essential difference between the crude and the scientific fact; the latter being simply the translation of the former into handy—we should say, a precise language.[13] Using the example of the eclipse proposed by Professor Le Roy, he shows that the crude fact expressed by the plain man in the sentence, "it is dark," and the scientific fact expressed by the scientist in the formula, "the eclipse took place at 9 o'clock," are one and the same fact expressed in two different ways. There is not on the part of the scientist a creation but a more precise expression of the fact. In what then, does the activity of the scientific mind consist? This activity does not exert itself over the facts in order to transform or interpret them but it looks for the means better adapted to a deeper and more precise perception and observation of these

[13] By this expression "science, properly speaking, is not true, but handy," Prof. Poincaré seems to admit the very opinion which he attempts to refute. However, explaining his thought more fully, he says that this convenience in science is and will be found to be "the same for all men." Even this supplementary explanation does not seem to us to remove all subjectivism. But if, as Prof. Poincaré expresses it, scientific convenience is not due to chance, it has some foundation, and if it is the same for all men, it must be based on a universal and necessary relation between the mind and its objects, therefore on an objective reality. Prof. Poincaré himself speaks of the "natural and hidden relationship" which connects the divers facts together. Cf. *La Valeur de la Science,* pp. 266-268.

facts. So it is that the mind devises hypotheses. Now, these hypotheses are indeed to some extent artificial, since they claim, not to express the truth, but rather to look for it; they are also provisory since they are not intended to formulate any results but rather to realize some attempts. They are not, however, arbitrary or free; they are suggested at their starting point, regulated and directed in the course of their progressive determinations verified at the end by experiment, by the fact itself. The formula of the scientist is more precise than that of the ignorant; it expresses the same fact.

We are told that the expression of the fact, the scientific or theoretical fact is relative to the instrument used; that according to the perfection of the clock or of the thermometer used, the time of a given instant may be recorded as 9, 8.59 or 9.01,—the temperature of a body as 20° or 19.99° or 20.01°, three theoretical facts representing one and the same practical fact. This is partly true; in reality, however, it means simply that the precision of our knowledge of the fact, in this case is not absolutely but only approximately adequate; that our common fact may be represented not by three divers theoretical facts equally exact but with three divers degrees of approximative precision. Again, we are told that the scientist has selected the instrument which he uses in his observation and measurement; that his observation therefore, and measurement are relative to the kind of instrument used; that, moreover, as these instruments have been constructed according to a certain principle and theories previously accepted, their indications will not have any sense or value except from the point of view of these principles and theories. I answer that, in a general way, these remarks are true. The scientist in the observation and study of facts can and must select his instruments; but this selection is not arbitrary; it is rather strictly determined; it is imposed by the nature of the fact observed, by the aspect or special property examined in it, by the degree of precision which the scientist wishes to reach; [14] briefly, the use of such or such an

[14] Let us not conclude that the knowledge acquired then is measured by our wish; our wish may determine its degree; it does not influence its nature. See farther what we say about the part of the practical element in our knowledge.

instrument is determined by and in relation to the fact observed; its perfection is measured by its adaptation to this fact; and the data which result from its use or scientific fact, reproduce the crude and objective fact with more precision according to the degree of delicacy of the instrument. It is true that the instruments are constructed according to certain theories previously accepted; our instruments are, as it were, the material and mechanical realization of a theory. Let us remark, however, as we shall say later on, that these theories have not been arbitrarily invented by our own mind but are imposed upon us by experience and reflexion; at first we construct our instruments according to the general principles of reason, the primitive data of experience or common sense about the fact to be observed, and the hypotheses suggested by these data and principles. These hypotheses are at the beginning very simple. According to the results obtained, these hypotheses and instruments, controlled by objective experiments, are either corrected or made more and more precise; but every step in the progressive development of the hypotheses and in the precision of our instruments is directed and verified by objective experiments. Our actual instruments with their complex structure and wonderful precision are the result of these successive improvements, the mechanical realization of the knowledge acquired and developed through the collective and successive reflexion of scientists under the suggestion, direction and control of experience.

Briefly, scientific fact is the same as the crude fact, but more clearly and more distinctly known and therefore expressed in more precise language. In scientific observation our mind does not create anything in the result obtained; it perceives or conceives more clearly that common sense the objective reality. Its inventive, or in the larger sense of the word, its creative activity is exercised about and limited to the means necessary to reach this end; it is for this purpose that it devises hypotheses, methods, experiments and instruments; and even in these devises our mind is not free but always in greater or lesser measure, determined at its starting point, guided in its successive steps and controlled in its results by the very fact under observation; its operation consists essentially in its adap-

tation to the objective fact. Hence scientific facts have not a merely subjective or symbolical, but a truly objective value; they are truly representative of reality. Their value as representation, we admit, is relative, not indeed in the subjectivistic sense that it depends fundamentally upon the constitution or attitude of our mind and is ultimately measured by it, but in the objective sense, that although it represents truly the fact as it is in reality, yet its representation is more or less adequate or approximate;[15] our scientific facts are more or less precise and their precision is subject to perfection and progress, this progress having its directive principle, its limit and its criterion in objective reality itself.

And now what is the place of the practical element in the scientific fact? Is it true to say that the scientific fact is an interpretation of the common fact required by our needs or its practical use in our life; that scientific facts are means of action rather than objects of knowledge?

(To be continued.)

GEORGE M. SAUVAGE, C. S. C.

HOLY CROSS COLLEGE.
BROOKLAND, D. C.

[15] There are few words that are as ambiguously used in Philosophy as the words "relativity," "relative," "relativism." We shall see their exact meaning later on when we shall expose the traditional theory of knowledge. Let it suffice here to distinguish briefly between subjective and objective relativity. In the first case our knowledge is said to be relative in the sense that it represents things not according to their real and objective character but according to the constitution of our mind. The objects are known as they appear not as they are in themselves; our knowledge is essentially and primarily relative to the kind of mind that knows; it is true only as phenomenal or appearance; this is Kant's position, a position, which, as we shall see, is ruinous to certitude and true knowledge. In the latter case, our knowledge is said to be relative in the sense that, although representing things in their real and objective characters, it represents them, however, only as far as the power of the knowing mind is able to apprehend them, *i. e.*, in a more or less adequate measure. Things then are known and appear to us as they are, but this knowledge is more or less adequate to the object according to the degree of perfection of the knower, although it is always truly representative of the object in the measure in which the knower knows. Such is the Scholastic doctrine expressed in the axiom: "Cognitum est in cognoscente ad modum cognoscentis." It is in this latter sense that we speak here of the relativity of knowledge.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LYING.

III.

The most important element in one's character is one's virtue; the relation between the conduct of life and its law. The most important feature in one's virtues is one's attitude toward them. If one invest virtues with a dignity which may not be surrendered and with an authority which is recognized without reluctance and respected without question, then one is lifted into a plane of moral harmony and power. Life receives spirit, discipline and direction from its virtue and is thereby in right relation with its law. If on the contrary, one trim or adapt one's ideas of the virtues in a way to suit one's preferences, exclusions and temperament, such mutilation leads to an entirely false concept of the virtues and thereby life suffers moral disorganization which is fatal to character. Struggle between the two points of view is as old as the race. Virtue seeks to organize and control life while life seeks to define and subject virtue. The heart of man is wayward. It would know only its own restraint and not that of a far away ideal.

Conflict often turns on definitions rather than on principles. Men will agree on a principle of honesty or chastity or truth while they go asunder on definitions of what is honest or chaste or true. When the undisciplined heart can not beat down definitions into relaxed indefiniteness it will endeavor to argue its way. It will claim that the virtue as presented in the Christian idea of moral government of life, is impossible, or if not precisely impossible, that general violation of it is inevitable. On this assumption, neglect in particular cases is to be, it is claimed, indulgently overlooked. The wrong is "natural" or "amiable" or "harmless" and we are to "be easy on the offender." Or again, this subtle human heart will display in all the charm of literary form or with the pointedness of graceful mockery, the awkward extremes to which ob-

servance of virtue may lead when virtue is tactlessly followed and misunderstood. Whatever the method, the aim is none other than to enable the wayward heart to win its victory over the traditional forms of virtue which stand for discipline and moral direction of life.

Possibly no other virtue has suffered more from this process than truthfulness; rather truth. We meet on all sides the assumption that it is an impossible virtue: that it is largely an undesirable member of the family of virtues. Many surrender to the supposed inevitable need of lying when certain situations arise. Efforts to be truthful are made the basis of diverting comedy. Opportune lies are described in literature that lacks neither dignity nor power, as entering into the spectrum thrown by many a splendid virtue on the screen of life. Insidious distinctions abound whereby men may escape service of truth without apparent surrender to falsehood. Good natured persons condone readily forms of untruth which have no excuse but weakness and no cause but moral apathy toward their social consequences. It is unfortunate that Crawford could say, " Sin is easy, only because it meets such very general encouragement," and equally unfortunate that virtue is difficult because it meets so much discouragement. It will be a sad day in the history of morals when men build their virtues to suit their weakness and not their strength: when for instance the truthful man is not alone he who is truthful to the limit of his power but as well he who is untruthful to the degree that his surroundings invite. Virtue is a discipline of human nature and not a concession to it. Truth has suffered because social opinion has often failed to insist on it and as often failed to punish them that lie. One's duty to virtue is not done, as Goldsmith says, when one has praised it. Nor is it done when one has practiced it. One owes to virtue the duty of praising it, of encouraging and expecting it and of resenting its violation because the relation of public or social opinion to a virtue is fundamental. The commonplace practice and feeling of the public toward truth are such that it requires *real* courage to meet the ordinary requirements of the virtue: when not that, at least the tact of a trained diplomat.

Practically all good men are agreed that selfish, cowardly, malicious and boastful lying is without excuse. On the whole it meets the social condemnation that one may reasonably ask. But not all are so clear in view or exact in doctrine when there is question of unselfish, humane, defensive or helpful lying. It borrows specious approval from its goodness of motive, and conscience is made immune against regret by the sight of the good that is done and the evil that would result if truth were told. It is greatly to be regretted that apology for this kind of lying is made in the name of certain very attractive virtues, and conversely that excuse for not telling the truth is made because of a supposed relation between indiscriminate truthfulness and certain mean traits of character. Many resort to the lie in order to be kind. Many do not hesitate to lie when charity seems to invite it. Artaban in *The Other Wise Man,* tells a lie to save a life, and the lie appears as an act of moral heroism. Sociability, and culture, loyalty, love of peace, sympathy, prudence, justice, fortitude are too often invoked to excuse some kind of lie. One who will read Mark Twain's *Heaven or Hell* will find described with real power the whole process of mind and emotion by which the lie is drawn into service of the gentler spirit of humanity. Yet one who is true to better understanding of things and who mentally grasps the meaning and function of virtues in individual and race life, will not be convinced that surrender to the lie is a happy solution even when hearts are sodden with grieving tears and appalled by impending death. There are times when one ought to be strong but there are none when one ought to be weak. In such circumstances as those pictured by Twain, the lie takes on the very livery of virtue, and bears itself with even a more conscious grace. That, however, is no solution of the essential difficulty in question. Addison says that what religion calls temptation, the world calls an opportunity. So when lies are told from a gentle motive, to spare pain or defend virtue, the approach to them loses all form of temptation. The sense of wrong is dulled and nothing is seen except an opportunity to be kind or loyal or helpful. And yet, must we not go back to the sterner view? Does not every

high consideration demand that we think as for instance Maturin in his *Laws of Spiritual Life,* when he says, "You know that insincerity is a very odious thing, that an insincere person is one who never can be trusted and ought never under any circumstances to be encouraged. And yet with this knowledge clear before your mind you spend a delightful half-hour talking to a person who scarcely takes the trouble to conceal his insincerity, saying things to please you which you know are not true and which neither he nor you believe. And thinking it over you have to convince yourself again that all this charming unreality is really as much a sin against truth as a vulgar lie told you by a beggar in the street."

This sacrifice of truth in the name of another virtue shows that men fail to understand the virtues and their relations, for no virtue can exist at the cost of violating another. Now the coördination of the virtues in every day life is a supremely difficult task. It requires tact and foresight, self-control and a fine sense of situation, much courage and equal patience. This, however, is the price that must be paid for the triumph of ideals in life. No one gifted with any power of judgment will declare that the task is easy. It is not easy. But in morals the note of difficulty is not a decree of abrogation. They who learn their definitions of virtues without understanding the relations among them may do more harm than service to morality. Chesterton says in *Orthodoxy,* "The vices are indeed let loose and they wander and do damage. But the virtues are let loose also and the virtues wander widely and do terrible damage. The modern world is full of the old Christian virtues gone mad. The virtues have gone mad because they have been isolated from each other and are wandering alone." Isolate truth from kindness and loyalty and patience and it becomes terrible in the hands of jealousy, sarcasm, hate and resentment. Isolate charity, loyalty and sympathy from truth and these become the very pity of life. In this reconciliation of the virtues lies their technique, which is as difficult and more important than that of art or music. Avoidance of standards that are too exacting or too little so, and the meeting of the complex situations of life

as one normally living and working should meet them, make up the triumph of moral self government. In thus doing duty many problems will be met. Whether as regards truth they are best solved by what is called legitimate reservation or by modified definitions or by reference for a standard of truth to a virtue beyond itself, is a serious question which falls properly to the moralist. In view of the acute sensibilities of people it may be well to imitate the example of an eminent President of a great American university who on the occasion of a public address on truth frankly avoided consideration of " the unselfish considerations there may be which in extreme instances justify a man in departing from verbal truthfulness."

II.

Lying is a social phenomenon. Its processes occur in given situations with as much uniformity as the upbuilding of social groups. Not until we recognize social processes as they appear in certain types of lie, shall we be in position to master the problem. Given a tribe or people notorious for lying as Spencer found some Indian tribes, as Renan found the Orientals, as Lyall found primitive peoples generally, as Sumner found the Samoans, this trait will undoubtedly be related to the whole social history of the people in question. And their reformation will be conditioned to a great extent by social conditions and processes as well as by the high moral teaching that would be required to establish right ideals among them. As civilization advances and institutions mutiply; as relations among men become more complex and men must trust one another and depend on one another, high sanction for truth telling becomes necessary. It would not be safe nor would it be Christian to leave truth to the mercy of mechanical social processes alone. It must be idealized, revered, fought for, and honestly sanctioned in public opinion. They who continually remind us that it is difficult or impossible are no friends of the social ideal that demands it. They who advise concessions to the complexities of life and carelessly advocate

the lie when it will do "most good," are really delaying moral progress. However, social obstacles to the progress of truth ought to receive attention. One in particular is the social pressure which is toward lying and against truth. Given a general demand for certain types of lie and resentment against certain forms of truth, the lie will be told and the truth avoided by a large number of persons. This social pressure reaches one who utters a lie through him to whom it is told. The beginning and the end of the lie are often in the hearer as one of the public and consequently the moral problem has an important sociological aspect. If careful statements are not respected; if accuracy is futile; if society discounts statements according to its promiscuous assumptions; if words take on meanings from situations which a speaker can not control; if truth often misleads and the lie some times conveys a true impression, it can scarcely be denied that the interests of truth require study that carries us far beyond the speaker.

Lecky in his *History of European Morals* offers this principle, "In the ordinary intercourse of life, it is readily understood that a man is offending against truth not only when he utters a deliberate falsehood but also when in his statement of a case he suppresses or endeavors to conceal essential facts, or makes positive assertions without having verified their grounds." The general application of this rule "in the ordinary intercourse of life" would tend to destroy one's confidence in one's statements and would leave us in a frame of mind like that produced by Whately's "*Historic Doubts*" concerning the existence of Napoleon. It is well established in scholarly circles as far as science is concerned, but under that onesided form it would scarcely serve for every day use. The aim held in mind would be better secured were that principle supplemented by another to the effect that the hearer be as fair and truth loving as the speaker. It should be said, for instance, that he is an enemy of the truth who refuses to believe it, as well as he who conceals it or lies. When one party man is objective and fair, his opponent will not conceal essential facts. But teaching is incomplete and duty is misunderstood when only half the situation is covered by a principle. Lecky's principle is a good

half truth. It should be completed by stating the duty of a hearer to believe, to respect, to be governed by truth when it is told. When authoritative statements are respected, they will be made. When homage is refused to the truth, little effort will be made to state it. Surely our duty toward it is not done unless we accept and respect it when offered.

Accuracy of statement is closely related to truth-telling. The act of communication reduces itself to a question of words and their correct use. We may take for an instance the rule of George Fox, the Quaker, who was "against all language that departed from verbal truthfulness." His law was: "Speak the truth whether merchant or tradesman and all sorts of men whatsoever in all your occasions and in all tradings, dealings and doings. Speak the truth, act the truth and walk in the truth. This brings righteousness forth." Against verbal accuracy, one may allege that that it does not insure in the hearer correct understanding. Scholasticism and logic show us what painstaking care is necessary in order to make exact statements. Even when the statement is exact to the mind of the speaker, no assurance is had that it is understood in just the same manner by the mind of the hearer. An analogous situation is found in the construction of the piano. Were every key tuned accurately, the piano as a whole would be out of tune. Tuning consists in distributing a certain degree of inaccuracy over the key board. One key must represent two different tones, but it can do it only by being true to neither. Mere accuracy of words then is no guarantee of truth. Hence it is that one must keep in mind the impression to be made on the hearer. Not expression so much as impression should guide one in communication.

It is probable that a language will not be more truthful than the soul of those who speak it. Life makes language. The currents of feeling that daily experiences provoke or modify do not flow on without leaving their imprint on the word shores through which they pass. A man's vocabulary is a tolerable picture of his social experience. Words are symbols. We find many meanings forced into one word and we find a word having many synonyms. Words are incomplete. They are

really parts of sentences, the sentence or judgment being the unit. The range of human feeling and emotion is much wider than that of language. "No language is so copious," says Madison in the *Federalist,* "as to supply words and phrases for every complex idea, or so correct as not to include many, equivocally denoting different ideas." The difficulty of expressing exactly what is intended is illustrated in a warranty deed, for instance, by which an owner of land does "grant, bargain, sell, and convey" it to the buyer.

Passing on from what may be called the objective inaccuracies of language, we may consider the subjective variations to be found in the word values of individuals. Back of the uses of a word in the individual's vocabulary, is the whole process of his mind with a hundred determining circumstances. A Belgian peasant, an American hunter and an Indian chief unanimously call a certain dog, good. They agree in the word but the Belgian thinks of hauling, the American, of hunting, and the Indian, of eating. These particular word values are brought out by the following from Tiedeman, *Unwritten Constitution of the United States.* "A word used by one man does not necessarily have the same shade of meaning which it might have when used by another. But every word must be understood rightly to have a certain and common meaning else it would be impossible for one mind to communicate with another. But within the limits of the general meaning of a word, there may be and usually are various shades of meaning which the word alone can not unfold and which must be learned from other sources."

But beyond the objective and subjective looseness or variations in the use of words, there is the confusion of divided being in us that half hinders us from really knowing what we feel or think. The difficulty which is met in every day life is thus stated by George Eliot in *Adam Bede.* "Examine your words well and you will find that even when you have no motive to be false, it is a very hard thing to say the exact truth, even about your own immediate feelings, much harder than to say something fine about them which is not the exact truth."

This division of self appears between one's mechanical feel-

ings and one's intentions or wishes: between one's natural self and one's culture self. All men are conscious of it and are often confused, not knowing which "I" speaks on a given occasion. Henry James in describing such a dilemma of one of his characters says: "The words were the mere hypocrisy of her reflective endeavor for virtue." There was merit in the children's story which Coventry Patmore's wife intended to write. It concerned a race of men with tails, the tail wagging automatically to express real feelings, regardless of what one said. Such an organ of candor showing deeper feelings in spite of us would lead to very disturbing complications.

If the duty toward truth rested on the nature of language, it would seem that mastery of language would bring with it the suggestion of veracity which would cause masters to stand out in moral preëminence. Yet the opposite is the case. The most carefully used words are most apt to be misunderstood, for people are notoriously inaccurate in their use of words. It was remarkable that Gladstone was much suspected of insincerity. Scarcely a greater master of English lived in his time. Morley says of him in his biography, "He seemed to be completely satisfied if he could only show that two propositions thought by plain men to be directly contradictory were all the time capable on close construction of being presented in perfect harmony, as if I had a right to look only to what my words literally mean or may in good logic be made to mean, and had no concern at all with what the people meant who used the same words, or with what I might have known that my hearers were all the time supposing me to mean."

Language as the vehicle of expression is a more or less uncertain factor in the process of truth telling. The objective variations in words, the subjective inaccuracy in the uses of words by individuals, make accuracy extremely difficult of realization. And further concern may be felt when one realizes that differences in moral, social and mental standards among men, will lead them even when using words correctly, to apply them to most unlike situations, or to apply contradictory and exclusive terms to the same situation. This may be seen readily in every day experience. A and B observe Mr. Jones refuse

money to a beggar. A is opposed to begging. B favors it. A praises Mr. Jones for wisdom; B condemns him for stinginess. Where is the truth? If B alone observed Mr. Jones and reported to A, each would have a different impression. Again A is the friend, B is the enemy of Mr. Jones. D tells them a series of facts concerning him. A feels friendly emotions stirred and he interprets D in one way. B feels angry emotions and he interprets in an entirely different way. Who understood Mr. Jones accurately? Where is the truth? Children sometimes so construct two paper wheels on one pivot that a breeze striking them fairly sends them revolving in different directions. It is much the same with emotions and minds, meeting given facts but judging them from different points of view. Variations among standards of every kind lead men to place most divergent constructions on the simplest statements.

We find in summing up that the same word is used in many senses: that words understood in the same sense are applied to unlike situations, and that extreme accuracy, in consequence, does not insure correct understanding. All of this bears on the problem of truth. For on the one hand, we have the stern moral law imposing it; on the other, social situations forbidding it and inviting the lie. Many find a way out by taking advantage of these peculiarities of language. They avoid a verbal lie but mislead effectively or evade the truth with success. Were language a fixed and rigid factor, the whole problem would be different.

Finally as regards an admittedly true statement, it will not necessarily convey the truth, in view of the elements in individual minds and in the social atmosphere. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is none the less true unfortunately that one can convey a true impression by lying and a false impression by telling the truth. It was said of Bismarck that he sometimes told the truth, for purposes of deception, to those who expected him to lie.

Says a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "I have come to realize that one must often tell a lie in order to convey a true impression since the matter of a lie as of a jest,

"Lies in the ear
Of him who hears it, never in the mouth
Of him who speaks it."

La Rochefoucauld gives us the maxim, "Some disguised falsehoods represent the truth so well, that it would be bad judgment not to be deceived by them." In a similar view Le Galliene says, "There is no duty we owe to truth more imperative than that of lying stoutly on occasion, for indeed there is often no other way of conveying the whole truth than by telling the part lie." Cynical as this is, we find the same thought expressed with almost tragic earnestness by Morley, who in explaining away Burke's "minor overstatements of the case" against Hastings, says: "It is one of the inscrutable perplexities of human affairs that in the logic of practical life, in order to reach conclusions that cover enough for the truth, we are constantly driven to premises that cover too much." It is equally regretable to find that the truth serves for purposes of deception.

We read in a recent novel, "I at once decided to deceive her utterly and therefore I spoke the exact truth." The speaker referred to his act as one of "mendacious veracity." Lytton tells us in *Alice* that Vargrave "found a familiar frankness, a more useful species of simulation." A recent campaign book was quoted as saying of an eminent American, "Even when he tells the truth, he does so in order to disguise an evil purpose." Hawthorne represents Mr. Dimmesdale in *The Scarlet Letter,* as telling the truth in a general way to his audience, conscious at the time that they would be misled. "He had spoken the very truth and transformed it into the veriest falsehood." Not to carry the evidence too far, we find in Robert Louis Stevenson this stern and true word: "A lie may be told by a truth or a truth conveyed through a lie. Truth to fact is not always truth to sentiment, and part of the truth as often happens in answer to a question may be the foulest calumny. A fact may be an exception but the feeling is the law and it is that you must neither garble or belie."

III.

The security and the harmony of social relations are conditioned on a delicate and fixed sense of respect and frank veneration for truth. This natural need of truth is the basis of a positive and formal Christian teaching on the moral duty of truth. The domination of this virtue in social intercourse will depend to a great extent on social processes as they favor or hinder the development of the practice of the truth. We find in fact a marked social pressure easily described and universally experienced which is an obstacle. The temperament of our race is such that we resent truth of certain kinds even when it is called for, and we invite untruth as often. Culture has accepted guidance from these conditions and it is inclined to deal leniently with infractions of the law of truth. Mahaffy in his *Art of Conversation,* for instance, goes so far as to say, " Even a consummate liar, though generally vulgar, and therefore offensive, is a better ingredient in a company than the scrupulously truthful man who weighs every statement, questions every fact and corrects every inaccuracy. In the presence of such a social scourge, I have heard a witty talker pronounce it the golden rule of conversation to know nothing accurately." In the presence of a moral law forbidding the lie and social processes and relations pressing toward it and away from truth, it is to be expected that advantage will be taken of every resource in order not to violate the moral law by lying and not to sacrifice self-interest or offend others by the truth. In this situation resort will be taken to inaccuracies in use of words, to partial statements, to different standards of judgment, to misleading truths and other devices. The sum of all these methods shows the moral tragedy of the situation. A few will meet the situation where hundreds of others will lie, while they who invite the lie will never feel its guilt. The race has learned to love truth and venerate it, yet it carries in its own practices and traits, elements of defeat. When we hear that the virtue of truth makes impossible demands: when we hear that the truthteller is a crank: when we are told that lying is

necessary, we obtain evidence of surrender to situations rather than of loyalty to an ideal. When we meet good natured toleration of customary lies we are in presence of those who have not found it worth while to work and hope and battle for the supremacy of an ideal. When we are advised as is done in Mahaffy's little treatise not to allow extreme truthfulness to tyrannize over us, we find the tactless extreme of a virtue mistaken for its normal and healthy form. Whatsoever way we turn, we can not escape certain sociological facts, to call attention to which ought to be of service to truth. Lies are broadly of two kinds: those told by the unhampered choice of the liar, and those told in response to definite social pressure from outside. These latter lies are usually defensive of the speaker's interests or are intended to be a service to others. They are thoughtful, kind, helpful. The processes back of the two kinds are as unlike as can be imagined; their meaning in the morals of the race is not at all identical.

Confining attention to the second class, it may be said that the indiscretions of those in authority cause subjects to lie: sensitiveness in all classes forces many to lie. Resentment against unpleasant truth, hunger for pleasant sayings, whether true or false: partisanship which sacrifices truth to interest; too open reluctance to believe men when they take the trouble to speak the truth; curiosity and impudence are other effective forms of social pressure acting on the individual and hindering the advance of truth in society. We may not hope to revolutionize the psychology of the race to such a degree that these traits will disappear. But, we should take account of them in working for the interests of truth. If we might generally be brought to realize that we too as well as the liar are responsible for many of the lies told to us, and if then our influence on others were made a matter of conscientious watchfulness, until no one could find the faintest excuse for lying to us, great things could be accomplished.

We must believe in the possibility of practical victory for truth. No array of discouraging facts, no flippancy of literature, no pessimism of the cynic and no apathy of weaklings should rob us of our devotion to its ideal. One comedy

tells us that fifty per cent. of women have no sense of truth and that it is only rudimentary in the remainder. A learned novel of late date contains the statement, "men lie so constantly that I know when they do not—by contrast." Another tells us that "men employ truth and falsehood for much the same reasons." A novel once widely read claims that the faculty of lying was given to man by nature as a means of self-defense. Hazlitt in one of his essays claims that "Lying is a species of wit and humor." These observations are of course not encouraging. Many have been unable to think out happy solutions for the complex problems that truth presents. They are undoubtedly influenced towards laxity by reading such views. But we must believe in truth and believe that when we understand it, it is practicable. If social analysis which is now throwing so much light on every kind of social process, will but make clear that lying is itself part of a social process, and if then our moral and academic teachers take advantage of that knowledge, there is no reason why most of the difficulties of truth telling should not be overcome, in as far at least as lying is a response to social pressure.

William J. Kerby.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN (1834-1909).

During the second week in May, the Catholic University of Louvain celebrated with becoming solemnity the seventy-fifth anniversary of its restoration. The occasion brought together a large number of distinguished men including representatives of the Episcopate, the Academies and the Universities. Their presence was a notable tribute to the energy and zeal which in less than a century has placed Louvain among the foremost universities of the world, while proof was thus given of the cordial relations which normally exist among those who are devoted to the real interests of truth.

It was but natural that the key-note of the various discourses contained in the program should be the steady development of the University and the work which it has accomplished in all departments of knowledge. In fact one cannot but marvel at the results when one considers the situation which confronted the pioneers in the movement of reorganization. The political changes which marked the close of the eighteenth century had crippled the University in every way. Under foreign domination, Louvain had passed through one conflict only to enter upon another. Finally, by an ordinance of October 25, 1797, the University was abolished, the professors dispersed and all sources of revenue confiscated or turned over to other public utilities. The institution founded by Pope Martin V in 1425 had ceased to exist; the revolutionary spirit had swept away one of the chief bulwarks of religion, and Belgium was reduced to a few isolated Faculties which were merged in the system dominated by the University of France.

A generation had passed when the Belgian bishops at their meeting in 1833 undertook with characteristic courage the work of restoration. By his Brief of December 13, 1833, Gregory XVI gave the project his approval and by a special Constitution of April 8, 1834, authorized the conferring of degrees. The new University was established at Malines but was trans-

ferred within a year to Louvain, and once more domiciled in the ancient *Halles*. The teaching staff at the opening of the courses comprised 13 professors; at present there are 101. The registration of students in 1834-35 was 86; it increased to 528 in 1840-41; to 1045 in 1871-72; for the current academic year it is 2075. This steady advance necessitated continual additions to the equipment in the way of libraries, laboratories, museums and institutes for special purposes, so that at the present time excellent facilities for work are provided in every department. Alongside of buildings that date from the mediæval period new structures have arisen in response to the requirements of modern science, while the work of the traditional four faculties has been more and more specialized in various schools. Louvain thus presents in its organization and development the best illustration of the truly Catholic spirit of progress in which *nova et vetera* are happily combined.

So much could hardly have been accomplished without difficulty and struggle. The events of 1848-49 in particular occasioned serious danger to the University and it was only by the exercise of prudence and firmness that the rights and liberties of the institution were preserved. For three-quarters of a century, Louvain has stoutly defended the principle of *enseignement libre, i. e.*, of teaching without trammel or hindrance on the part of the State. At the same time, the University has loyally conformed with the regulations enacted by public authority with a view to bettering the work of education. A truly patriotic spirit has shaped its policy and guided its labors; indeed, no greater service could have been rendered to Belgium than this maintenance of liberty in the pursuit of truth.

"Truth," however, for Louvain means the whole truth—not the discovery of facts in a particular department of knowledge, nor the triumph of reason at the expense of faith. What has been proclaimed over and over again about the harmony between science and revelation is here demonstrated in concrete form. It is just because of its steadfast adherence to Catholic belief that the University opens to its professors and students every line of research, well knowing that the final outcome can only set in clearer light the truths that are taught by the Church.

There is no better object lesson in apologetics then the organization and activity of the University of Louvain.

Doubtless, it has cost something to teach the lesson; it has called for vigilance, patience and ceaseless endeavor. Fortunately these qualities have never been wanting in the men to whom the interests of the University were confided. The Belgian Episcopate, from the very outset, realized the necessity of strengthening the University and quickening its growth. Millions of souls were to be cared for; provision had to be made for the support of religion in diocese and parish; seminaries, elementary schools and beneficent institutions of every sort had to be maintained. None of these things have been neglected; but the bishops saw clearly that the very heart of religious life was the University where the priesthood would be trained by the best scientific methods and the laity educated for professional careers by teachers of unswerving faith and unquestioned ability. To the intelligence and the united efforts of its episcopate, Catholic Belgium is chiefly indebted for the blessings of higher education which the University provides.

The task in one respect would have been comparatively simple had the episcopate or the University itself enjoyed vast revenues or received such endowments as yearly go to build up some of our American institutions. But these resources were lacking and from the national exchequer nothing was to be expected. On the other hand, a treasury lay open in the generosity of the people. Once the meaning of the University was brought home to them, and its essential importance for the preservation of Church, society and family made plain, they responded gladly to the appeal of their pastors. Semi-annual collections in each parish along with individual contributions enabled the University not only to meet its current expenses but also to add from time to time such departments as are needed. Louvain is therefore a centre of interest for the Catholic people at large no less than for the priests, physicians and lawyers who proudly claim it as their Alma Mater.

The internal administration of the University has been entrusted to men who thoroughly understood its needs, its aims and its possibilities. Their experience as professors and their

scholarly attainments qualified them for the position and enabled them to direct prudently and normally the development of the institution to which they devoted their lives. De Ram (1834-1865) in the midst of his labors for reorganizing the University, found time to bring out a long series of publications on biographical, historical and academic subjects. His example was followed by Laforet (1865-72), Namèche (1872-81), Pieraerts (1881-87) and Abbeloos (1887-98). Each of these Rectors, while busied with research in some special department of science, gave serious attention to the educational problems which concerned the country at large and made Louvain the center of a system including seminaries, colleges and elementary schools. The influence exerted by the University upon these preparatory institutions has been most salutary. It has secured unity of purpose and has maintained educational standards by preparing competent teachers and improving the methods of instruction. Above all, it has developed among the clergy a devotion to "things of the mind," which commands the respect of intelligent people.

The student at Louvain finds abundant inspiration for scientific work in the achievements of the men who in every field of investigation have won distinction and pointed the way of progress. To mention but a few, the University counts among her theologians such scholars as Beelen, Malon, Feije, Jungmann and Lamy; among her professors of law, Delcour, Thonissen and Périn; in philosophy and letters, David, Ubaghs, Nève de Monge, de Harlez, Poullet, and Alberdingk Thym; in the sciences, Martens, Pagani della Torre, Van Beneden, Gilbert, de la Vallée Poussin, and Carnoy; in medicine, Schwann, Michaux, Hubert, Van Kempen, and Lefebvre. The record left by each of these men is a precious inheritance for the University and a source of pride for Catholics throughout the world.

America owes Louvain a special debt of gratitude. The American College founded in 1857 offers the student from this country the advantages of close affiliation with the University, and it furnishes a steady supply of priests for our dioceses. Among its graduates it counts four archbishops, eleven bishops, and over seven hundred priests, whose zeal and intelligence

have given ample proof of the excellent training they received in Louvain.

In the Bull of foundation in 1425 Martin V speaks of the duty imposed on him as Head of the Church to "scatter the darkness of ignorance and to encourage every sort of science in order that new germs of prosperity may develop among all classes of society." How well the new University of Louvain has performed this duty is readily seen by a glance over its history since 1834. The recent celebration was fully justified by the University's services to all classes of society. It promises much for the future not only of the Church in Belgium but for religion and science in all parts of the world.

The Catholic University of America has found much to imitate in what Louvain has accomplished, and is heartily grateful for the inspiration and encouragement which it has thence received. We gladly add our congratulations to those which have made this seventy-fifth anniversary a real jubilee, and we look forward with deepest interest to the further development at Louvain and the success which is now assumed for all its undertakings.

EDWARD A. PACE.

COLLÈGE DU ST. ESPRIT,
LOUVAIN, BELGIUM.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

In the last number of the *Bulletin* it was stated that the chief things to be accomplished for the children during the period of their life preliminary to that in which they are taught to use the First Reader may be summed up under these four heads: 1) To give the children a realization of the school as an enlarged and specialized home; 2) to develop the individual child's power of adjusting himself to his physical environment; 3) to teach the children to coöperate with each other and with their teacher; 4) to enlarge the children's spoken vocabulary and to develop a limited written vocabulary with direct reference to their first reader. The first three of these have already been dealt with; the fourth must now occupy our attention.

IV. Language.

In exceptional cases the child of six has learned to read at home, but in the great majority of cases the children have only a spoken vocabulary which is quite limited in range and full of imperfections. Nevertheless, it is with this vocabulary that the children must begin their school work. Moreover, this vocabulary constitutes one more bond between the home and the school and it should not be disturbed until the child has learned to feel quite at home in the school. After a few days the teacher may correct imperfections in pronunciation and mistakes in the use of words, but in this she should proceed with great care. The children must not be humiliated or made self-conscious and above all there must be no implied correction of the home standards or reflection upon the knowledge of the home group. In a word, the negative method should be avoided with scrupulous care for in addition to the usual dangers of this method there

is here imminent danger of injuring fundamental elements in the child's character and of weakening his respect for parental authority. If the teacher uses language correctly herself, and if she insists on the children using it correctly, there will be no need to call the attention of the school to the child's mistakes in pronunciation and in the use of words. These, if left alone, will disappear rapidly.

Where English is the native language of the child the teacher need not concern herself much with the task of increasing his spoken vocabulary. This will grow naturally and without apparent effort on her part. The language work of the first grade should consist chiefly in giving the child control over a written vocabulary that lies well within the limits of his spoken vocabulary. By this we do not mean that the children should be made to memorize a certain number of written words and to drill on their spelling. All this might be accomplished and still leave the child without that control of a written vocabulary of which we are here speaking. The only effectual work in teaching written language to a child is that which connects the written symbols intimately and immediately with the things signified. It will not do to have spoken language intervene. The child must be taught to think in written language from the beginning. The case here is analogous to that presented by an older pupil who is learning a foreign language. It is generally recognized by all who have experimented with the matter that so long as we continue to think in our own language we acquire but scanty facility in the use of a foreign tongue. As long as we have to translate our thoughts before giving them expression our language will be stiff and artificial. Ease comes only when we think in the very symbols that we use in speaking or in writing. This is as true of the relationship between written and spoken language as it is between one's native language and a foreign tongue, and it is as true of the child as it is of the man.

The child's written language should begin with action words, which the teacher should write on the blackboard and illustrate for the children by doing the thing signified. After this, the written word should be used by the teacher as command or permission for the children to perform the action signified. The

names of various familiar objects should be written on the board and the children allowed to handle the objects and exercise their various senses upon them. From simple names and action words the teacher should proceed rapidly to simple action sentences. In this way the child may be taught to think in written symbols from the beginning, which is a matter of the greatest importance, not only for the child's future as an elocutionist but for his future as a student of books.

In this first stage in the child's acquisition of written language the book is a needless impediment. The mere holding of the book distracts the child and hampers his movements. Moreover, the writing of the words on the board in the child's presence is an important factor in the process. It holds his attention and directs it successively to each part of the form of the word, thus making a deeper impression upon the child's brain than could be made where the completed word is looked at as a whole.

After the child is made familiar with a few words and sentences from observation and action he should be taught to write them first on the blackboard and then on paper at his desk. Children at this stage of development learn most things through imitation and it is in this way that they learn to write. They observe the movements of the teacher's hand and arm and the image of these movements in the child's brain tends of itself to reproduce the movement. Moreover, the child deliberately attempts to imitate the movement which he perceives. Some teachers find the practice of writing the words in the air and having all the children follow the movements simultaneously helpful in the initial stages of the work. In stamping the words on the child's visual memory recourse is frequently had to desk work with pegs, colored and uncolored sticks, seeds, the dissected alphabet, etc. Such exercises will prove helpful if they are used in moderation and as supplementary work, but they should not constitute the main reliance of the teacher in the difficult task of teaching the children to take their first steps in the art of writing. After a small working vocabulary in script form has been acquired the children should be taught the

same words and sentences in printed form by means of suitable charts.

In determining the nature of the written vocabulary to be taught the children before they are allowed to read from the book the first book to be placed in the child's hands must serve as our guide. The children should know practically all the words and sentences contained in the first few pages of the reader before they are allowed to use the book and it would be well if a large percentage of the vocabulary used in the subsequent lessons were mastered in the same way before the children were allowed to read the stories.

In the preparation of Religion, First Book, great care was exercised in the vocabulary used. In the first stories there will be found a large percentage of action words and the other words are taken from the most familiar portions of the child's mental content. The names of the pictures and stories are not considered in this class, and they may be passed over if found too difficult, but all who are familiar with children are aware of the ease with which they learn even difficult names when attached to a picture or an object.

During the first few months in which the child uses a reading book the teacher should prepare for each lesson by suitable blackboard and chart work so as to preserve for the child the joy of the completed story in its association with the book. This practice is particularly important when Religion, First Book, is in question.

It will be observed that each part of this book begins with a nature study which offers suitable material for action work and dramatic games. These nature stories foreshadow the home scenes which follow. These may be dramatized in part, but even the child grows weary of too much play and so this second part of the chapter is meant to be acted out in serious home occupations. The child takes an intense delight in real things after he has caught an inkling of their meaning through his games. The nature studies and the home scenes constitute an adequate preparation for the religious stories which form the concluding part of each chapter. These should lead the child to prayer rather than to play. The concluding songs, as will

be seen, are sweet and joyous, but prayerful at the same time. Thus each chapter should be prepared for by appropriate plays and drills. From this the child passes over into the realm of serious social duties and ends, as he should in all his thoughts and aspirations, in communion with God.

The details of the work for the first grade and the methods to be employed are dealt with to some extent in Chapters XIV and XV of *The Teaching of Religion,*[1] and they will be dealt with exhaustively in a manual of primary methods which is now in preparation, here we need add but one word concerning the first grade teacher.

The child's education, in reality, begins with the dawn of his conscious life and it is quite advanced when, in his sixth year, he makes his first momentous journey from home to school to begin there the work of his formal education in a new environment, under the eyes of a number of strange children, in an institution that is wholly unfamiliar and with a teacher who is a stranger to him. It is not probable that the child will ever again be called upon to submit to so sudden and so radical a change in all those things that affect the deeper currents of his life here and that determine his eternal destiny hereafter. So radical, in fact, is this change that we are accustomed to think of the child's first day in school as the beginning of a new mode of life and we habitually speak of it as the date on which his education began. The difficulty and importance attaching to the child's transition from the home to the school are sufficient reasons in themselves for demanding in the first grade teacher the highest degree of pedagogical skill, but in addition to this the teacher must help the child to make a beginning along several new lines of activity. Were one of these to be dealt with at a time the matter would be sufficiently difficult, but when they must all be dealt with at the same time the difficulty is greatly increased.

It must be taken for granted that the teacher to whom this important work is entrusted is prepared, through training and

[1] *The Teaching of Religion*, by T. E. Shields, in twenty separate chapters, multigraphed, Catholic Correspondence School, Brookland, D. C., $2.00 net.

experience, to deal with the situation, nevertheless, a concrete sketch of the child's first day in school is presented here not, indeed, that the teacher is expected to follow it literally, but that it may serve the purpose of illustrating the bearing of certain educational principles on the various exercises which engage the attention of the children when they begin the work in school.

The day's work outlined in the program supposes that at least a majority of the children have attended the kindergarten department of the school during the preceding school year. When all the children come directly from home without having had the advantage of kindergarten training, modifications will have to be made. The work of registering pupils and interviewing parents will take longer and will, consequently, delay the principal's introduction. It will also probably be wiser to attempt fewer exercises on the first day when the children are entirely without training along coöperative lines and when the strangeness of their environment is likely to inhibit their tendency to express themselves in any way. Every teacher who has had experience in dealing with the first grade knows that it is difficult if not quite impossible to carry out a rigid program on the opening day of school, nevertheless, a definite program has its value as an ideal.

Program for First Day.

Morning.

Principal's Introduction,	9– 9.20
Greeting Game,	9.20– 9.40
Assignment of Places,	9.40– 9.55
Action Game,	9.55–10
Story,	10–10.15
Recess, out-doors,	10.15–10.30
Sleeping Game and surprise,	10.30–10.40
Seat Work,	10.40–10.55
Concert recitation,	10.55–11.15
Good Bye Song,	11.15–11.20
Prayer,	11.20–11.25
Dismissal,	11.25–11.30

Afternoon.

Individual welcome,	1.15–1.25
Finding seats,	1.25–1.30
Prayer,	1.30–1.35
Talk by Teacher,	1.35–1.45
Finger Song,	1.45–1.50
Music lesson,	1.50–2.05
Action Game,	2.05–2.10
Seat work,	2.10–2.30
Recess, out-doors,	2.30–2.45
Sleeping Game,	2.45–2.50
Sense training,	2.50–3.05
Seat Work,	3.05–3.20
Good Night Song,	3.20–3.25
Prayer,	3.25–3.30
Dismissal,	3.30

As has already been said, one of the chief benefits of the kindergarten is the help which it affords the child in the difficult task of bridging over the chasm between the home and the school. This end is best attained when the kindergarten is conducted as a department of the primary school, in which case it must be coördinated with the work of the first grade. In this way the children become familiar with the school and they learn to look upon the principal as the embodiment of authority. During the last months of their sojourn in the kindergarten their attention is constantly turned towards the first grade room and their ambition to enter it is aroused in every way possible. They are also visited from time to time by the teacher of the first primary grade, who in this way learns what the children can do best, what songs they like best to sing, what games they take chief delight in, etc. The primary teacher will take advantage of all this to get the children started in the work of the first grade without unnecessary strain.

The children should be led gradually to realize that teachers are not obeying their own caprices but a higher authority which for them is vested in the principal, and hence it is well that the principal bring the children from the kindergarten to the first grade room and formally hand them over to the care of their new teacher who is to guide them in their new field of work.

In the meanwhile the primary teacher should prepare the class of the preceding year to accompany the principal to the next higher grade room. As the principal with the kindergartners following her enters the room, the former primary grade pupils relinquish their seats to the new-comers and stand aside while they listen to the principal's talk and wait for her to accompany them to the next room. It is scarcely necessary to say that the principal's talk to the little children should be spontaneous and that it should be drawn from the local circumstances and from her acquaintance with their work in the kindergarten, but whatever the form, at least the following three points should be embodied in it: 1) The high standard which the first grade room has always maintained and an appeal to the children for their best efforts to uphold this standard during the present year; 2) the teacher is the principal's representative and the principal looks forward to hearing as pleasant things of the conduct and application of the children during this year as she has heard of them in the past from the kindergarten teacher; 3) the work of the primary grade is the foundation of the work in all the grades and it must be well done for the sake of the entire school.

The few simple words of the principal's introduction, if well chosen, will help to make the children realize their growing participation in the social activity of this, to them, new institution, the school. It should help to develop the social side of the child's nature and to bring him to yield a rational obedience to authority as vested in his superiors.

When the kindergarten is not coördinated with the work of the first grade it not infrequently unfits the children for the more severe drills of this grade. Such a kindergarten has very little to commend it. It is better to have no training than to have training in the wrong direction. Where the children about to enter the first grade have not had a kindergarten training the principal's talk will be somewhat more difficult, but it should contain precisely the same points.

After the principal leaves the room taking with her the children who are promoted to the next room, the teacher should take hold of the class without hesitation or delay and deal with

them as one having authority. Delay is dangerous; too much talking on the part of the teacher is bad at all times but in this situation it is demoralizing; action is the thing needed; it is the one thing that the children understand and they should be kept busy and active until their interest can be aroused and correct habits of work formed. They must not be given time to sit still and study the teacher until they have grown to know her and to respond naturally to her directions. A greeting game well planned and well carried out is an excellent way in which to deal with the situation. The children should be told that their parents and friends as well as strangers are going to visit them from time to time and that they must all know how to receive them and greet them properly. One of the children is selected to play visitor and is told to go out of the room and knock at the door. When she does so, the teacher opens the door and greets her as Mrs. ———. Bringing her to the front of the room she presents her to the class, whereupon all the children rise and return her salutation. This process is repeated, several different children playing visitor, and the class is instructed, to rise, to bow, and to salute simultaneously. In this salute soft, low, sweet voices are held up as the ideal. In this way the children's interest may be maintained while they are being taught in a practical way the beauty of good manners and the value of concert work. The exercise might well conclude with a good morning song.

The third exercise on the program is the assignment of places. The children should be made to feel at home in the school, and an important step towards the accomplishment of this end is taken when we assign to each child a desk and a seat that are to be his own during his sojourn in the room. The property instinct is here appealed to and the child's individuality is allowed to assert itself. He should be gradually made to feel the responsibility for these school possessions; this will nourish the roots of many social virtues such as honesty, order, neatness, etc. The analogy betwen the rows of desks and the aisles separating them to houses and streets is not without value. The children may easily be led to give the name of the street on which they live and the number of their house. This leads the

children to talk to the teacher and forms a sort of personal introduction between her and the children's homes. If the desks be numbered and the aisles named, the children will readily enter into the spirit of the game and for some time at least they will delight in thinking of their new homes with their new numbers and new street names. In this simple exercise there is foreshadowed for the children the community life of a city and the responsibility of each householder towards the city at large for the condition of his premises.

To be ceaselessly active during his waking hours is the normal condition of the child six years old. Every sensation and every perception tends to pass over into action without delay. In school he must learn to think, but this is a slow process which in the beginning is so closely linked with action that thought without action is difficult and fatiguing. In the early stages of the process he must be given frequent rest which he will find most naturally in the free play of his muscles, hence the action games which constitute the next exercise on the program. It should be borne in mind that the children in this stage of their development learn almost exclusively through imitation and that their whole being responds readily and joyously to the call for rhythmic motion. These considerations should determine the character of the action games to be employed. The children should be taught to stand in the aisles beside their desks erect and alert. One row at a time should be asked to follow the teacher's lead in playing the games. After the children have been told what to do the teacher should run around the room imitating the movements of a bird's wings with her arms while singing some simple bird song in three-four time, such as The Brown Birds are Flying. The children should imitate the movements of the teacher without attempting to join in the song. The teacher might next sing a running song in two-four time, such as the squirrel song, acting the part of the leader as before. Finally, the teacher might sing a song in four-four time, such as The Soldier Boy, while she marches around the room with the children following her. Before each of these exercises the teacher should stimulate the imaginations of the children by brief appropriate stories followed by the suggestion that they play " bird,"

or " squirrel," or " soldier," as the case may be. Of course the teacher takes the part of the mother bird, the mother squirrel and the captain. As these games are repeated on successive days they should be gradually developed; new details should be added each day and new situations occasionally suggested. New games should be added at frequent intervals both for the sake of keeping the children interested and because of the important rôle which these action games play in building up the children's oral and written vocabularies.

The interval between the action games and recess might be profitably filled out with a short story about birds, such as that of the morning glory and the robin. The little morning glory that lives by the lilac bush is consumed with curiosity to see what the robins, who are building a nest in the bush so far above her head, are doing. A good little girl comes to the rescue by giving the morning glory a string by which she climbs up to the top of the fence and finally reaches a position on the lilac bush where she can look into the robin's nest that is now the home of four little robins. If this interval and an occasional talk, which should take the place on the program of the principal's introduction, be used to good advantage, the children's imaginations will be prepared for the nature study work that forms so important a part in preparing the children for the reception of the religious truths presented in Religion, First Book.

When the children reassemble after the out-door recess they are likely to be full of excitement. They should be quieted down before their attention is turned to school exercises. This may readily be accomplished through a sleeping game. The children are led to imagine that they are birds going to sleep with their heads under their wings. They should be told that they are not to wake up until the cuckoo calls them and that while they are asleep a fairy will bring something to each one of them. The teacher sings a lullaby while she places a tray of colored pegs on each desk and then wakes the children with a cuckoo call. This exercise of the imagination will usually be found effective in emptying the children's minds of the distracting thoughts engendered by the recess. It will also call up pleasurable feel-

ing in the children which is the proper solvent for the assimilation of their mental food. The seat work which follows this exercise presents many problems for solution the importance of which is altogether out of proportion with the space at our disposal in these pages. They will be discussed at length in a manual of method for primary grades which is now in preparation. Here it suffices to say that the work of the kindergarten must be taken as the starting point and the children must be led towards independence in their actions. In the kindergarten the teacher works with the children whenever exercises in outlining are attempted. In the first grade she puts on the board the simplest outline of a house telling the children that it is a picture of their home. Each child will see in it the picture of his own house, which he should proceed to outline on his desk, making use of the colored pegs, etc. During the exercise the teacher should pass from desk to desk giving encouragement to all the children and help to all those who need it. Great care must be taken, however, not to give unnecessary help. This exercise, as will be seen at once, constitutes a transition between the outlining as it is usually conducted in the kindergarten and the reproduction of forms from models which should characterize the work of the first grade. Secondly, the exercise contains an appeal to the child's constructive instinct. Thirdly, the coördination of hand and eye is developed to some extent and a preparation is made for the later work in drawing and writing. There is obviously less difficulty in outlining a letter or a form with pegs than there is in making it with a crayon. Corrections in the form are also more readily made in this way. Moreover, the cramped position of the fingers which usually results from the child's first strained efforts to write is here avoided while the form is being developed in his imagination and memory. After this has been accomplished learning to write or to draw is comparatively easy.

The selection of a house as the subject of the outlining work has a value of its own. It carries the child's thoughts back to his home and brings to him some of the ease generated by the home atmosphere in which he lives in imagination while doing the work. Moreover, his memory clothes the meagre outline

on the blackboard with color and definiteness which in themselves are no small factors in the successful issue of the work. Finally, in this exercise the children in doing their work take a decided step towards independence of the teacher and this is one of the most important and most difficult phases of primary work.

After fifteen minutes of this desk work the children are in need of a rest, which they will find in the concert recitation. Some rhyme that the children have learned in the kindergarten or at home, such as Two Little Blackbirds, or any of the Mother Goose rhymes, will answer. After a few minutes' training in concert recitation the children should be taught to dramatize the rhyme. This dramatization develops the children's power of coöperation and it plays an important rôle in unfolding to the children during the early stages of their school work the meaning of language, particularly of written language. In addition to this the dramatization develops grace of movement and calls into play various muscles, while the rhythm and motion remove from the child's mind the suggestion of work and generates a pleasurable feeling. The children are now in the right attitude of mind and body for the Good-Bye Song. This should not be chosen at random: it has an important function to perform for the child that is quite apart from vocal culture. There are many available songs for this exercise in our kindergarten song books, as for example:

"'Tis time to go, how soon it comes,
We lay our work aside,
And hasten to our happy homes,
Where joy and peace abide.
With footsteps light and voices gay,
We're going home, so now Good Day."

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the good that may be accomplished by a song like this in properly relating the ideas of home and school to each other in the minds of the children. When at the close of this song the children kneel in prayer, in imagination they are already by their mothers' knee and the ideas of the earthly and the heavenly homes are linked together in little minds that are filled with joyous anticipation.

The afternoon program is so similar to that of the forenoon that it is scarcely necessary to comment upon it here. Play, as will be seen, is given a large place in the first day's program, but it is not play for its own sake, nor is the play the fundamental thing. It is used merely as a means of developing self-reliance, freedom and grace of movement, social activities and mental coördinations. In this subordinate place play performs the role intended for it by nature and as the days go by it will gradually and naturally give place to occupations in which play has a less evident part.

The New Basis for Morality in Our Public Schools.

Many men who have read the articles by Harold Bolce in the *Cosmopolitan* for May and June appear to be incredulous as to the conditions prevailing in our universities as therein revealed. It does not seem to them possible that conditions can be as bad as represented and they feel inclined to question the fairness of Mr. Bolce's statements on the ground that they are mere excerpts taken out of lectures without the setting and the context which would essentially modify their meaning. To such one of two courses is open: first, to go to the universities and trust to their own ears and eyes; and secondly, to turn to the literature that these men are producing. This latter course is accessible to many who, from various circumstances, would find it impossible to adopt the former. A course of such reading will prepare these objectors to understand the situation as portrayed by Mr. Bolce.

It is hard for the man of everyday common sense to realize that the country is paying large salaries to an army of several thousand professors to undermine the foundations of morality, religion and citizenship. Indeed, Mr. Bolce hastens to assure us that this is not precisely the case, that there are many men in the universities who are not preaching these new doctrines. But it is also well to remember that the men preaching these doctrines are in the universities in sufficient number and in positions, such as the chairs of Economics, Sociology, Ethics, His-

tory, etc., to complete the work of destruction in the minds of the vast population of our university students. The unformed minds and characters of boys are unable to resist "the scholarly repudiation of all solemn authority" and the statement from the rostrum that "the Decalogue is no more sacred than a syllabus." When these professors "teach young men and women plainly that an immoral act is merely one contrary to the prevailing conceptions of society and that the daring who defy the code do not offend any Deity but simply arouse the venom of the majority" they not only attack the truths of supernatural religion but also ethical foundations as contained in natural law. This is in line with the other statements which Mr. Bolce quotes, such as that "there are no absolute evils," "that marriage as now contracted and protected is a form of monopoly interwoven with capital, conducive to exclusive families and the culture-ground of family pride and ambition," that "it is not right to set up a technical legal relationship, an economic convenience, or a circumstance of social conventionality as morally superior to the spontaneous preference of a man and woman who know, and whose friends know, that they love each other," and that "there can be and are holier alliances without the marriage bond than within it," and that "every normal man or woman has room for more than one person in his heart," and that "like politics and religion we have taken it for granted that the marriage relationship is right and have not questioned it."

That such teaching is very general in the universities is a familiar fact to those who are acquainted with our university life, but there are few who realize the extent to which this poison has spread in the teaching staffs of our normal schools and secondary institutions of learning. The spirit of irreligion is reaching down at present to the children in the primary grades and depriving them of the support of religion and morality. To any one who feels disposed to question this statement we recommend the perusal of the Dopp series of readers which are now being used in many of our public schools. This series was commented on in a previous number of the *Bulletin*. The effort is made in this series of readers to exclude all re-

ligious teaching from the mind of the child and to find the basis of human conduct in animal instincts. An examination of this set of books would seem to be sufficient in itself to discredit the theory on which the books were based. But we do not need to trust to the concrete embodiment in text-books of these principles; they are openly defended and their philosophy formulated by professors in the universities and by teachers in our normal schools and colleges. In the last number of the *Bulletin* attention was called to such a defence from the pen of Professor Schroeder, of Whitewater, Wisconsin. Professor Dewey undertakes a similar task in a recent number of the *Hibbert Journal*. This policy emanating from our universities and reaching out to control the policy of education in all our primary and secondary schools is clearly expressed by Daniel Wolford LaRue, of Augusta, Me., in the May number of the *Educational Review*, under the title of *The Church and the Public Schools*, which we recommend to the careful study of all who would understand the prevalent policy of our public school system towards religion and morality. Mr. LaRue says (page 468): "One of the most general proposals is that some arrangement be made whereby Church and school can work together in religious and moral training. While this at first seems feasible enough, we are forced to remember that the public school is a state institution and that consequently, so long as church and state remain separate so long must church and school remain separate. If any sort of intimate alliance is contemplated, it is not only impossible from a practical standpoint it is undesirable as well and for the following reasons: (1) The church seems to assume that, through revelation, it has a final settlement of truth, religious truth, at least. It does not favor experimentation and laboratory methods in its own province. This attitude encourages stagnation, fossilization on a certain plane, and contentment with imperfection. The child has a right to progress, to be better than his fathers spiritually, as well as in the mastery of the material universe." We will deal with each of Mr. LaRue's six reasons in succession. We must protest against Mr. LaRue's statement in the name of science and philosophy as well as in the name of religion even

if our attitude is that of stagnation and fossilization, because we believe that the church through revelation has the final settlement of religious truth and because we do not encourage the laboratory method as the final test of revealed truth. But lest we should be suspected of soreness in the matter, on account of the crude treatment which Mr. LaRue gives to our most cherished convictions, we will in this instance call upon Mr. Huxley to deal with the situation. Writing in answer to certain accusations of Mr. Lilly's, Mr. Huxley says: "The third thesis runs that I put aside 'as unverifiable everything which cannot be brought into a laboratory and dealt with chemically'; and, once more, I say no. This wondrous allegation is no novelty; it has not unfrequently reached me from that region where gentle (or ungentle) dulness so often holds unchecked sway—the pulpit. But I marvel to find that a writer of Mr. Lilly's intelligence and good faith is willing to father such a wastrel. If I am to deal with the thing seriously, I find myself met by one of the two horns of a dilemma. Either some meaning, as unknown to usage as to the dictionaries, attaches to 'laboratory' and 'chemical,' or the proposition is (what am I to say in my sore need for a gentle and yet appropriate word?)—well—unhistorical. Does Mr. Lilly suppose that I put aside 'as unverifiable' all the truths of mathematics, of philology, of history? And if I do not, will he have the great goodness to say how the binomial theorem is to be dealt with 'chemically,' even in the best-appointed 'laboratory'; or where the balances and crucibles are kept by which the various theories of the nature of the Basque language may be tested; or what reagents will extract the truth from any given History of Rome, and leave the errors behind as a residual calx? I really cannot answer these questions, and unless Mr. Lilly can, I think he would do well hereafter to think more than twice before attributing such preposterous notions to his fellow-men, who after all, as a learned counsel said, are vertebrated animals." [2]

Poor Huxley got many hard blows in his day, but he is at

[2] Huxley, Thomas, Evolution and Ethics and other Essays. New York, 1894, pp. 124–5.

least saved the pain of this accusation from a brother of the faith scientific. He was quite unaware that he was encouraging "stagnation, fossilization and contentment with imperfection" when he repudiated the laboratory method in dealing with certain scientific matters not to speak of those higher regions where supernatural truth is at home. Our Saviour taught the children of Israel in parables that in His own statement were as seeds that were to grow with the advancing years. The Church was not to fossilize or to remain content with imperfection; and, as a matter of fact, it has unceasingly urged men forward to higher planes of perfection. But Mr. LaRue seems as ignorant of the development of doctrine as he is of the nature of religion or the scope and principles of the teachings of Christ. We are not therefore surprised by his second count.

"(2) The Church is unpedagogical and unsystematic in its teaching, particularly in the attempt to force mature ideas and habits of conduct upon the child. Any ordinary sunday school will furnish abundant evidence of this." Comment is scarcely necessary here. Modern pedagogy is just groping its way back towards the great fundamental principles of pedagogy that are embodied in Christ's method of teaching and in the organic teaching of the Church. Besides, the "Notes on Education," running in the current numbers of the *Bulletin* are in themselves sufficient refutation of Mr. LaRue's dogmatic accusation. It will be news to many that the Church's teaching is unsystematic. But the Church does hold up the highest ideals of adult life before the child and she expects her children to begin on the high plane of Christian morality and not on the plane of savages or prehistoric man. She does expect reverence and other virtues which are absurdities to Mr. LaRue and those who think with him.

"(3) The Church bases morality upon that which, from a rationalistic standpoint (the standpoint of the school), is unessential in a moral code. The unwisdom of this appears when the unessential comes to be doubted, as is frequently the case." It is interesting to note that the standpoint of the school is rationalistic. But who is the school? Whence does it derive its infallibility? What right has it to impose a standpoint with

reference to morality upon the children of the nation. The Church does base morality upon fundamental truths, such as the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the unchanging nature of natural law as well as upon the revealed will of God. She does not and cannot regard such truths as unessential and when they are doubted and discredited morality suffers. In her eyes, therefore, the greatest enemies of society are those who abuse their position as paid instructors of our children by destroying their faith in the great fundamental truths on which our civilization rests. The child must receive the inherited wisdom of the past through the channels of authority or he cannot receive it at all. To condemn the child to receive nothing but what he verifies by his individual intelligence is to condemn him to mental and moral starvation. He can no more conquer the whole world of truth for himself unaided by the intelligence of the past than he could wrest from nature in the years of infancy sustenance and support for his physical organism. All such procedure is in direct violation of modern pedagogy; it is a violation of all that we have learned from the sciences of embryology and genetic psychology.

"(4) Many of the churches regard man as by nature perverse and evil. Psychology teaches that an idea persistently repeated and emphasized in this way exerts a subtle influence by the power of suggestion and tends to work itself out in conduct. We develop according to our prevailing mental attitude." The Catholic Church has never consented to the doctrine of the corruption of human nature through the sin of Adam and the Catholic Church is a very large factor in this question, since she maintains a separate public school system at her own expense which is now educating nearly one and a half millions of our children. If any church perverts religious truth in this way, or natural truth, it is in so far blameworthy, but Mr. LaRue should give proof of a statement so sweeping as this.

"(5) The churches seem to underestimate character, developed for its own sake, and deny its sufficiency unless it is properly indoctrinated." Yes, the Church does not believe that a tree will bear fruit unless it has roots and sap, and she has no faith

in the resemblances to the genuine fruit which may be produced in any other way than through the natural agencies and she disbelieves in character that is not backed up by conviction of underlying truth. A mere habit of action without a reason back of it is a very frail thing; too frail to serve as a foundation for society. And the strength or value of character can never be greater than the strength of the beliefs on which it rests. "If this be treason, make the most of it." It is the dictum of common sense, the result of experience, and the conclusion of psychology.

"(6) The Church, apparently, cultivates the spirit of otherworldliness, preaching the doctrine of escape from present evils, and pointing from here to the hereafter for its justification. The school desires more that humanistic spirit which thrills at the rare joy of living here and now, of facing evils and facing them down, of living in one world at a time and living conqueringly. We are not merely pilgrims and strangers. We have staked our claim and mean to defend it." So the case is plain. This group of self-confessed rationalists, we hope the term will not offend, as we really cannot find a milder one, assume the right to dictate the policy of the schools and their spirit. They assume the right to speak in the name of the school and to reject all belief in a world beyond the grave and all motive and sanction drawn from any source beyond the present and the material. They have staked their claim and mean to defend it. Now, from the standpoint of evolution, nothing is clearer than this that the individual must be subordinated at all times to the race. This is accomplished in the lower forms of life through the instrumentality of instinct. But in human life, in order to secure a better and a more rapid adjustment to a changing environment, conduct emanates from free will under the guidance of intelligence, but this leads to life only when the fundamental laws of life are observed and when the common good is held unalterably above individual desire. Now, history proves that just as man loses his faith in God and in eternal life he loses the power to hold himself true to such fundamental natural law as the subjugation of the individual to the species and the result is the extinction of the race. This

drama has been enacted over and over again in the civilizations of the past and it is to-day taking place under our eyes where we see that faith and fecundity are still linked together in their old inseparable union and that fecundity disappears with faith. One need not, therefore, fall back on the teaching of the Church in order to show that men like Mr. LaRue are the greatest enemies of society. The teaching of science itself brands such policies as he advocates for our public schools as destructive of the race.

While Mr. LaRue's article shows the animus that prevails in the body of men who are seeking to control the doctrine and policy of our public schools, it is strangely devoid of proof. Its statements are unsupported by fact or argument for the most part. "As a matter of fact, religion (in the narrow sense) and moral conduct do not necessarily have much to do with each other. Many religions are highly immoral. If we taught religion seven days in the week and compelled the pupils to pass a monthly test in it, we could not feel in the least assured that we had advanced one whit in morality. It would more likely be a sign of frantic retrogression." On the same page with this bald statement, without any apparent consciousness of the inconsistency involved, we find the following: "The child should feel the common impulse of patriotism first, and choose his party by reflection when he comes to maturity. Just as all political parties are seeking the same thing, namely, the best form of government, so all religious denominations are seeking the same thing, namely, right relations with the universe, which some of them call 'God.'" This notwithstanding the fact that "many religions are highly immoral"!

It is interesting to know that "the school does not object to exercises that are *devotional* in the sense of encouraging devotion to duty, to humanity, to the cause of righteousness; it does object to the indoctrination of a young child with a particular creed or catechism and regards as positively vicious any effort to extort from him vows and promises whose seriousness he does not appreciate but which he may later be called upon to fulfill." In Mr. LaRue's view there is a great and incurable wrong inflicted on each child who is brought into the world

without first having been consulted and without knowing in the least the seriousness of the step it was taking! Can the present ever escape from its indebtedness to the past and can we ever rise to higher levels except the energy of each present moment be added to the next? But it is folly to argue a question of this kind with a man who has so little comprehension of the laws of mental life and of the principles underlying the growth and development of character. "The religion of the school," according to Mr. LaRue, "may be defined as a dynamic appreciation of the relation of the individual to the universe. Non-sectarian instruction, in developing its concept of the self and the Super-self, does not care to go beyond the facts that have been fairly well established by science. These—perhaps too many of them—are already in our curriculums. Of course, nothing concerning the fall of man, his natural depravity, or any scheme of salvation, can appear. In place of the partisan devotion of the religious zealot, the school aims to develop some appreciation of the great worth and natural dignity of man; of his sympathetic relation with all sentient life, particularly his fellow-men; of the value, in his development, of universal peace; of the vast possibilities of future progress; of the necessity of shaping our lives in accordance with law; of the fact that our world is rational and good; of the importance of accepting in cheerful faith—precisely the same kind of faith we exercise in our fellow-men—the goodness of all we cannot now see and understand. So far as the practical regulation of conduct is concerned, the school offers what the Church has never even seriously attempted, namely, a social laboratory in which to develop a moral code experimentally, an opportunity to put into practice, under helpful supervision, every item of knowledge gained. The child is led to *know* himself and his world, to *trust* them both, and to work the will of both harmoniously." No, thank God, the Church does not offer laboratories in which the children may discover for themselves experimentally a serviceable moral code. The wisdom of a hundred generations is at hand in the Church's treasury to guide the actions of children and to supply to the child and the adult a moral code that has stood the test of time and has the stamp of Divine authority

upon it. But we feel like begging pardon for interrupting Mr. LaRue. He must speak for himself. No description could do justice to the standard of morality which he proposes that our public schools shall furnish to the children of the nation and which, according to Messrs, Dewey, Schroeder and Company, they are now furnishing our children.

"'But,' the Church may ask, 'what about the more special ecclesiastical virtues, such as reverence?' Reverence! What has a young child to do with reverence? He cannot feel it, for the simple reason that it is a late growth, and he has not developed the nervous machinery to feel it with. He cannot even understand us when we speak of it. Superstitious fear he knows, and consequently the taboo is always effective. He has a horror of the 'boogerman,' concerning whom we so glibly lie to him. But our idea of God—if it is really of any account from an adult standpoint—he simply cannot grasp. So with reverence and other similar spiritual qualities. Here is illustrated a statement made previously, *i. e.*, that the Church attempts to force mature ideas and modes of action upon the child. It seems not to have learned the value of an historical approach to the science of conduct. Baby man was an alchemist before he was a chemist, an astrologer before he was an astronomer. Baby boy represents something like the barbarian stage morally. The niceties of polite life are to him so much frippery and foolishness, and rightly so. So-called irreverence, disobedience, and impudence are but the first crude expressions of a fiery, straight-forward, independent nature—something to thank God for, not to wail over. We should have no haste with our punishments; nature and society are the best reformers. The child must experiment morally, discover a few ethical affinities and spiritual atomic weights. He will know, as soon as we, when the equation doesn't balance. We need only see that the explosions are not too serious and that he does not pour the acids too recklessly."

What refutation could anyone desire more eloquent than this naïve expression of the spirit of secularism? For those who wish to have their children grow up in a school atmosphere from which religion is banished and who wish that they should dis-

cover for themselves a workable ethical code from early experiments, we commend them to the schools that are dominated by such men as Mr. LaRue. And if they would know how the experiments are carried out, we must once more ask them to give careful attention to the Industrial and Social History Series, by Katherine Dopp, of the Chicago University. We must remember, however, that it is not our own children that are here imperiled but the morality and life of the nation. After enumerating what he considers the 'essential qualities' of good citizenship, Mr. LaRue continues. "It is needless, however, to be careful and troubled about so many things. All that is necessary is to attach the child by personal affection to a few good heroes whom he will love and imitate up to and through the critical period of puberty, typified by the great Adamic fable of the fall of man. As soon as reflection begins, he must do what the race did, discover what ideal there is potential within him and be as loyal to it as he can. That, roughly stated, is all." But we should exercise care that Jesus Christ and the saints be not the heroes in question, for these, according to Mr. LaRue, are superstitious and vicious imposters who would foster other-worldliness, and a cowardly avoidance of evils here by taking refuge in a world of ignorance. The one thing that Mr. LaRue seems sure of is that religion furnishes no support to morality. He says: "There seems to be a common impression that, because every religion embraces a moral code of some sort, morality is inseparable from religion. It is commonly stated that a man who does not believe in God and a hereafter has no reason for living a good life. The absurdity of such statements is not fully apparent until we have outgrown the superstition and fear that prompt them. Ethics can stand on is own feet, —that is, in the same sense in which astronomy, chemistry, or physics can do so. The last science to be rescued from the bondage of religion is the science of human conduct. It is true that underneath every science remains that which we do not fully know—call it 'God' if you will." No, Mr. LaRue, call it religion, for that is evidently the thing you know least about. "The school," *i. e.*, Mr. LaRue and the rationalists, "not only affirms the independence of ethics, but is also inclined to regard

it as a grave mitsake, to say the least, to teach a child that the moral code is an outgrowth of anything that commonly passes under the name of 'religion.' It is this very error that has made mothers afraid to send their sons to college, and caused them to regard the college as a destroyer of faith and a corruptor of morals." Would to God there were more such mothers in the land, who would see to it that their sons received a college education in a Christian atmosphere and under teachers who still believed in the Ten Commandments, notwithstanding the fact that they got mixed up somehow with God and religion. Mr. La Rue's account of the immorality of our young college men is interesting: "The college boy, finding, as his knowledge and insight increase, that the family minister had no right to so much certainty as he assumed with regard to God's thoughts and acts and the general psychology of the Divine, suspects his former teachers—or rather, preachers—and 'loses his religion.' With the foundation collapses the superstructure, morality. First the catechism then the cataclysm." The remedy for the immorality among our juvenile school population is worthy of close attention. "The school should pay first heed to physical examination, physical culture, and the laws of hygiene. Most juvenile immorality will disappear as soon as we do our duty in this direction." Does Mr. LaRue propose the physical examination of every school child and the use of syringes, etc., by school authorities? It would seem so, for he continues: "(2) The school falls short of its duty in the matter of encouraging purity, especially purity in matters of sex. School authorities are aware of this, and they know the remedy, but a prudish public drags the wheels. We ought to be ashamed of our shame and blush at our own modesty. The Church, too, halts at this point. As history shows, sexual passion and religious fervor are closely associated; an attempt to control the one through the other would probably be less successful than to make teaching more purely intellectual, associating it with the physiology and hygiene of the school curriculum."

Finally, Mr. LaRue sums up. "The one thing needful is that we recognize that moral principles are real in the same sense in which other forces are real; that they are inherent in com-

munity life and in the running machinery of the individual. If we can secure a genuine faith in this fact, we shall have secured the only condition which is finally necessary in order to get from our educational system all the effectiveness there is in it. The teacher who operates in this faith will find every subject, every method of instruction, every incident of school life pregnant with ethical life." Yes, in the hands of these people everything in the school is made effective in destroying the child's faith in God and in destroying his belief in the authority of ethical precepts. These are the very men who, according to Harold Bolce, declare that "the home, once the cradle of the race, has become the breeding-place of woe, ignorance, inefficiency and debt." These are the men who "teach young men and women plainly that an immoral act is merely one contrary to the prevailing conceptions of society; and that the daring who defy the code do not offend any Deity, but simply arouse the venom of the majority—the majority that has not yet grasped the new idea."

Harold Bolce's articles are significant, showing as they do the prevalent attitude of our college teachers. But Mr. LaRue and others are serving to bring home to us the realization that teaching of this sort is not confined to colleges, it is reaching down through the whole system of our public schools, corrupting and destroying the faith and morals of the little children of the nation. What wonder that fifteen thousand children in the city of Chicago alone were arraigned in the criminal courts in one year! If our busy public will ever take sufficient time to learn what is being taught our children in schools and colleges supported out of the public treasury, a vigorous remedy will be found.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Divine Story, a short life of Our Blessed Lord written specially for young people, by Rev. Cornelius Joseph Holland, S. T. L. Providence, Joseph M. Tally, 1909. Pp. ix + 223.

In the last few decades we have had several lives of Christ, either originally written or translated into English from French or German. Many of these are erudite works designed to meet the needs of the theologian and the New Testament scholar. But there is not to be found in the English language any volume to compete with this in meeting the needs of the young. It is true that Mother Loyola has given us in *Jesus of Nazareth* a volume for which every teacher of the young will always be grateful. But Father Holland's charming little book presents the matter in an entirely different way. Here we have the story of the Gospels not expanded but adjusted to the need and the capacity of the child and of the young man or woman. There is nothing of importance left out, nor is matter of mere tradition or pious belief so mingled with the authentic record as in any way to endanger the enduring faith which the book is almost sure to awaken in the heart of the young reader. In fact, while the simplicity of the narrative will appeal at once to the child's understanding, the man will never outgrow its statement of fact. With maturer years there will of course arise a demand for greater fulness of detail and for a discussion of the deeper meanings of the great problems discussed by the Master.

It has been too frequently taken for granted that the child-mind was incapable of receiving great fundamental truths unless, indeed, they were couched in exact formulas and committed to memory where they were to remain until the mind unfolded sufficiently to lift them up into its structure. As a consequence those who aimed at meeting the child's intelligence frequently offered only the trivial or the details. If it was to hold the child's attention, the story was supposed to center around the child's play or to deal with fairies or children's pets in the animal world. In the *Divine Story* Father Holland, with a fine appreciation of the child's capacity, as well as a clear comprehension of what Our Lord's life and works mean to the race, presents to the child in simple outline all the great mysteries of the Christian

religion and the beautiful lessons that dropped from the lips of the Master, while the personality of Christ stands out so clearly and so attractively to the child that his interest will be maintained throughout the narrative. Father Holland has rendered an incalculable service to the children of the English-speaking world in thus placing within their reach in connected form the story of Our Lord's life and teaching. The book might well be read to children in the first and second grades; the children in the third grade will read the book for themselves without difficulty. The print is clear, the sentences short, the style direct and graceful. The book contains eight fine illustrations in sepia. The headings of the thirty-three chapters into which the book is divided, indicate the sequence of the thought: In a Stable at Bethlehem; The Eighth and Fortieth Days; The Three Wise Men; The Wrath of a Wicked King; In Obscurity; On the Banks of the Jordan and in a Desert; The Apostles; At a Wedding Feast; In the Temple; Friends and Neighbors; Missionary Labors; A Paralytic's Faith; Enemies; A Storm at Sea; Living Bread; In a Heathen Land; A Revelation of Glory; New Enemies; Brotherly Love; God's Mercy; God's Compassion; Hosannas; The Beginning of the End; In the Valley of the Shadow of Death; Arrested; Tried; Condemned; Crucified, Dead, and Buried; The Third Day; Alive Again; The Risen Life; Concluding Labors; The Return to Heaven.

The Introduction to the book will serve further to make clear its scope and purpose. "Wherever one goes nowadays,—whether through the streets of his own city, or into the cities round about, or to far-off, unknown places,—he is almost certain to see some church spire, rising gracefully above surrounding buildings, and lifting a gilded cross to heaven; for everywhere, at the present time, the people know and serve God, in spirit and in truth.

"But it was not always so. There was a time, far back in the ages of the past, when no one knew or served the One, True God; but when, in every city, town and village, the people adored images of wood and brass and stone, and served them, without shame, in wickedness and sin.

"The change from those dread days to ours was brought about by Our Blessed Saviour. For it was He who, coming down to earth as man, made known the truths about God and holiness, and founded the Church which has spread these truths abroad, and offered up His life as a satisfaction for the sins of all the world.

"The entire Jewish nation might have had the glory of being used by the Saviour as the foundations of His Church. For they had been

particularly favored by God,—having received a true religion, and having been rightly instructed by teachers, known as Prophets, and having been given a Promise that the Saviour would come to earth as one of them. But they lost the spirit of their religion, put to death the Prophets, and changed the Promise of a Saviour to mean a great and splendid King, whom they called the Christ or the Messias, was going to come to make them the most powerful nation in the world, and when the Saviour came, instead of becoming His assistants, they regarded Him as an impostor, and inflicted on Him His sin-atoning death. Hence the glory of acting as the foundations of the Church was obtained by just a little group of men whom the Saviour trained, and endowed with His own miraculous powers, and sent forth in His name.

"The story of how Our Saviour did all this,—of how He came, and made known His truths, and founded His Church, and died at the hands of the Jewish nation,—is the divinest story in the history of the world. To know it well, is to be led to look upon Our Lord, not as One who lived and died, ages and ages ago, but as an ever-present Friend,—only more winsome, more precious, more lovable, and more generous than any merely earthly friend could ever be.

"It is the desire that an ever greater and greater number of people, especially of young people, may be led to look upon Our Lord in this sweet familiar way, that the following pages have been written."

Father Holland has certainly accomplished what he set out to do and it is to be hoped that the book may find its way into the hands of every Christian child in the land.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

Histoire des Commandements de l'Eglise. Par M. l'abbé Villien, professeur a l'Institut Catholique de Paris. 1 vol. in 12. Paris, Lecoffre, 1909. Pp. xii + 353.

The need of a History of the Commandments of the Church has long been felt in the Catholic world generally. The subject was, admittedly, of great interest, yet before the author of the present work no historian of institutions devoted to it more than cursory attention. The Abbé Villien, therefore, is the benefactor of the Catholic clergy of France for supplying them with a volume which will prove a highly useful auxiliary in the preparation of catechetical instructions ; it is to be hoped that the clergy of the English-speaking world will soon become their co-beneficiaries, when some enterprising Catholic publish-

ing house will place at their disposal, in a good translation, a book which is at the same time learned and practical.

From the first page of this work to the last the interest of the reader does not flag for a moment. To most of us, for example, the opening chapter on the variations in the number of the Commandments of the Church, in different ages and in different countries, will be somewhat of a revelation. This chapter is followed by one on the development of the Church's legislation regarding the obligation of assisting at Mass, from apostolic times to our own day. In a second chapter devoted to another phase of the first commandment we have traced for us the interesting history of the enactments of Church and State prohibiting servile works on the Lord's Day, and of the various sanctions under which these enactments were enforced. The fourth chapter treats of the feasts, other than Sundays, on which the faithful were obliged to hear Mass and refrain from manual labor; the fifth and sixth are concerned with the paschal confession and communion, and the seventh and eighth with the obligation of fasting and abstinence. In a final chapter the author deals with the legislation on the subject of tithes.

The work combines admirably two qualities we expect as a matter of course from the best type of French historian: attractiveness of style and profundity of research. The author has laboriously examined all the documents bearing on his subject, whether decrees of council, civil legislation, or allusions in ecclesiastical treatises, the result being that the reader finds himself in possession of a very readable, as well as reliable work of reference.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 476-1250. By William Stubbs, D. D., formerly Bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassell, M. A., London, (Longmans), 1908. Pp. vi + 254.

The name of the author and the title of his work taken together arouse expectations in the lover of Medieval History which unfortunately will not be fulfilled in more than a very moderate degree. Most things, indeed, that Bishop Stubbs has written on Medieval History are worth reading and even the present volume will, to a certain extent, repay perusal. But this is about all that can be said in its favor. For in the first place it is hopelessly out of date, consisting as

it does of lectures delivered thirty-five or forty years ago, on a period of history which in the meantime has occupied the close attention of a host of specialists. But even in the event of their having been edited in accordance with the generally accepted modifications of opinion effected by four decades of historical research the lectures would still be too summary to be of great practical value. The reign of Henry IV, for instance, occupies only eleven pages, that of Frederick Barbarossa less than twenty pages. The Editor, however, regards the author's appreciations of the German monarchs of the Middle Ages as especially valuable, a claim which will by no means win general assent. Take as an example Bishop Stubbs' estimate of Frederick Barbarossa. This Emperor, we are assured, very nearly reached the pinnacle of perfection. He was both lovable and admirable, more admirable even than Charlemagne. He was also a type of "the full beauty of the German character in its strength, its purity, its kindness and patience, its gentleness and good faith coupled with . . . . the knightly deportment of the medieval cavalier," (p. 212). After reading this character sketch the reader is inclined to inquire whether the author is really speaking of Frederick Barbarossa. For surely to talk of the patience, gentleness and good faith of this particular specimen of a Holy Roman Emperor borders on the absurd ; Bishop Stubbs must have known that to assign his hero characteristics the opposite of each of these would be very much nearer the truth. As a specimen of Frederick's good faith take one of his letters to Pope Alexander III. After deliberately creating a schism in the Church, by refusing to recognize the indisputable validity of Alexander's election, and recognizing an anti-Pope who had not the shadow of a claim to the papal throne, Frederick invited the Pope to submit the entire question to a council of his convening, and which he dominated. Despite the well known facts of the case the Emperor, in the letter alluded to, calls heaven to witness that his only thought throughout has been peace and the restoration of the unity of the Church ! As to the gentleness of Barbarossa, the Milanese, we imagine, would tell a different story from that of our author. Nor could they be greatly blamed for differing in this matter from the late Bishop of Oxford, seeing that all of them that fell into the hands of the humane Frederick during the siege of their city had their eyes put out and their hands cut off. Neither would the events subsequent to the fall of their city necessitate a revision of their ideas of Frederick's humanity, since every man, woman and child in Milan found themselves mercilessly driven from their homes and their city razed by order of their conqueror. And

this fomentor of schism, this cruel warrior, this ruler, the best years of whose life were devoted to the destruction of liberty in Church and State, Bishop Stubbs regards as an object of admiration more worthy than Charlemagne. Surely it is only the incurable Erastianism of a State-Church Bishop that could reach such a conclusion.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Prim und Komplet des Römischen Breviers liturgisch und aszetisch erklärt. Von Dr. Nikolaus Gihr (Theologische Bibliothek). Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1907. 8°, pp. viii + 339. $1.85.

While yet an adherent of the Anglican confession of faith, Cardinal Newman wrote these remarkable words about the Office of the Catholic Church: "There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary that were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists as the book of devotion received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favor." . . . (*Tracts for the Times*, No. 75). The deep, sincere, refined expression of religious sentiment, which appealed so strongly to the profound religious genius of Newman, must prove attractive to all who are sufficiently acquainted with the official prayers of the Church to recognize their intrinsic worth.

The work of Dr. Gihr is calculated to render helpful service to every one who wishes to acquire a fuller knowledge of the Breviary and thereby to deepen his piety in the recitation of the divine office. As the subject-matter of his splendid volume he has selected the liturgical morning and evening services of the Church as we find them in the official edition since the time of Pius V. The danger of a superficial, perfunctory, mechanical recitation of the divine office lies nearest precisely in those devotions which admit only of the slightest variations and which recur daily in the same stereotyped form. Perhaps the most effective safeguard against all undesirable routine work in the performance of this religious duty is a diligent study of the liturgical texts and formulas. Suitable books for meditation are not easily procured and are frequently sought in vain by the Catholic priest, while at the same time any passage of the Missal, the Ritual or the Breviary would furnish choice material for pious reflection and contemplation ; for it is here that we have the most expressive manifestation of the inner Christian life. Under the guidance of the learned

author, the reader will be able to penetrate deeply into the sense of the liturgical texts and to appreciate the treasures of thought contained in the formal ecclesiastical devotions. The single verses of the Psalms, the Responses, Versicles and Orations are subjected to an exegesis that is ample and detailed. The explanation yields a wealth of spiritual ideas and considerations in the light of which the prayers acquire a new significance and force. Passages of Sacred Scripture, selections from the Fathers and from standard theological treatises, and appropriate extracts from profane writers are skilfully woven into the presentation which is both pleasing and instructive. In the employment of quotations to illustrate his commentary Dr. Gihr shows a decided preference for the beautiful lyrics of the author of the *Dreizehnlinden*.

It is a pleasure to note that the history of these devotions has not been neglected. Where the sacred liturgy is concerned we are often content to accept the good that comes to us without enquiring how it came, although few things could be more interesting than a knowledge of the origin and development of the prayers which we daily recite. In a manner which harmonizes well with the scope of his work the author sketches briefly the history of the two canonical hours which he explains. He points out that the Vigils, Lauds and Vespers belong to the oldest traditional element of the ancient public worship, and shows how the piety of the Christian people added Terce, Sext and None in the course of the following centuries. Monastic influence in the East and West finally led to the adoption of Prime and Compline, thus bringing about the sevenfold number of the canonical hours of the day in conformity with scriptural suggestion.

We are indebted to Dr. Gihr for a very useful and excellent work. Few writings will be found more helpful in furthering the spirit of genuine piety and in rendering the recitation of the divine office that which it must necessarily be, a worship in spirit and in truth.

ALOYSIUS MENGES, O. S. B.

Der Tabernakel einst und jetzt. Von Felix Raible. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von Dr. Engelbert Krebs. Freiburg (Herder), 1908. Pp. xxii + 336.

The author of this posthumous work was a German parish priest who for many years devoted his leisure hours to the study of the documents, ancient, medieval and modern, bearing on the origin and

development of the tabernacle. The book, which is dedicated to the members of the Priests' International Eucharistic League, is a worthy monument to the industry of the author, to whose knowledge of his subject, and earnest devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar, it bears abundant evidence. It will in a great measure fulfill the purpose for which it was written, namely, to serve as a manual containing reliable information for the use of priests who may be called upon to oversee the construction of altars in their churches, and as an aid in giving instructions on the Eucharist. It will also prove useful to architects, and in general to the various classes of artists engaged in ecclesiastical decorative work.

In the matter of early Christian symbolism the author is generally disposed to adopt the views of the school of the extreme right, whereas the tendency of the more recent Catholic writers on Christian Archaeology is decidedly towards the center. He is inclined also to see in many ancient texts bearing on his subject very much more significance than the modern critical historian will admit them to possess. It is surprising not to find among his bibliography the title of Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrêtien*, and on the other hand, his predilection for Probst will hardly receive the unreserved approval of the liturgists.

Ireland and St. Patrick. By William Bullen Morris. London and New York, 1907.

This is a new edition of the well-known work of Father Morris, first published in 1892. The position taken by the author in the chapter on "St. Patrick and St. Martin," as well as in that on "Adrian IV and Henry Plantagenet" is to-day untenable; the remaining chapters may still be read with some degree of interest.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Die Werke von Henry Charles Lea und verwandte Bücher. Nebst einer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Kölner Städtischen Archivar Professor Dr. Joseph Hansen. Von Paul Maria Baumgarten. Münster i. W., 1908. Pp. 142 + 1.

Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings, a critical inquiry into their method and merit. By Paul Maria Baumgarten. New York, 1909. Pp. 200.

In this brochure Mgr. Baumgarten points out some of the most obtrusive inconsistencies, traceable to the author's ill-concealed dislike

of the Catholic Church, of Mr. Lea's voluminous works; but the reader will search in vain for the promised "critical inquiry into their method and merit." Such an inquiry would be, indeed, an impossibility within the space set for himself by the critic, but, restricted as this space is, it cannot be said that the author employs it to the best advantage. Here for instance are some samples of what we are asked to accept as criticism:

"Against such historical argument it seems impossible to reason with any prospect of success" (p. 21, translation); "Catholic theology has much to learn before it can boast of the acuteness of Lea's discernment" (p. 38). On pp. 49 and 50 the author quotes from Lea's *Inquisition in the Middle Ages* two paragraphs containing serious animadversions on the procedure of the inquisitorial courts, with the purpose, one naturally expects, of showing them to be unfounded. But Mgr. Baumgarten thinks it enough to inform us that the refutation we look for to him may be found in a certain number of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. He gives a brief quotation in Italian from the *Civiltà* writer to the effect that Lea's authorities say the exact opposite of what Lea pretends, and we entertain no doubt that this actually is the case. But why not give us the opportunity of judging for ourselves by citing and commenting on the original documents concerned? Had the author followed this method, and limited himself to, say a dozen examples of Lea's misinterpretations, his book would be of real service, But instead it is little more than a rough index of Lea's works, with observations of practically no value.

The English translation of Mgr. Baumgarten's book has faults of its own, independent of those of the original. The English, to say the least, leaves much to be desired, and in several instances we have noticed mistranslations. The term *Crusade*, apparently, is not familiar to the translator; we find him rendering the expression *das Kreuz predigte* by "preached the Holy Cross," *Geniale Quellenkritik* is translated "*genial* criticism of sources;" but better still is the rendering of *dazu fehlen ihm die Vortkenntnisse* by "he has no *schooling* in these matters!" The Council of Vienne is transformed into a hitherto unknown General Council of Vienna (pp. 60, 77). The fifth chapter on "German Editions of Lea's History of the Inquisition" should have been omitted as of no interest to the English reader.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

The Dialogue of St. Catherine of Sienna. Translated by Algar Thorold. New York : Benziger Bros., 1907. Pp. 344.

This new abridged edition of the famous Treatise on Divine Providence of St. Catherine of Sienna will be welcomed by the numerous admirers of the Saint whose influence proved so powerful a factor in bringing to an end the Avignon captivity of the papacy. Mr. Thorold's translation is excellent.

A History of the Ancient Egyptians. By James Henry Breasted, Ph. D., with four maps and three plans,—fifth volume of the historical series for Bible students, edited by Professors C. F. Kent and T. K. Sanders. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. Pp. xiii + 409.

This is not as one might think a simple condensation of the author's History of Egypt published three years before, with such additions and corrections as required by the latest research or discoveries. While using much of the same material as in his former work, the author has tried this time to write the history of a people, treating of the various aspects of the old Egyptian civilization, especially of its religious and political institutions as well as of its history proper both internal and external, down to the Persian invasion, which virtually marks the end of the Egyptian independence. The book is the work of a specialist and a teacher ; and everything in its arrangement and the presentation of the matter is calculated to increase its usefulness to students for whom it was primarily intended, yet it is easy and attractive reading and wonderfully adapted to meet the requirements of people of general culture.

H. Hyvernat.

MEETING OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America was held at the Hotel Astor in New York City on Tuesday, April 27. It was one of the best attended of the meetings thus far held by the Association, members of the society being present from many parts of the country. Among other business transacted at the meeting was the reading of Dr. Kerby's report on the Bouquillon Library Fund, from which it was learned that $2,691.23 had been collected; the appointment given the Executive Committee to draw up a final draft of the Constitution of the Association to be submitted at the next reunion, and the instruction given the Secretary to have printed and distributed to all the members a complete list of the names and addresses of the Alumni.

Report of the Historian.

At the business meeting the historian, the Rev. George V. Leahy, S. T. L., of Boston, read a report which ran substantially as follows. He first announced his purpose "to chronicle briefly some of the doings of the past two years that are of special interest to this Society." He explained the necessity of going back two years instead of one, as due to the unavoidable absence of the historian from the previous meeting. He then continued:

"It is to the University *Bulletin* that we look, and seldom in vain, for the news of chief interest to us Alumni as, for example, events affecting the prosperity of our Alma Mater, the names of the new recipients of degrees, the literary ventures of our fellow-Alumni, and the like. To the *Bulletin,* indeed, I am indebted for most of the information incorporated in this paper.

"Perhaps the new recruits in the ranks of the Alumni deserve first to engage our attention. Two years ago, *i. e.,* in June,

1907, fourteen students were advanced to the higher honors, two laymen of Baltimore receiving the doctorate in law, four priests the doctorate in philosophy, and eight priests the licentiate in theology. Others to the number of twenty-eight received lesser degrees.

"In June, 1908, it was interesting to read that Father Martin, of New York, a Licentiate in Theology from our university, had the honor of delivering the Baccalaureate Sermon. And at this commencement some fourteen had the pleasure and distinction of receiving the University's higher awards, one layman of Lewisburg, Pa., being made Doctor of Laws, one priest from Australia a doctor in Canon Law, one Father of the Holy Cross Order a Doctor in Philosophy, and eleven priests, among them five belonging to religious congregations, winning the Licentiate. Again many were advanced to minor degrees, twenty-four all told. We welcome all these graduates to our ranks none too large, and we congratulate the University on its sure and steady growth.

"It is after graduation and not before for the most part that the University's sons are expected to bring her most honor. From what I know of the Alumni, I should say that they are almost to a man proving worthy of their training and are going far towards realizing the University's ideals, high as they are placed. Nearly all, it is true, have settled down to the ordinary works of the ministry, but I know of scarcely one who is not accomplishing his work in more than an ordinary manner. Several are teaching in seminaries and there spreading, perhaps in a feeble way, that rich light of truth and knowledge which they received in such bountiful measure and of such unexcelled quality at the University. A few have returned to the University as members of its teaching corps, the act bringing delight and pride to the entire body of the Alumni and increased efficiency, we fell sure, to the works of the University. A very few have mounted still higher, as the parochial clergy would esteem it, as permanent rectors in Boston, Washington and elsewhere, and one, Father Hayes, among the worthiest and best beloved of our associates, has been elevated by papal act to the dignity of Domestic Prelate. Forsaking my rôle of historian

for that of prophet, I was about to predict that still higher rank would be achieved by some in the future, when news came of the actual realization of this hope in the appointment of Father Carroll, of Philadelphia, one of the earlier alumni, to an episcopal see in the Phillipine Islands.

" There is one special field of endeavor in which we should naturally expect University men to be active above the ordinary, the field of literary output. Men with advantages as rare as ours ought certainly not hide our light, but dare to publish to the world the best results of our researches and reflections. Whether we have as yet done our share in this direction, it is hard to decide. But luckily there are enough Alumni with pen more or less constantly in hand to acquit us of the charge of absolute idleness. The well-known volumes of Father Russell and Dr. Shields, alumni of the first vintage, have this year been supplemented by a modest but useful life of our Lord, called *The Divine Story,* by Father Holland, of Providence, a licentiate of 1902. In the sociological field, all know what solid and mature work our fellow-alumni, Drs. Kerby and Ryan, have been contributing to periodical literature and from what high authorities have come encomiums of their publications. We scan the *Bulletin's* book reviews each month and feel sure of our safe guidance when we see the appended signatures of our professors at the University.

" All these are signs of activity of just the right sort, and the quality of the result has always, I believe, done honor to our Alma Mater and has risen well to the level of her high standards. May these labors increase in amount, without deterioration of quality. May the names of Catholic University graduates appear oftener and oftener in the future appended to publications of many sorts, in magazine articles, brochures, and even more pretentious works. Could the world be told in each case that the author is a Catholic University alumnus, would it not help advertise in a noble way the institution which is the object of our pride and love? May the work be extended and multiplied as the years roll on.

" Meantime we turn from our own humble efforts to look devotedly towards our Alma Mater, the home as we know it

of utmost and sincerest consecration to the wedded cause of truth and virtue. We have been interested in everyone of its happenings of the past two years, as happily heralded by the *Bulletin*. There were first our venerated Cardinal's reports of the annual collections. How these have cheered us and compelled our gratitude towards the generous Catholic people of this country, and driven deeper the roots of our gratitude and love for our venerable and eminent Chancellor. How it has gladdened us to learn of the generosity of the two Catholic fraternal orders, the Knights of Columbus and the Hibernians, proving their unity of ultimate aim, and at the same time testifying their trust in our beloved institution, by their pledge of liberal endowments. Eight scholarships already this year from the Hibernians and a promise of twenty-five before the year is done! And a pledge of half a million dollars from the Knights, what a magnificent and royal gift! If these strangers have such faith in our queen of colleges, how much more faith and devotion should be in us, her own favored children! Oh, we can never forget what we owe to her, her hospitable welcome and wise direction, the treasures of learning she poured into our lap, her inculcation of love for the truth above all things else, her high ideals of honor and manhood and, for us priests, of sacerdotal perfection. It all comes back to us now and in our hearts we know that we owe to our wise and pious mother an almost infinite debt. Let us sound her praises oftener than before that the world may learn what we have gained, that students may flock to her, not as formerly in knots and squads, but in companies and regiments, so that her halls shall be too small for all the eager, aspiring young men who will come to learn of her. There is no fear now that even numbers will ever lower her standards from the heights on which they are now placed. Her tone can scarcely suffer decline. Her accepted matriculates will be select men and none but these, or if of mediocre quality her inspiration if anything will lift them out of the rut of their mediocrity."

The historian paused here to mention briefly the death last year of Dr. Stafford and the recent demise of Mr. Charles Warren Stoddard, and in a few words paid due tribute to these

former esteemed professors of the University. He then proceeded:

"The last event to be chronicled, and the most pleasing of all, is the elevation of a professor of eighteen years' service to the office of Pro-Rector. If the selection has brought honor to the teaching corps, it has brought no less joy and gratification to the body of the Alumni. From almost the beginning of the University history, Dr. Shahan has served in the ranks, how sturdily and well everyone here will bear witness. Among University graduates up and down the land, no one, perhaps, is held in quite as high honor as he. We have esteemed him as our model scholar, so erudite and withal so modest, so laborious and yet so accessible and affable, a true priest and gentleman, and at the same time a giant and prince even among scholars of the first rank. Were it only for our admiration, we would all have rejoiced at his appointment. But when with this is blended affection such as his winning character has compelled, our pleasure at his advancement is beyond expression.

"We were already loyal and leal to our Alma Mater, we shall be doubly and deeply devoted now that Dr. Shahan is her chief guiding hand. May our careers bring him comfort and reward of heart as from the Rector's post he looks out upon the fruits of the University's training. And may next year's historian be able to chronicle for his satisfaction many additional achievements in the modest field of pastoral ministry and in the more difficult but perhaps more fruitful region of literary and forensic endeavor. For by such means even more than by our pledges of loyalty, however sincere, by our works and our steadfastness of lofty aim, we Alumni shall bring credit to our University and increase of joy to those who guide her destinies."

A pleasing feature of the meeting was the presence of Rev. Dr. Shahan. By an unanimous vote the Association extended to Dr. Shahan its congratulations upon his recent elevation to the dignity of Acting Rector of the University.

A vote of thanks was also given to the Alumni of New York and Brooklyn for their cordial hospitality and for their efforts in making the fifteenth annual meeting such a marked success.

The following were elected officers for the ensuing year:

President—Rev. William T. Russell, D. D.
1*st Vice-Pesident*—Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D.
2*nd Vice-President*—Rev. Thomas F. Burke, C. S. P.
Secretary-Treasurer—Rev. John Webster Melody, D. D.
Historian—Rev. Joseph V. Leahy.
Executive Committee—Rev. Thomas McGuigan, Rev. Charles F. Aiken, D. D., Rev. Thomas Shields, Ph.D., Rev. William Fletcher, D. D., Rev. Michael J. Crane.

After the meeting followed the annual Banquet. In the absence of His Grace the Archbishop of New York, who was unable to attend, the toast "Our Holy Father" was responded to by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph Mooney. Rev. Thomas F. Burke spoke on "Our Country." Hon. John J. Delaney responded to "The Catholic Layman." "The Alumni" was spoken to by Rev. Francis Duffy, while Dr. Shahan fittingly had for his toast "The Catholic University."

The speeches announced upon the program having been finished, the toastmaster called for a few words from several of the guests of the evening. In response felicitous addresses were made by the Hon. Eugene A. Philbin, Mr. Willis Moore, the Superintendent of the U. S. Weather Bureau, and Rt. Rev. Mgr. Charles McCready.

RIGHT REVEREND JAMES J. CARROLL,

Bishop of Nueva Segovia.

The new Bishop of Nueva Segovia, is the second alumnus of the University to be raised to the ranks of the episcopate.

James J. Carroll was born at Portland, Me., in 1863. At an early age he removed with his parents to St. Clair, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. After the usual course of philosophy and theology at St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, he was ordained priest on June 15, 1889. On November 13, the opening day of the Catholic University, he was enrolled among the students of this Institution. During his two years of residence here he followed the courses given in Moral Theology by Dr. Bouquillon and in Hebrew by Dr. Hyvernat. On March 29, 1890, he received the degree of Bachelor of Theology. On his return to Philadelphia he served as assistant pastor at St. Teresa's and St. Matthew's. Later he became Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Charles Seminary, a position which he resigned in 1903 in order to devote himself to work in the Phillipines. On February 14, 1909, he was consecrated Bishop of Nueva Segovia. The consecration took place in the Cathedral of Manila.

The first alumnus to be raised to the episcopal dignity was Rev. M. Ruiz y Rodriguez, who studied at the University, 1901-1903, and in 1903 obtained the degree of Licentiate in Theology. In June, 1907, he was consecrated second bishop of Pinar del Rio, Cuba. The consecration took place in the Cathedral of Cienfuegos, and the consecrator was Most Rev. Archbishop Aversa, Apostolic Delegate to Cuba.

NECROLOGY.

Charles Warren Stoddard.

Dr. Charles Warren Stoddard who from 1890 to 1902 occupied the Chair of English Literature at the University died at Monterey, California, on Friday, April 23.

Charles Warren Stoddard was born in Rochester, N. Y., August 9, 1843. While still a child he moved with his parents to New York City, where he attended school until he was twelve years old. He spent the years 1856-7 in California, returning by way of Cape Horn to his home in New York. In 1859 he returned to California and remained there until 1864, when he went to Hawaii. In 1867, he came back to America and that same year was received into the Catholic Church at Old St. Mary's, San Francisco. During the next ten years he traveled in Europe, revisited the South Seas, and made another visit to Hawaii. In 1884 he accepted a position as Professor of English Literature at Notre Dame University, which he resigned in 1885. In 1889 he was made Professor of English Literature at the Catholic University of America. He taught here from 1890 to 1902. He left on account of ill-health, and was very much regretted by all who knew him. In 1905 he settled down at Monterey, California, where he died April 23.

Dr. Stoddard is well known as the author of *South Sea Idylls, A troubled Heart and how it was Comforted* (a record of his conversion to the Catholic Faith), *Lazy Letters from Low Latitudes, The Wonder Worker of Padua, In the Footprints of the Padres,* etc. He was a man of extraordinary literary genius; as a stylist he has had few equals among contemporary writers of English. His devotion to the Catholic religion which was one of the most pleasing of his personal traits, colored every thought and every expression and imparted to his works a rare charm which is described as sweetness, peacefulness, tenderness, gentleness. On the students and professors of the Catholic University who had the privilege of knowing him he made an impression which time can with difficulty efface. Pure of heart, simple, truth-loving, loyal and devout, he was a most lovable companion and a true friend. May his gentle soul rest in peace.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Very Rev. Daniel Joseph Kennedy, O. P., S. T. M., has been appointed by the Board of Trustees full professor of Sacramental Theology, and will assume that office in the coming scholastic year. Dr. Kennedy was born near Knoxville, Tenn., January 12, 1862. At an early age his aptitude and fondness for study were noticed by Rev. F. T. Marron and Rev. J. P. McClancy (now Dean of Middletown, N. Y.). They took charge of the boy's education, and with exceeding care and uncommon thoroughness prepared him for a theological career. Under them he acquired the mental habits which have ever since distinguished him. Eventually he entered the Dominican Order, and on November 10, 1877, made profession of his simple vows at St. Joseph's Convent, Somerset, Ohio. The following three years were spent in the study of philosophy, church history and canon law. In 1881 he was sent to Louvain, there to make a thorough course in Thomistic theology. At the Dominican House of Studies in Louvain he spent four years, and was fortunate enough to have among his professors the eminent theologians Lepidi and Dummermuth.

In September, 1884, he was ordained to the priesthood and on July 10 of the following year passed his examination at St. Joseph's Convent, Somerset, Ohio, for the degree of Lector of Sacred Theology.

In February, 1886, he was made Master of Novices at St. Joseph's, and held this position for four years. In 1890 he was called to the new University of Freibourg in Switzerland to fill the chair of Philosophy. In 1891 he returned to America to resume his position of Novice Master at St. Joseph's, and in July, 1894, was elected Prior of that Convent, which position he filled until 1905.

On July 28, 1898, he received the degree of Master of Sacred Theology, the highest academic degree which the Dominican Order confers. The reception of this degree presupposes thir-

teen years of actual teaching and an intermediate examination "ad gradus."

In 1885 a General Chapter of the Dominican Order was held at Louvain, and before it Father Kennedy defended a number of theses. He acquitted himself so well that he was dispensed from all future examinations prescribed by the Constitutions of the Order.

In 1896 he was made Regent of the "Studium Formale" of the Dominican Order, which Studium was in 1905 transferred from Somerset, Ohio, to Washington, D. C. Dr. Kennedy, however, remained Regent of Studies, a position which he yet holds.

In 1905 he was made Prior of the newly founded Convent of the Immaculate Conception, in the immediate vicinity of the Catholic University.

In October, 1906, he was appointed Lecturer on Sacramental Theology in the Catholic University.

Lectures by Professors. A Committee of Catholic Ladies of Washington, including Miss Alice Riggs, Miss Janie Riggs, Mrs. John T. Devine, Mrs. George Becker and the Misses Cullen, under the presidency of Mrs. George M. Bolling arranged for a course of lectures at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, during the Lent of 1909. The following are the dates and the subjects:

Friday, February 26th, 11 A. M.,
"Mind and Brain."
VERY REV. EDWARD A. PACE, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Psychology.

Friday, March 12th, 11 A. M.,
"The Psychology of Suggestion."
VERY REV. EDWARD A. PACE, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Psychology.

Wednesday, March 17th, 11 A. M.,
"Christ's Method of Teaching."
REV. THOMAS E. SHIELDS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Pedagogy.

Wednesday, March 24th, 11 A. M.,
"The Church's Method of Teaching."
REV. THOMAS E. SHIELDS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Pedagogy.

Wednesday, March 31st, 11 A. M.,
"Zoroastrianism Viewed in the Light of Christianity."
REV. CHARLES F. AIKEN, D.D., Professor of Apologetics.

At the suggestion of Miss Fannie Whelan, of Washington, a similar course was given at Boston. The ladies in charge of the local committees in Boston were Mrs. Rachel Sherman Thorndyke and Mrs. Charles Bruen Perkins. The Boston Course included:

March 4. "The Study of the Mind."
VERY REV. EDWARD A. PACE, D.D., Ph.D.
March 13. "The Pedagogical Benefits of the Organic teaching of the Church."
REV. THOMAS E. SHIELDS, Ph.D.
March 23. "Analysis of a poetic book of the Bible."
REV. CHARLES P. GRANNAN, D.D.
April 1. "Relations of Christianity with Buddhism."
REV. CHARLES F. AIKEN, D.D.

A series of Lectures on Psychology was delivered Monday evenings during Lent at Rauscher's by Very Reverend Edward A. Pace, Ph.D. The object of the course was to secure funds for founding a Scholarship at Trinity College to be known as the Anna Hanson Dorsey Scholarship. The organizer of the project and Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements was Mrs. Senator Thomas H. Carter, whose coöperation in every good work affecting the interests both of the University and of Trinity College entitles her to the gratitude of the friends of both institutions. The dates and subjects of the Lectures were as follows:

March 1. "The Scope and Field of Psychology."
March 8. "The Relations of Mind and Brain."
March 15. "Mental Development."
March 22. "Personality—One or Multiple."
March 29. "Hypnotism and its Meaning for Psychology."
April 5. "Psychology and Religion."

Gifts to the Library. Through the generosity of a number of the Most Reverend Archbishops, members of the Board of Trustees, and of Bishops Conaty and O'Gorman, Reverend Doctor Hyvernat has been able to secure for the University Library complete sets of the scientific publications of the Universities and learned societies of Berlin, Vienna, Göttingen, etc.

Reverend Edward Southgate, Pastor of St. Anthony's Church,

Brookland, D. C., presented to the Library a valuable collection of Orientalia and works on the Greek Orthodox Church.

Rt. Reverend Bishop O'Connell presented Furey's "Life of Leo XIII" (édition de luxe) and King's "Medieval Architecture and Art," 4 vols.

Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan presented Murray's "Oxford Dictionary" and Bardenheuer's "Patrology" translated by V. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan.

Doctor Dunn presented a copy of "Vie de S. Patrice" par Joseph Dunn.

Very Rev. Dr. Pace. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons was pleased to designate Very Rev. Dr. Pace as the representative of the University at the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the New Louvain. Dr. Pace sailed for Antwerp on the *Lapland,* April 24, and took part in the festivities of May 9, 10, and 11, by which all Catholic Belgium commemorated the re-opening of the great school which in former ages had done so much among them for religion, science, and fatherland. We give below the text of the Latin letter by which the Catholic University of America congratulated her elder sister of Louvain on the splendid success which has crowned the labors of three-quarters of a century:

RECTOR ET SENATUS
CATHOLICAE UNIVERSITATIS AMERICAE
RECTORI, DOCTORIBUS, ALUMNIS
UNIVERSITATIS LOVANIENSIS
S. P. D.

Litteras jucundissimas quibus nos sollemnium vestrorum participes esse jussistis summa cum delectatione accepimus. Quum enim ab instaurata Academia saeculo nondum expleto tot gesta praeclara jure memoria repetatis eorum et nos libenter recordamur. Non uni quidem patriae sed humano potius generi beneficia paravit Universitas vestra quatenus fidei praelucente doctrina humanas disciplinas excoluit omnes, nova simul et vetera de thesauro sapientiae protulit atque nobilem scientiae

cupiditatem ita excitavit ut florentissimam hominum doctorum segetem Christianae civilisque reipublicae emolumento praeberet.

Quod si haec omnia non sine labore et difficultate potuistis praestare, eo vel magis splendescit religionis studium quo clerus populusque istius regionis permoti ardua quaeque superaverunt. Idcirco Universitas ipsa tanquam munimentum firmissimum constituebatur in quo tuendae veritati bonisque servandis moribus praesidia usque validiora struerentur.

De tantis autem incrementis peculiari gratulamur ratione quia scilicet ab ipso instituti nostri exordio benevolentiae vestrae erga coeptum opus haud ambigua indicia dabatis. Licebat enim nobis uberrimos percipere fructus eorum quae sive ad leges academicas condendas sive ad disciplinas recte tradendas perutilia vobis rerum varietates expertis esse videbantur. Neque id sane praetereundum quod ex iis qui apud nos docendi funguntur munere plures enutrivit alma Lovaniensis mater, omnes amicitia fovit, roboravit exemplo.

Hisce igitur adducti vobiscum gaudemus simulque vota ex intimo facimus corde ut bonorum omnium Auctor laeta cuncta ac prospera vobis tribuat Deus atque vires perpetuo augeat quibus Ecclesiae, patriae, scientiae dediti ad majora etiam agenda valeatis.

Dabamus Washingtonii

a. d. XVIII Kal. Mai. MCMIX.

THOMAS JOSEPH SHAHAN,
h. t. Rector.

Examination for Doctorate in Theology. Rev. Nicholas A. Weber, S. M., S. T. L., of the Marist Seminary, Catholic University, passed his examinations for the doctorate in theology on Thursday, April 29. His printed dissertation, of about two hundred and fifty pages, is entitled: *A History of Simony in the Early Church from the beginning to the death of Charlemagne* (814). He also defended seventy-five theses, from all departments of theology. Besides the faculty of theology his examiners included Rev. Dr. Kennedy, O. P.; Rev. Dr. Lucas, of Pittston, Pa.; Rev. Dr. Fox, of St. Thomas' College, Catholic

University; Rev. Dr. Sauvage, of Holy Cross College, Catholic University; Rev. Father Vieban, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Rev. Father Anton Lechert, of St. John Cantius College, Brookland, D. C.

Nicholas Aloysius Weber was born November 30, 1876, at Krautergersheim near Obernai (Alsace). He attended the public schools of his native place, and from 1890 to 1895 studied at the College of Differt (Belgium) conducted by the Marist Fathers. After a two years' course in philosophy at Paignton (England) he entered the novitiate of the Society of Mary at Lyons. From 1898 to 1901 he studied theology at the Marist College, Washington, D. C. During part of this period he also attended the lectures of the Very Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan at the Catholic University of America. He graduated S.T.B. at the latter institution in 1901 and was ordained to the priesthood the same year. He then taught for a year at the Marist College, Atlanta, Georgia. In 1902 he was appointed professor of Church History at the Marist College, Washington, D. C., a position which he still holds. From 1902 to 1904 he studied Church History and Dogma at the Catholic University of America, having as professors the Very Reverend Dr. Thomas J. Shahan and the Reverend Dr. Edmund T. Shanahan. After graduating as S.T.L. at the Catholic University in 1904, he taught, besides History, Apologetics at the Marist College until he was appointed in 1908 professor of Dogma at the same institution.

Rector of the University. On Thursday, May 27, letters were received from Rome appointing Very Reverend Dr. Shahan, Pro-Rector, to the position of Rector of the University.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *October, 1909.* *No. 7.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED BY

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *October, 1909.* *No. 7.*

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE—A CRITICISM.[1]

(*Continued.*)

I. The Value of Science (*Continued*).

Before answering this question: is the scientific fact an interpretation of the common fact suggested or required by our needs or its practical use in our life? are scientific facts means of action rather than objects of knowledge? let us first have a clear and definite notion of the various terms; this is a point of great importance as, to our mind, the apparent and superficial solidity of Pragmatism has its ground in the confused and promiscuous meanings in which these terms are taken.

"Practical" may mean the attainment of an end, and in this sense evidently every scientific observation as well as any action, intellectual, voluntary or motor, is practical; it is performed for an end, intellectual action in order to know, motor action in order to move; but then practical simply coincides with finality. In the same way "action" may mean the realization of any activity; this is its primitive sense. Thus understood, action is evidently a leading and primary notion; in this sense, knowledge is action, an action of the intellectual order as willing or moving are actions of our powers of will and

[1] Cf. *The Catholic University Bulletin*, April, 1906; March, 1908; June, 1909.

execution, and the question to be decided is which, of these different actions, is to have the primacy. But here, for those who object to the intellectualism of science, these words are supposed to have a special meaning.

"Practical" and "action" are opposed by them not to concrete and efficacious knowledge, but to pure knowledge, especially to abstract and discursive knowledge. "Practical" then means essentially what is useful and fruitful, that which has a value of utility and fruitfulness for us in the conduct of our life or in our domination over nature; "Action" means that operation by which we take experimental and effective possession and direction of things, of the forces of nature, and so make them realize themselves into results. So understood, they say, action does not exclude, it rather includes thought, concrete and living thought in union with all the other elements of living action; but it is in opposition to pure knowledge, especially to abstract knowledge, which essentially means the representation of things, speculation and contemplation. It is in this sense that action and practice are said to have the primacy over knowledge and speculation, that science is said to have primarily a practical value; that it is first of all a means of action. Then its value is to be measured by its consequences in practice not by its truth as representation unless [2] truth is said to coincide with practical consequences; by the power it gives over nature not by the knowledge it gives of it, unless this knowledge itself is said to consist and to be measured by this very power.

We maintain as against such a proposition that science has primarily a value as knowledge, as speculation, as representation and as truth and only by way of consequence a practical value or value through application; that this practical value, though it may verify our knowledge, does not, however, con-

[2] Were we to extend our criticism to all kinds of pragmatism, to that of W. James in particular, we would have to determine more carefully these divers terms; for James, "practical" means that which is being verified through particular and concrete consequences; "Action," that operation by which we arrive at practical, *i. e.*, particular and satisfactory consequences. Yet we think that most of our remarks may be applied in their general and fundamental sense to any conception of Pragmatism. But we are dealing here especially with the New Philosophy.

stitute or even measure it, but rather is obtained and measured itself by the degree of knowledge previously acquired; finally that scientific facts are, above all, objects of knowledge.

Let us take a case apparently more favorable to the pragmatist, that of a physicist who studies, for instance, in view of the practical results he may obtain. He observes certain facts; what is the meaning of this observation and the real influence of his practical considerations on its value? It is evident that the hope of a practical use resulting from his observations will be a stimulus to his reflexion; again, according to the practical results which he expects from his observations, he will apply his attention more particularly to such or such property of these facts; he will then consider among these facts rather those that manifest more clearly this property; he will then use such or such an instrument better adapted to the observation of this special aspect; he will be satisfied with such or such a degree of precision; what does all this mean? It means simply that the use hoped for excites and stimulates the exercise of his mental and reflexive operation, may determine its direction, its degree of precision, yet without in any degree constituting it; *it influences its exercise, it does not in any way determine its nature.*[3] Again, the success of the practical application will be a sign and a confirmation of the truth of the observation, it does not constitute it; verification is a consequence of truth, not truth of verification. Its nature as an act of observation is determined by the objective fact observed and constituted by its adaptation to this fact; it is and remains essentially and primarily an act of knowledge. It is precisely this knowledge of the fact that will condition its possible use, the extent, means and significance of its practical application; prevision and power are the results of knowledge, results directly determined and measured by the very precision and degree of knowledge acquired.[4]

[3] Cf. S. Thom., *Summa Theol.*, 1ª 2ae, IX, 1, c; XIII, 1, c; XVII, 1, c., etc.

[4] It is also the fundamental idea exposed by Prof. Schiller in his books *Humanism* and *Studies in Humanism*, that our knowledge is determined at every step by our interests and preferences, wishes and purposes; that our interests impose the conditions under which reality can be revealed to us. (Cf. *Humanism*, pp. 7-11). That "truth is what is useful in building up a science, a falsehood what is useless or noxious for the same purpose . . . to determine therefore whether any answer to any

But besides the scientist who is looking immediately for useful application, there is also the scientist who studies above all in order to learn and to know, without any direct thought of or wish for practical results; the history of science teaches us very plainly that it is mostly by the work of those scientists who seek for knowledge that science has progressed and that it is at times at least when this ideal has been abandoned for utilitarian applications that it has begun to decline. Such is the testimony of historians of science like Tannery and Duhem, and of experimental scientists like Cuvier, Claude Bernard or Pasteur.[5] Knowledge for its own sake is so imme-

question is 'true' or 'false' we have merely to note its effects upon the inquiry in which we are interested and in relation to which it has arisen. And if these effects are favorable the answer is 'true' and 'good' for our purpose and useful as a means to the end we pursue." (*Studies in Humanism,* Essay v, pp. 144-154). Almost the same theory is exposed by Professor Dewey, who opposes the "functionalist" to the "representative" theory of knowledge. In an article on "the Definition of Pragmatism and Humanism." (*Mind,* April, 1905), Prof. Schiller had challenged Professor Taylor to give examples of a proposition whose truth or falsehood would not depend upon its practical application. Professor Taylor ("Truth and Consequences," *Mind,* January, 1906), cited three instances among them the proposition that the hundredth decimal of the formula π is or is not 9. Professor Schiller ("Pragmatism and Pseudo-Pragmatism," *Mind,* July, 1906), answers that the question whether or not this decimal is 9, is not solved until the decimal is calculated and that it will not be calculated until there will be found some usefulness in doing so; hence some intention and purpose will be found at the foundation of such an operation. Here we have a clear example of the ambiguity of the terms "practical," "usefulness," "finality," "end," etc., as used by the Pragmatists. It is true that every research supposes some interest *as its motive.* But besides the fact that this interest may be of an intellectual order, the question is to know whether or not this interest has any influence on this research *as to the nature of its result.* Now, it is evident that this decimal, before any operation of thought is not known yet it is predetermined in its nature and objective existence; and our intellectual operation will simply find, not create or invent it. Professor James says plainly: "The hundredth decimal of π is predetermined ideally now, though no one may have computed it." (*Pragmatism,* p. 211.) Then will not the truth of the computation consist in and be measured by the degree of adequation between our mental concept and this predetermined ideal, independently of our interests or of practical consequences,—their satisfaction or realization being the result, or a means of verification, not a constitutive element of this truth?

[5] Cf. F. Mentré: Note sur la valeur pragmatique du Pragmatisme, *Revue de Philosophie,* 1 Juillet, 1907.

diately the first end of science that many problems or scientific researches have no practical results, at least no practical results known or anticipated; and yet no one would dare say they are not a part of science; to do so would be to remove from it, many scientific questions and possibly the most fundamental problems. Many scientific discoveries have been made without any prevision of their results, sometimes through a happy coincidence; their value in the way of application has been realized only a long time afterwards, being suggested by the consideration of the new knowledge acquired since. This practical value has been more frequently realized not by the scientist himself, who would have been unable to think of them, but by some minds, artistic and industrial rather than scientific, who, on the other hand, would have been unable to discover the scientific facts.[6] Briefly the data of experience are studied primarily to be known; scientific facts are above all a representation as exact as possible of reality; often they are merely representations and yet as such they are a real and complete element of science; when they become means of action they become such only by and through the knowledge we have of them and according to the degree of precision which this knowledge attains.

If we study now the scientific laws, we shall reach a similar conclusion, with this difference, that while scientific facts represent simple facts, scientific laws represent the relation between these facts. We are told that laws are conventional definitions, practical recipes or directions, that they are efficacious rather than true, that they furnish us with the means of acting upon reality rather than with the knowledge of it. If we examine these propositions more carefully we shall find in them the

[6] One should not be deceived by confusion and ambiguity. We may be told that even the most apparently disinterested among scientists is himself prompted by utilitarian motives, by some interest or purpose; he observes at least in order to know better and this is something useful. The scientist indeed observes in order to know more clearly and more distinctly, but evidently if there is any question of utility in this case, practical use coincides with finality. An intellectualist can therefore accept this proposition, but there is no more room for an opposition between action and knowledge,—there is no more room for Pragmatism.

same confusion already pointed out in our study of scientific facts; we shall find that in order to express the truth, the terms in these propositions should be inverted: laws are efficacious because they are true; they are means of action because and in the measure in which they are representations of reality.

According to Professor Le Roy, when I say that " phosphorus melts at 44°," or that " in the case of the free fall of heavy bodies, the space passed through is proportional to the square of the time," I do not formulate laws but I enunciate, in the first case, the definition of phosphorus,—any body with the same properties but with another melting point will simply receive another name;—in the second, that of free fall,—whenever a body does not fulfill this condition we say that there is no free fall;—and so on with other laws. These definitions, he explains, are conventional and contingent; they are not imposed by experience but rather suggested by it; it is our mind that formulates them not by an arbitrary decree but by a choice freely made between divers possible determinations; the determination selected is directed by our desire not of a clearer knowledge but of practical applications.

Here again Professor Poincaré vigorously opposes Professor Le Roy's views. In reality, Professor Poincaré says, these propositions are formulated by the scientist as laws, in the proper sense of the word. He truly intends to express a necessary relation between a body endowed with certain properties, a given color, a given density, a given specific heat, etc., which constitute phosphorus, and such a degree of fusion; if, perchance, some day a body would be found with the same properties as phosphorus and a different melting point, then, the scientist would simply declare that the law formulated was false and he would begin his experiments over again.[7] He will hesitate indeed before declaring false the law as first enunciated, and Prof. Le Roy is right when he says that the scientist will preserve it as long as he can, that he will seek by all possible means to preserve it, while acknowledging the new discoveries; but the reason is not because he has formulated this law as a

[7] Cf. Poincaré, *La Valeur de la Science*, p. 235 sqq.

convention; it is, on the contrary, because this law has been imposed upon him by experience, because he is convinced that he has expressed in this law experience itself.

Again, whatever may be his relative freedom in the method of his investigations or the selection of his instruments, the scientist has so little freedom relatively to the law itself that he will stop only when he will have found clearly a necessary relation between the divers terms of the law as formulated. This is what explains the agreement of all scientists upon the acceptance of this law. This relation is not *made* but *found* always more or less precisely by the scientist; he does not impose it upon the facts but the facts themselves first suggest and finally impose it upon his mind. He will always meet in his investigations of the facts and of their relations an element of necessity, an "*invariant universel*" which imposes itself upon his mind, guides it in its elaboration and progressive steps, whatever may be the various methods he has used, and enforces the result with whatever relative precision the formula may express it. Scientific laws appear therefore as expressions of the real and objective relations existing between the facts, expressions that are more or less approximate and hence subject to progress, but that are always measured in their exactitude by their correspondence with the objective reality and not as conventions devised by our mind. Sometimes, it is true, it may be useful, for the sake of method, to adopt a law as the definition of the phenomena which it is supposed to regulate; but this is not the normal method in science; the circumstances in which it may be applied are limited and if it were adopted as the ordinary process, science would lose all its meaning and teach us nothing.[8]

Again, we are told that our scientific laws are efficacious rather than true; we maintain that they are efficacious because they are true and in the very degree in which they are known to be true. We do not deny indeed, that laws are means of action; they furnish us with the power of prevision and control, and this result, although not its end, is one of the stimulating

[8] Cf. Poincaré, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, sqq.

elements of scientific life. But whence arises this correspondence between our prevision of the facts that are to happen and their realization in the present except from this, that the law expresses objective relations of experience? Whence comes the efficacy of our action—when, handling the scientific law, we dominate nature and force it to reproduce at our will certain effects,—except from this that the law enables us to foresee events and produce them because it sees and contains them? The exactitude of our prevision and the success of our action simply manifest the truth of our knowledge. A law is efficacious because it is true and its efficacy manifests its truth.

We may be asked how it is that a law in its oneness and simplicity can repreesnt with even an approximate certitude facts and relations so numerous, so widely different; for after all, there are not two facts entirely alike in nature; there are always many concrete differences between the present or the future event and that which is past; one never reproduces the other exactly. This is true, but we may as well ask how it is that one simple law can enable us to foresee and reproduce so many different events; why could it not represent that which it can foresee and reproduce? We must remark that, in this almost infinite variety of facts, there is always some common character of fundamental similarity of relations. Facts concerning heat differ from one another in degree, time, place, etc., yet they are all facts about heat; each one has its own intensity measured by a common standard. This common fundamental character, relation or standard is precisely what is represented in the law and because it is not limited to any one fact in particular, it is able to represent all of them, past and future, and to foresee and reproduce them. True, it is abstract, but let us not forget that abstraction does not mean vagueness but rather depth and condensation; compared to our immediate perception of the individual fact it lacks its wealth of details, but it surpasses it by its penetration of the central elements that constitute it; it tends to represent the very real and fundamental character or relation that makes the facts the kind of facts they are or the relations the kind of relations they are independently of, and even as realized with, their

individual particularities. Facts and relations indeed exist in nature only individually; but this individuality far from doing away with this fundamental character or relation is both the condition and the consequence of its very realization. This law is not a representation in so far as it enables us to foresee and reproduce facts or relations of facts; it is not determined and measured by these practical applications; but rather we foresee and reproduce them in the measure in which we know them in an antecedent representation; our prevision of, and domination over, them are suggested, directed and determined by that knowledge; prevision and power do not constitute but verify knowledge, not indeed in Prof. James' sense that it makes it true, but in the sense that it manifests its truth more and more fully.

We should here discuss Professor Bergson's principles and especially his fundamental assertion on this subject of the value of science, viz., that science is essentially determined in its concepts and laws by the advantage of measurement for practical use; that under this influence, it substitutes for concepts of real quality with its intensity and of duration with its continuity those of quantity and time built by our mind with the elements of number and space, replacing, by this process, the true reality by utilitarian symbols. Such a discussion would demand a special study by itself; we shall have moreover the occasion later on to touch upon this problem in considering the relations between concept and intuition. We shall simply recall here an instance, the most typical perhaps given by Professor Bergson and show how scientific law represents true reality where he sees only a utilitarian construction of our mind; it is taken from Mechanics. The fundamental laws of mechanics, he says, do not attempt primarily to represent their object, viz., motion in its objective reality; their primary end is to furnish us with a concept which enables us to handle reality advantageously; and so we build up the concept of motion with simultaneity and time; motion, in this manner, is measurable and easily used; but it is no longer real motion; this is so true that " were all the movements of the universe to

take place two or three times faster than they actually do, we would have to change nothing in our mechanical formulas." [9] The example, as we said, is striking and seems to be decisive. The remark is true but it does not express the whole truth. It is true that, if the velocity of all the movements in the universe was two or three times greater, we would have to change nothing in our mechanical formulas; but it is precisely on the strict condition that all the movements would increase together and that this increase would be exactly two, three, etc., ... times greater than the actual velocity. This simple remark is sufficient to show that there is a correspondence between the formula and reality. Our formulas do not represent motion in its individual and concrete existence,—this is the partial truth of Professor Bergson's statement;—but they represent it in an abstract and condensed, yet exact and objectively true concept; it is just why they are scientific.

We come now to the examination of the physical theories. Here, at first glance, the New Philosophy seems to have a good ground for its criticism of the sciences. In the building up of these theories, mathematics plays an important part and mathematics can be only a symbolical representation of physical facts; hypothesis has a large place and hypothesis is an invention of our mind. We see the scientist accepting successively, or side by side, diverse or even contradictory theories, as is the case with the English school where one theory is substituted for another, and gives the mind the same satisfaction; how then, can we hold that a physical theory is primarily knowledge, a representation of reality?

These conclusions, however, are superficial; and a little reflexion about the scientist's method of research will show that the representative element is always the central and directing force of this investigation and its end,—that, as representations, theories have a truly objective value.

It is true that it is under the influence of Mathematics that a physical theory is constructed; it is through the application of Mathematics to physical facts and laws that Physics presents

[9] Cf. *Cath. Univ. Bulletin*, April, 1906, p. 153.

a systematic and precise connection of facts, principles and deductions; and in order to obtain such a result, it is necessary that physical qualities be expressed in terms of quantity. Since there is, in this case, diversity of nature between the two elements, between the sign and the thing signified, Professor Duhem says of the physical theories that they are "symbolical;" we should prefer, and we believe this to be the sense intended by Professor Duhem, the term "analogical." But we think that the relation between the mathematical sign and the intensity of a quality is something more than that. It is based on a necessary and objective connection which strictly determines the sign to represent exclusively and if not adequately, at least exactly, the quality with its various degrees of intensity. Whatever may be the origin of a system of numeration, so long as it remains a mere system of numbers, it does not take on any special objective signification;[10] but as soon as it is applied to an object or a class of objects, it receives a well determined meaning from them and is regulated in its applications and combinations by the objective relations existing between these objects; it tends to represent them with precision. Here, it is true, we do not apply the mathematical signs directly to the quality as, for instance, to heat, but to some quantitative phenomenon such as temperature; but it is because the two phenomena are given together in the objective data and vary in exactly the same proportion. The application, therefore, of Mathematics to Physics is not so much a process of substitution as one of expression; the mathematical sign is to the object signified as the word to the idea it expresses; it takes its objective meaning and value from the object as the word from the idea; it expresses, as precisely as possible, the divers intensities of the qualities and is more or less approximative, in the objective sense, according to the precision of its correspondence with reality; it remains therefore that physical laws and theories, even expressed

[10] We do not mean here that the system is not, when constituted, subject to laws or relations necessary in themselves. We mean that it is of itself indetermined as to its application to different kinds of real objects.

mathematically, are true or false, although they may be more or less adequate.

How then are we to explain the succession of physical theories in presence of the same facts, their mutual opposition or even contradiction, as is the case of the mechanical models of the English schools? Does not all this show that physical theories are simply a method of illustration or practical instruments to handle phenomena without consideration of their representative value of reality? Here, we have to distinguish carefully between the hypothetical and the stable elements, between the stage of formation and the stage of acquisition. Now it is evident that in the stage of formation, hypothetical elements play a great part; in the building of hypotheses, on account of the prevailing state of incertitude, imagination has to exercise its inventive power and the mind has a certain freedom in directing it. Even in this preparatory step, however, freedom is not left to its caprice; it is, first of all, strictly bound by the law of contradiction, and in urging the imagination to find devices, it is always guided by the facts and laws to be represented. But, as this stage is one of research, a stage of trials and attempts, there is no wonder then that the various, opposite and even contradictory hypotheses are used; the scientist knows their character well; he subjects them to a successive examination, but he does not accept any of them as integral and definitive; this he does only when, after careful observation and experimentation in view of the different hypotheses, he finds the one which respects and represents more exactly the objective reality and which is therefore the most satisfactory. This hypothesis will form the physical theory. It may be that this theory itself is not wholly satisfactory, that it does not represent exactly certain laws or facts, it will then be subject to correction, to progressive determinations, which will make it more and more exactly representative of the facts. The most simple theories are ordinarily accepted rather than the more complicated; this is not because the complicated theories are difficult to handle but because simple theories are clearer. The history of theories shows that there is in their elaboration a continuity of formation when some elements disappear and

others remain; those that disappear are hypothetical elements or premature conclusions not suggested or guaranteed by experience; that which remains is the essential.[11] In the various theories of light, from Newton's theory of emission to the electrical theory of Lorentz and Thomson, passing through the undulatory and electro-magnetic theories of Fresnel and Maxwell, the physicist can recognize the essential element common to all. Professor Duhem, one of the best historians of mechanical and physical sciences, affirms that hypotheses together with the theories they suggest are the result not of a sudden creation but of a slow and progressive evolution in which every age, since the early period of reflexion, has its part; he illustrates his statement by a brief survey of the development of the theory of universal gravitation,—taking its rise with Greek science wherein it is contained in germ, passing through the explanations of the Schoolmen, the theories of Kepler and the experiments of Newton. "At no time in the history of universal gravitation," he says, "does the historian of Physics meet with a phenomenon that looks like a sudden creation; no moment when the human mind free from any impulse foreign to the solicitation of present experiments, has used in the formation of its hypothesis all the freedom Logic allows it."[12] What is the meaning of this constancy of the essential elements in spite of the variety of hypotheses made or of the processes used by our mind? what is the meaning of this continuity of progress through the divers and successive ages but the manifestation of the influence of an element independent of any human mind, which commands and controls our thought and finally expresses itself in theories? It is also what explains the fact that scientific theories and discoveries appear simultaneously in different minds without mutual communication.[13]

It is true that the farther we go into science, the more difficult it is to obtain an exact knowledge of reality. It is more difficult to formulate laws than to observe facts; and it is still

[11] Cf. H. Poincaré: *La Valeur de la Science,* pp. 268-269.
[12] *La théorie physique,* pp. 356-367.
[13] *La théorie physique,* 2d p. ch. VII.

more difficult to discover theories than to formulate laws. Professor Duhem says that facts and laws have evidently an objective value; as to theories, he does not admit that they have the same objective value, their purpose being simply to represent the greater number of experimental laws with the greatest possible precision. But in what sense does he understand this? He admits that the great fact which sums up the whole history of physical doctrine consists in this, that diversity is fused into a unity always more comprehensive, always more perfect. As a physicist "he finds in himself an irresistible aspiration toward a physical theory that would represent all experimental laws by means of a system with a perfect logical unity"; while remaining in the domain of pure Physics he could not discover the entire *raison de être* of such a development; but if yielding to the nature of the human mind, he enunciates the metaphysical proposition which imposes itself upon him, "he will affirm that under the sensible data, alone accessible to his process of study there are hidden realities, the essence of which cannot be grasped by it; that these realities are ranged in a certain order of which physical science cannot have any direct view; but that physical theory, through its successive elaboration, tends to range experimental laws in an order more and more analogous to the transcendental order accordnig to which realities are classified; that, in this manner, physical theory gradually advances towards its ideal form which is that of a natural classification." Hence, "he affirms that the order, in which mathematical symbols are ranged to constitute the physical theory, is a reflexion, clearer and clearer, of an analogical order according to which inanimated things are classified." [14] "It would be unreasonable to work at the progress of the physical theory, if this theory was not the reflexion clearer and clearer, and more and more precise of a metaphysical system; belief in a transcendental order is the only *raison d'être* of the physical theory." [15] What does this mean but that the

[14] *Annales de philosophie chétienne,* Nov., 1905. "Physique de croyant."

[15] *Revue generale des sciences pures et appliquées,* 18 Janv., 1908. What then is to be thought, as far as Professor Duhem is concerned,

physical theory is not a free construction of our mind but it is imposed in its elements and controlled in its formation and in its progressive advance by data independent of us. No doubt, the physical theory remains always imperfect and always more or less hypothetical and provisory. Its history is full of groupings and hesitations, of innumerable and successive corrections and this shows the imperfection of the human mind and leaves room for the intervention of freedom; yet this history is made up also of invariable elements and progressive continuity in a well determined sense, and this shows the existence of an object which is the source and directive element of the suggestions and operations which contribute to the formation of the physical theory. Professor Duhem as a physicist does not dare to say however that the physical theory has an objective value, that it represents an objective reality; this is a proposition which he affirms as a metaphysician. We cannot help believing that there is here an excessive scruple in this separation of the two domains and we do not believe that the physicist goes beyond his right when considering the results of his observations and experiments and, applying to them the

of this passage from Professor James: "Just now, if I well understand the matter rightly we are witnessing a curious reversing to the common sense way of looking at physical nature, in the philosophy of science favored by such men as Mach, Ostwald and Duhem. According to these teachers, no hypothesis is truer than any other in the sense of being a more literal copy of reality. They are all but ways of talking on our part to be compared solely from the point of view of their use. The only literally true thing is reality and the only reality we know, is for these logicians, sensible reality, the flux of our sensations and emotions as they pass." (*Pragmatism*, Lect. v, pp. 190-1.) We believe that nothing is farther from Professor Duhem's thought. He is in no way a phenomenist, as the passages and articles just cited plainly show, nor a pragmatist. If he speaks of the influence of our needs on the development and the constitution of the sciences, he means the direct influence of our intellectual needs; coherence, clearness, etc., and this is not pragmatism. And if he speaks of divers theories as being neither true nor false, it is because to his mind, from the merely scientific point of view, the question of the objective correspondence between physical theories and reality does not exist. It is, for him, a question of metaphysics or philosophy; and, as a philosopher, Duhem affirms the existence of such a correspondence.

principle of causality, he draws this general conclusion that these data by their characters prove the existence of an objective order. This would be his last word, we grant; but he has the right to pronounce this word; he has laid down the premises; he has the right to draw the conclusion. Would a refusal to go that far arise from the fact that this operation rests on the principle of causality which is preëminently a metaphysical principle? But is the principle of non-contradiction less metaphysical? and does not Professor Duhem admit that it is at every step the guiding principle of reflexion in the study of Physics? It is so because, in reality, in all investigation one has to be more or less of a metaphysician. One can nowhere escape the influence of these two principles; they are to be found at the basis of every science and Physics does not become Metaphysics because it uses them; undoubtedly it remains physics as long as it restricts the application of them to purely physical phenomena; but it is still physics when, considering their characters and the characters of their relations, it concludes to the existence of an objective reality and ontological order; the study of the nature of this reality and of this order constitutes properly the metaphysics of the organic world or cosmology. Prof. Duhem, as a well informed historian of the sciences, is no doubt struck with the numerous fluctuations of theories; we grant that such fluctuations have existed; we admit that a theory rarely reaches its complete perfection; it is almost always subject, under the influence of new discoveries, to perfection and even to correction; but, on the other hand, he does not ignore the fact that there are in it stable elements which are preserved and perfected more and more in a determined sense; we say then that such a permanent stability with such a progressive continuity proves the existence of an objective reality and the existence of the correspondence between our physical theories and this reality. They represent truly, though inadequately this reality, and we add that they explain it in the measure in which they represent it.

What then, shall be the conclusions of this study on the value of science?

First of all, Science, considered even from a scientific point of view, is not a matter of freedom; it is imposed upon us, but we coöperate in its acceptance by us. The definitive results are, from their nature, independent of us and determined by the data of experience. In the process of acquisition our mind has a certain initiative; it has to use its resources of imagination and is subject to certain groupings and waverings, but here again in spite of a certain freedom in the hypotheses, its faculty of selection is at the beginning limited to the data of common sense, controlled more and more, and finally strictly determined by experience. Thus, reality furnishes the data of knowledge, directs and controls its formation in us. Our mind coöperates by adapting itself to the reality; it puts forth its activity in order to perceive these data accurately; it adapts itself to the direction and control of experience in order to assimilate reality more thoroughly. Scientific concepts are not then artificial constructions built by our mind, they are a representation in our mind of the objective reality. The purpose of these concepts is not to be a representation of concrete facts or of their individual relations, but representations of their essential elements and of their invariable relations, that is to say, abstract and general representations.

Scientific concepts are more or less relative, not in a subjective or symbolical sense which would be a negation or the ignoring of a true correspondence between our knowledge and objective reality, nor in the sense that we impose upon experience some forms or categories of our minds, but in the objective sense that we reach reality only in the measure in which our human mind is capable of perceiving it and according to the processes that are co-natural to it, and according to the degree of perfection with which men, throughout the ages, use these processes. In this sense, to say that our scientific concepts are relative is simply to admit that they do not take in the whole reality and that they do not take it in all at once; they represent it exactly in the measure in which they represent it, but this representation is not absolutely adequate.[16] Hence our

[16] Cf. S. Thomas, quæst. disp. de anima 9. 1a. 10 ad 14; Contra gent. 1, 3; etc. . . .

scientific knowledge is dynamic and progressive,[17] that is to say, it becomes more and more adequate to reality through a better and more complete adaptation of the mind, an adaptation which implies, in its effort to exist, errors and corrections, moments of incertitude and hesitation. This adequation, moreover, becomes more and more difficult as we go farther and deeper in our study of nature and its universal relations; it is more difficult for laws than for facts; for theories than for laws, but in the measure in which they exist, they are representations of reality and in this measure also they are explanations of it. Hence our scientific concepts in the measure in which they are definitely acquired are not free nor contingent; they are not what we wish them to be; they are what they are and cannot, nature being what it is, be otherwise than they are, although they may become more and more perfect and more and more adequate; their ultimate criterion is not a convention but reality.

Finally, science has not only, nor even primarily, a practical value, but it has first of all a value as knowledge. Undoubtedly sciences, physical sciences in particular, have a value of utilization which is very great; but this is from the scientific point of view, only a consequence, or, so to speak, a happy accident at which the scientist rejoices but which he does not always look for. It is true that if he thinks of these practical results, they may be for him the stimulus that excites, sustains and guides him in his search after truth; they may influence him as regards the aspect or the degree of the truth to be reached; but they do not influence in any way the nature of that truth; moreover, practical results once obtained, are for him the means of verification or a sign of truth, but they do not constitute its nature. Besides, practical results themselves in our moral or material life are not recognized as such, that is to say, as really good and practical, except through a higher criterion anterior to, and distinct from, them that makes us know them as good in themselves; and this is an intellectual point of view. The scientist judges of the truth of a doctrine

[17] Cf. S. Thomas, De Natura Verbi, c. 1.

or of a proposition, by its coherence, by its clearness, by the recognition of its agreement with what ought to be or with that which is,—briefly, by evidence; and this is what enables him to foresee the results before having obtained them.

Such is the true value of science, in the measure in which it is realized or acquired. It is an objective representation, exact, although inadequate, explanatory of reality in the measure in which it is representative of it. But it is or can be neither the definitive and absolute explanation of all things, as some would like us to believe, for it needs for its foundations and for its progress and it demands after its last conclusions some principles and reflections superior to its own; nor is it a merely arbitrary and symbolical schema, for it puts us in contact with reality and gives us some explanatory, though fragmentary, knowledge of it.

From all this it is easy to grasp the true relations that unite science and philosophy or metaphysics; to see the flaw and, at the same time, its source in the New Philosophy when it ignores the continuity between Science and Philosophy. It would be indeed a gross injustice to Professor Bergson to say that he does not care about sciences; he is very well informed about them and he thinks rightly that the study of them is of primary importance to the philosopher; but to him, sciences furnish through their concepts, material for knowledge rather than knowledge, and even artificial schemas rather than true representations. We maintain the contrary. We consider his interpretation of science as false. His error on this point is, in great part, due to a false notion of intuition and of its place in human knowledge.

It is this last theory, the theory of intuition in the New Philosophy, that we shall now examine.

(To be continued.)

George M. Sauvage, C. S. C.

Holy Cross College, Catholic University,
Washington, D. C.

THE BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM.

When Father Denifle died on the 10th of June, 1905, only the first volume of his monumental work, *Luther und Lutherthum,*[1] had appeared. This volume, it will be remembered, created a greater sensation and attracted more attention than any work of its kind since the publication of Doellinger's *History of the Reformation.* One month after its publication the entire first edition was exhausted and it became necessary for Father Denifle to prepare a second edition for the press. In the Foreword to the second edition he says, "Contrary to all expectations I am obliged to prepare a second edition of my first volume, at a time when I supposed I would be employed in writing the second volume. I had no intention of casting a firebrand among the people, but merely to write a work for scholars in simple and unmistakable honesty and truthfulness. I had supposed that appealing thus to a rather limited clientèle a considerable time would elapse before the first edition would be exhausted, pending which I would have ample time to prepare the second volume for publication. But matters took a different turn. Thanks to the interest which Catholics as well as Protestants manifested in my work the first edition was entirely exhausted within a month's time."

The material for the entire work had been collected and was ready at hand, needing but the leisure time of the historian to throw it into shape for publication. But before this could be done Death came and put a quietus upon the searching mind and robbed the busy hand forever of its cunning. Father Denifle was dead and the masterpiece of his life stood unfinished. There are many Dominicans who are qualified by reason of special equipment along these lines to undertake

[1] *Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwickelung.* Quellenmæssig dargestellt von P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P., und P. Albert Maria Weiss, O. P. Zweiter Band, bearbeitet von Albert Maria Weiss, O. P. Verlag von Kirchheim & Co., Mainz. 8vo. 514 pages. Price, unbound, 7 marks; bound, marks 9.50.

the completion of Father Denifle's work, but among these the ablest and the most distinguished is he whom the Master General of the Dominicans has appointed the literary executor of Denifle, the Reverend Albert Maria Weiss, O. P., Professor of Apologetics and Sociology at the University of Freiburg, Switzerland. Of this appointment Father Weiss says:

"No one who is pleased to bring out his own productions will ever be specially delighted with the task of completing a work begun by another. Where the unfinished work brings with it a "beneficium inventarii" of such unpleasant character as that with which Father Denifle's last work is charged, the outlook is all the more forbidding. Indeed I was not enamored of the prospect and I reflected again and again. Finally, I agreed to accept the literary legacy of the deceased, yielding to the solicitations of his friends and mine, but above all was I swayed by a feeling of brotherly affection which I cherished for him. By the dispensation of Divine Providence it fell to my lot to assist him in his last agony, to close his eyes in death and to receive his last sigh. This last, soft, slow sigh of the energetic man sank quite into the depths of my soul in such an inforgetable way that I could not possibly refuse anything which is asked of me in his name and for his sake. So then for his sake I suppress my disinclination and accept the trust. Emoluments will come therefrom—I recognize them in advance—they will not be overpleasant. But I mean to accept them with becoming grace and offer them up for the needs of his soul." [2]

So Father Weiss accepted the trust and became the literary executor of Father Denifle. In 1906, one year after Father Denifle's death he published the second part of the first volume of *Luther und Lutherthum*. His contribution to this volume was chiefly of an editorial nature. In the same year he published, *Lutherpsychologie als Schlüssel zur Luther Legende*. He calls this a supplement to the first volume. At the time of its appearance this work received the most respectful atten-

[2] A. M. Weiss, O. P., *Lutherpsychologie*; Denifle, *Luther und Lutherthum*—Supplement. Vol. II.

tion of the critics and was accorded extraordinary praise, being considered by some the gem of the whole set of Luther studies which the work of Father Denifle has called into being. It is not our present purpose to consider Father Weiss's *Lutherpsychologie* and we make a reference to it only because the volume under present consideration devotes itself in a masterly way to the proof of the Thesis which Father Weiss formulates in the last paragraph of his *Lutherpsychologie.* (Page 212).

" Even Protestantism, which is only a branch of the Reformation, does not stand or fall with the person of Luther. Luther is the loudest spokesman in the introduction of Protestantism, this claim probably no one will dispute. Beyond this he has no significance."

" Protestantism is a fragment of the Reformation, the Reformation a fragment of Humanism, or rather let us say, Secularization, and the Secularization of that time paved the way for the Secularism with which the world at the present time is so earnestly engaged."

" These thoughts I shall develop in the second volume."

The second volume is now before us and its publication finishes the great study of *Luther and Lutheranism* which Father Denifle began and which Father Weiss has so gloriously completed.

To the student who takes up this volume, the sigh of relief in the first sentence of the foreword is distinctly audible. The author says: " With sincere thanks to Almighty God I finish the work which came to me as an unpleasant legacy through the death of the unforgetable Denifle. Never would I have undertaken the work by my own volition. But in my case are realized the words of another who says: 'When you were younger you did gird yourself and you walked the ways of your own choosing, but now that you are older you shall stretch forth your arms and another will gird you and lead you along the way you do not wish to go.' Well this other has by a circuitous path brought me back to the beginnings of my youth and has graciously vouchsafed to me to see the completion of my undertakings and those of another. To Him

who has mercifully granted the beginning and the end I render first and foremost the unqualified tribute of my grateful heart."

Well may he give thanks and feel a sense of relief, for the undertaking was one of exceeding difficulty and he has acquitted himself of it most excellently.

It had been generally supposed that Father Weiss would use the notes and the matter which Father Denifle had collected, but in this he has acted contrary to expectations. He has given us a psychological study of Lutheranism as in the previous volume he has given us a psychological study of Luther.

Concerning this he says in his foreword. "I have made no use whatsoever of the very rich collection of material which I found in Denifle's literary effects. A volume constructed from this matter would necessarily have a very different character from that which I had proposed to myself as a harmonious compliment to the already published portion of the Luther study."

"The Denifle matter will supply a fine basis for a supplementary volume upon the moral situation previous to the Reformation."

Father Weiss quietly suggests that at another time this matter may be thrown into shape and given to the public. But the present volume does not bring any new matter to the reader. It is a critical study of facts already known and admittedly true. It is the judgment of a scholar, a philosopher, a theologian and above all of a great historian upon the far-reaching movement known as "Lutherthum."

The Author says. "In the work which I undertook it did not seem to me to be desirable to pile up newly discovered literature but rather was it important that existing facts should receive proper consideration and that the dominant ideas should be clearly and unmistakably set forth. In this endeavor the piling up of matter which is rather detached and isolated would, it seems to me, be a hindrance rather than an aid to an unbiased and thorough study of the movement. To be sure one must study the sources, nay more, one must study into the sources and where there is so much passion and prejudice at work as there is in our subject matter, it is necessary to go behind the sources, and a long way behind, at that.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

"For this reason I have absolutely refrained from looking up any new matter, *that* at hand is rich and ample. What is of prime importance, however, is a thorough study, a sifting and an analysis of all the historical antecedents and circumstances from which the Reformation took its rise. For such a study the matter at hand is all-sufficient.

"The premises from which the following examinations proceed are these: that the development of the Reformation was entirely human and followed along ordinary lines of human development. The Reformation did not fall from heaven a supernatural revelation, it did not spring full-fledged from the head of Luther as Minerva sprang from the head of Jove. It is not a necessary evolution in the march of events in the world's history, nor a manifestation of a change in the world spirit.

"Poetical and mystical dreams concerning the emancipation of conscience, all these will be left out of consideration. All that we propose is a sober examination of historical facts, from which it will appear that Lutheranism is but the natural conclusion of natural premises. The future will reveal the fact whether or not the Author has written and judged wisely and well. What has herein been given to the public is the product of an honest effort to know and discover the truth.

"Whatever may be thought of the work now happily brought to a close one thing is certain: that henceforth no one will write of Luther without a more thorough knowledge of the Middle Ages and of Scholasticism, nor of the Reformation and Lutheranism without a more minute consideration of the teachings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which were so hostile to the Church. The time has gone by forever when persons writing of the Reformation will hold themselves exempt from the observance of the laws of historical criticism."

This volume is divided into six parts, each part is devoted to an exhaustive study of one phase of the great movement. In the first part the Author considers the condition of affairs which brought on the Reformation.

The *Second Part* devotes itself to the teachings of Lutheranism in its beginnings.

The *Third Part* treats of the transition from Lutheranism to Protestantism. It became evident as time went on that if the Reformation wished to secure for itself an abiding existence it must have a formulated creed, some sort of a dogmatic basis which would lend to it at least an appearance of separate individual existence apart from the Church against which it proposed for all time to stand in hostile attitude. The position of absolute and all-round denial which constituted the sum-total of Lutheranism, made anything like permanence impossible. At this juncture it became plainly apparent that Luther had not the ability to meet the requirements of the situation. The task was therefore entrusted to one far abler than Luther,—*Melanchthon.*

Melanchthon, as well as the rest, saw that the hypnotic influence which Luther had been exercising upon the populace was dying a certain death and that something must be done and quickly done, to avert the disintegration which was becoming alarmingly manifest. Melanchthon stepped to the front, took up the leadership, and *Lutheranism* was at an end and *Protestantism* had begun.

The *Fourth Part* considers in an interesting and searching manner,—The Spirit of Lutheranism,—*separation, breaking asunder, destruction,* these are the marks of Lutheranism. Follow the trend of the Reformation and you will see that its special object and aim was to reverse absolutely all Gospel precepts and its rule of conduct, this; that whatever God had joined must be rent asunder; separation in all things,—separation between the Church and Christianity, separation between Christianity and Religion, separation between Christianity and Life, separation between faith and works, separation between faith and reason, separation between grace and coöperation, separation between fear and love, separation between love and justice, separation between the Church and Matrimony, separation between penance and satisfaction, separation between freedom and law, separation between justification and remission of sins,—in fine, separation between the natural and the supernatural and herein lies the spirit of Lutheranism.

In the *Fifth Part* we find a careful study of the sources

of Lutheranism and our Author fixes them in the following paragraph.

"Thus we assign as the chief sources of Lutheranism the following,—Nominalism, Husitism, Gallicanism and Humanism—all borrowed from alien soil. German sources are not excluded, especially the false Mysticism and the older heretics, but they stand relatively in the background and can only be considered as reserves."

In a most satisfactory manner the author traces from each of these sources a stream, which several streams at the point of confluence combined to form that deluge which swept its havoc and ruin not only over Germany but over all Europe as well.

The achievement of Lutheranism forms the subject matter of the sixth, the last part of this truly great work.

The most important outcome lies in the historical proof of the truth that the return of Protestantism to Lutheranism proclaims the triumph of modern ideas and that the so-called Modernism waxes strong precisely in the degree in which Lutheranism reappears.

In the "Nachwort" which the Author adds to his study he states pithily that the only "regula fidei" of Lutheranism is the *odium Papae.* The system contained no positive teaching whatsoever. Every adherent was permitted to adjust his personal Christianity quite to his own liking, the only requirement being that it be *Churchless, Romeless and Antipapist.*

ALBERT REINHART, O. P.

THE ACTS OF THE MARTYRS.

Works of reference: Ruinart, *Praefatio Generalis in Acta primorum Martyrum sincera* (Ratisbon, 1859); Le Blant, *Les Actes des Martyrs,* Supplément aux Acta Sincera de Dom Ruinart (Paris, 1882); Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur,* Vol. II. (Freiburg, 1903); Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1893); *Id. Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1897, 1904); Neuman, *Der Römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche,* Vol. I. (Leipzig, 1890); Ehrhard, *Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung* (Freiburg, 1900); Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* (München, 1897); Delehaye, S. J., *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1896); Dufourcq, *Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains* (Paris, 1900); Van den Gheyn, "Acta Martyrum," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* Vol. I. (Paris, 1903); Leclercq, "Actes des Martyrs," in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie,* Vol. I. (Paris, 1907).

Among the documents of early ecclesiastical history, or to be more restrictive, among the hagiographic records, there are perhaps none more interesting or none more venerable than the acts of the Martyrs. In a simple and vivid style they describe to us the trials and sufferings of the early witnesses of our faith at a time when the Church in its infancy was struggling for recognition with the authorities of the Roman Empire, and in the combat offered up the blood of many of her children, which was at once the seal of her right to existence and the seed of new generations of Christians. These documents gathered up and put together formed the subject of edification for the generations of faithful that succeeded each other during the course of centuries. By reading them the Christians tried to draw therefrom inspirations of strength and fortitude if similar

trials should befall them, or at least lessons of patience and other Christian virtues in times of peace and tranquillity.

The Church encouraged her children thus to make use of these precious documents, because since a very early date the Acts of the Martyrs were read during the liturgical services, at least in many places.

The Acts of the Martyrs may be said to be the records or the accounts of the trials, the sufferings, and the death of those Christians who were prosecuted for their belief in Christ. Different names were given to these records, such as Acta, Gesta, or Passiones; the first one was taken from the official report of the proceedings, more properly called Acta. In the large amount of Acta or Passiones, which the piety of the Christian generations has handed down to us, a division or classification is absolutely necessary; for not all of them are of the same kind nor are they all of equal merit. And since they present themselves in the shape of historical documents, the most reasonable classification will be the one, which divides them according to their historical value or according to the intrinsic force which they possess as testimonies of the past.

Several scholars like Le Blant in his *Les Actes des Martyrs* or Bardenhewer in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Vol. II.), distinguish two or three classes of Acta or Gesta Martyrum. The first section consists of those records strictly called Acta, which contain either the official report made of the trials by the officers of the Court in charge of the proceedings or at least, a faithful reproduction of the same with but slight additions, variations or modifications made by the hands of the Christians. The second category embraces those records more properly called Gesta or Passiones, written by contemporary Christians, who either were personal witnesses to the trial or else had other reliable information on the subject. The third class finally takes in all those accounts, which, being of a much later date than the events related, were made after a more ancient model or were based on uncertain traditions or even on the pure imagination of the writer.

The learned Bollandist writer, Hippolyte Delehaye, in his *Les légendes hagiographiques,* is more specific in his classi-

fication, and enumerates six different categories of Acts of Martyrs.

The first two categories coincide with the first two of the division already spoken of, with the addition that the second is subdivided into three classes. As a matter of fact, the writer in the case may speak either in his own name and record what he himself saw, or else he may write down the testimony of eye-witnesses, or else he may combine his own experiences with what others told him about the event. In the third category he places those acts, the principal source of which is a written document belonging to either the first or second category modified by the writer according to the exigencies of the literary form or of other circumstances whatsoever.

To the fourth class, he assigns those of the Gesta, which combine a few real and historical elements with a purely imaginary narrative. The fifth category contains those Gesta, in which the historic element is entirely excluded, and all is pure invention of the resourceful imagination of the writer. Finally, the sixth category comprises the forgeries written for the purpose of deceiving the reader. This classification is more complete and exhaustive than the preceding one, and received with but a slight modification, the approval of Professor Harnack in his *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius,* Vol. II., pp. 464-65, note 3. Something more must be said for a better understanding of these various categories.

The first category, as mentioned above, comprises the Acts containing the official account of the trial by the court in charge of the case. While the trial of a martyr was going on, all the various incidents connected with it were written down on tablets by certain employes of the Court, known as Notarii, and when the document was completed, it was deposited in the archives of the proconsul or Governor of the Province, and access to these public Acts, generally at least, was permitted to all. These official records contained as a rule the date, *i. e.* the year and the day of the trial; the account of the arrest of the Martyrs and their presentation to the Judge, proconsul or other; the verification of their name, of their family, of their social status,

and of their native land; the interrogatory concerning their faith; the admonitions or threats addressed to them by the Judge; the tortures inflicted on them; the reading of the sentence by the presiding Judge or his herald (praeco), and finally the execution. Such documents were of inestimable value to the Christians; and hence they were anxious to secure copies of the same from the employes of the Magistrate. If they were unable to obtain them in the regular way, they resorted to bribing the officers in charge of the archives. Of the purely official acts of the Martyrs there is not a single copy extant; but there are several examples of Acts taken from the official records and but slightly modified by the Christians. According to the general judgment of scholars the best of this class are the "Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani," and the "Acta Proconsularia Martyrum Scillitanorum." The first relate the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in Africa, which occurred the 14th of September, 258, during the reign of the Emperor Valerian (253-60); in reality they contain three distinct parts: viz. an interrogatory to which the Saint was submitted in 257, and in consequence of which he was exiled, the trial of the year 258, and finally the account of his execution. The other Acts relate the martyrdom of a number of Christians from the town of Scilli in Numidia, Africa, which occurred in Carthage the 17th of July 180, during the reign of the Emperor Commodus (180-92). They exhibit perhaps an even greater purity of the original proconsular Acts than those of St. Cyprian.

The second category of Acts contains the account of Martyrdoms narrated by contemporary Christians, who were either present at the scene or else obtained their information from reliable eye-witnesses. A trial for a criminal offence conducted by a proconsul or other Roman judge always attracted a large crowd of spectators. The same, and perhaps in a greater degree, was the case with the trial of a Christian, the profession of Christianity being looked upon as one of the greatest crimes that could be committed against the safety of the Empire. Among the multitude there was generally a number of Christians, who were not attracted by idle or morbid curiosity; they went there either to encourage their suffering brethren with

their presence, or else to receive comfort and strength from the example of the Martyrs. And often, after the trial was over, the Christians who had witnessed it, wrote down or related to others the various incidents connected with it.

Perhaps the best specimens of such Gesta or Passiones are found in the letters written by the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of St. Polycarp and in that written by the Churches of Vienne and Lyons on the persecution in their midst. The martyrdom of St. Polycarp occurred at Smyrna on the 23rd of February, 155, during the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-61). Many of the Christians were spectators of the scene; and one of them, probably a certain Marcus or Marcion, wrote a full account of it together with a description of the death of some other martyrs. The narrative in the form of a letter was sent in the name of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium in Phrygia with the request to forward it to the brethren of other Churches. Most of this precious document was inserted by Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history (IV, 15). During the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-80) viz. within the years 177-78, the Christian community of Lyons in Gaul was visited with a severe persecution; and while it lasted a number of Christians, among them a certain Vettius Epagathus, the deacon Sanctus of Vienne, the slave Blandina, and the aged Bishop Pothinus of Lyons, were put to death. When the storm had somewhat subsided the communities of Vienne and Lyons wrote up an account of the matter and sent it to the brethren in Asia and Phyrgia. The full text of the letter was found in the collection of the Acts of Martyrs made by Eusebius, and copious extracts from it are still to be read in his ecclesiastical history (V, 1-4).

The third category comprises those acts, in which the principal source is a written document belonging to either of the two preceding categories, modified in some manner by the writer.

The documents relating to the history of the Martyrs have at all times attracted the writers interested in that glorious episode of the Church's life, and the contemporaries as well as those of later ages have tried to exercise their literary gifts

by embodying in their compositions extracts or fragments of that kind. As examples of such acts we may quote those of St. Justin and, in a certain sense, at least, those of the Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. St. Justin Martyr, the philosopher and apologist of the second century, was put to death with six other Christians in Rome within the years 163-67; the trial was conducted and the sentence was pronounced by Junius Rusticus, then prefect of Rome. The Acts in their present form are not contemporary, but they embody what appears to be the official account of the proceedings in the case. And in the opinion of scholars, such as Harnack in his "*Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur,* Vol. I, pp. 282-83, they are genuine as to their substance. The martyrdom of the Saints Perpetua and Felicitas with several others occurred on the 2nd of March, 202 or 203, in the Province of Africa. The writer of their acts, who was an eye-witness himself, incorporated in his narrative the notes written down by two of the martyrs, Perpetua and Saturus, during their imprisonment; and for this reason the Acts may be classed in this category. Several of the acts contained in the collection made in the Tenth century by Symeon Metaphrastes reproduce documents of the kind described; and therefore, in spite of alterations or modifications, must be assigned to this section.

The fourth category comprises those acts, in which the historical elements, as a rule rather few, are combined with a narrative invented by the imagination of the writer. The account is usually derived from uncertain popular traditions; from literary reminiscences, or other circumstances; and the historic foundation is usually reduced to the name of the Martyr, his tomb, and the anniversary date of his feast. The number of such Acts is exceedingly large; and practically all the documents contained in the legendary cycles of Roman Martyrs belong to this class. Although the inner value of these Acts is rather small with regard to the history of the Martyrs, still, they are important for a twofold reason. Their topographical references to tombs, sanctuaries, or the like, are as a rule very exact; and often these indications have guided the steps of the Roman archeologists in their researches. Then again, once the age of

the documents is determined, they furnish valuable information on the customs, usages, beliefs, or other circumstances of that time.

The fifth category comprises those Acts, which exclude entirely the historic element and rest exclusively on the imagination of the writer. And if such compositions are written for the purpose of deceiving the reader, they constitute a special category, the sixth one. The Acts belonging to these categories are not so very numerous; and often it will be difficult to distinguish the one class from the other.

With regard to the historical value of these various classes of Acts of Martyrs, it is evident from their description, that only the first three categories can be placed among the genuine historical documents; and their importance is in the order, in which they were enumerated. As to what may be retained of the others, or as to what information may be gained from them, is a question, which cannot be answered in a general way. Each document must be examined separately, and the various elements of its composition must be carefully sifted. So likewise the question as to which Acts are genuine and which are not, must be answered for each document in particular; and the general rules of historical criticism will guide the student in this regard. In general, however, the simplicity of style, the frank and open attitude of the Martyrs, the absence, or at least the scarcity of the marvelous element are indications of genuineness.

Before touching upon other points connected with this subject it may be interesting to present here a specimen of genuine Acts of Martyrs. The Acts of St. Justin Martyr will answer this purpose, since they embody in a later modification the official report of the proceedings in the trial. Texts of this document are found in De Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum*, Vol. III. (Jena, 1879); in Migne, *P. G.*, Vol. VI, and the Latin version in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum sincera* (Ratisbon, 1859). The English translation made as literal as possible, reads as follows:

In the time of the unlawful champions of idolatry iniquitous

edicts were published throughout City and Country against the pious Christians, that they should be compelled to make libations to the vain idols. Hence the holy men having been arrested they were conducted to the Prefect of Rome by name Rusticus. When they were presented before the tribunal, the Prefect Rusticus said to Justin: "First believe in the gods, and obey the emperors." Justin said: "To believe in the things ordained by our Saviour Jesus Christ is a blameless act and not to be condemned." The Prefect Rusticus said: "In what branches of knowledge art thou versed?" Justin said: "I tried to learn all systems of knowledge; and I assented to the true teachings of the Christians, although they do not please those who hold erroneous opinions." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Those doctrines then please thee, oh wretch?" Justin said: "Certainly, because I follow them on a correct principle." The Prefect Rusticus said: "What is this principle?" Justin said: "It is the one, by which we revere the God of the Christians, whom we believe one, from the beginning the Maker and Architect of the whole creation, visible and invisible, and the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was preannounced by the prophets, who again will come to mankind, the herald of salvation, and the master of faithful disciples. And I, being a simple man, think that I can say but little things concerning his limitless divinity, avowing that a certain prophetic power is required therefor. Since it was announced about him, whom I said but now to be the Son of God; for I know that the prophets from the beginning have foretold concerning his advent that was among men."

The Prefect Rusticus said: "Where do you assemble?" Justin said: "Wherever the choice and the power permits one. Or dost thou perhaps think that we all gather in the same place? It is not the case; because the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place, but being invisible, He fills the heaven and the earth, and is adored and glorified everywhere by the Christians." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Tell, where do you come together, or in what place doest thou assemble thy disciples?" Justin said: "I stay over the house of a certain Martin, near the bath surnamed Timiotinon, and for all this

time; (I came to the City of the Romans now for the second time), and I do not know any other gathering-place but that one. And if anyone wishes to come to me, I communicate to him the words of truth." Rusticus said: "Therefore then thou art a Christian?" Justin said: "Certainly, I am a Christian."

The Prefect Rusticus said to Chariton: "Now say, Chariton, art thou also a Christian?" Chariton said: "I am a Christian by the command of God." The Prefect Rusticus said to the woman Charito: "What dost thou say, oh Charito?" Charito said: "I am a Christian by the gift of God." Rusticus said to Evelpistus: "Who art thou?" Evelpistus, a slave of Cæsar, answered: "I also am a Christian, delivered by Christ, and I share in the same hope with the favor of Christ." The Prefect Rusticus said to Hierax: "Art thou also a Christian?" Hierax said: "Certainly, I am a Christian, for I worship and adore the same God." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Did Justin make you Christians?" Hierax said: "I was a Christian, and shall be one." And Paion standing by said: "I also am a Christian." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Who is the one that taught thee?" Paion said: "From my parents I received this beautiful confession." Evelpistus said: "I listened with pleasure to the discourses of Justin, but I also received from my parents the gift of being a Christian." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Where are thy parents?" Evelpistus said: "In Cappodocia." Rusticus said to Hierax: "Thy parents where are they?" And he answered saying: "Our true father is Christ, and the mother is the faith in Him; my earthly parents are dead. And I being departed from Iconium in Phrygia came hither." The Prefect Rusticus said to Liberianus: "What dost thou say; art thou a Christian? Or dost thou worship the gods?" Liberianus said: "I also am a Christian; for I worship and adore the only true God."

The Prefect says to Justin: "Listen thou, who art said to be learned and who thinkest to know the true doctrines, if thou after being scourged be beheaded, believest thou that thou wilt ascend into heaven?" Justin said: "I hope to obtain his gifts, if I suffer these things. For I know that the divine favor remains with those who live thus until the consummation

of the whole world." The Prefect Rusticus said: "Therefore thou surmisest that thou wilt ascend into the heavens in order to receive certain rewards?" Justin said: "I do not surmise but I know it and am convinced of it." The Prefect Rusticus said: "As to the rest, let us come to the proposed and urgent matter. Having come together sacrifice at one time to the gods." Justin said: "No one of a prudent mind falls from piety into iniquity." The Prefect Rusticus said: "If you do not obey, you will be punished without mercy." Justin said: "It is our prayer that we suffering for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ be saved; because that will be to us salvation and confidence before the terrible and universal tribunal of our Lord and Saviour." In like manner also the other martyrs spoke. "Do what thou wilt, for we are Christians and do not sacrifice to the gods."

The Prefect Rusticus pronounced the sentence saying: "Those that did not wish to sacrifice to the gods, and to comply with the edict of the Emperor, shall be scourged and then be led to suffer capital punishment according to the form of the laws." The holy martyrs glorifying God went out to the accustomed place, were beheaded, and accomplished their martyrdom in the confession of the Saviour. And some of the faithful took secretly their bodies and deposited them in a convenient place, having received the help of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom glory from ages to ages. Amen.

When speaking of the classification of the Acts of the Martyrs, it was said that the historic value of certain categories is very small or practically *nil*; and hence, they must be considered as legendary. An important question is as to how these legendary accounts arose. The Bollandist writer, Delehaye, has discussed this problem very interestingly in his work *Les Légendes hagiographiques*. There are two factors which concur in the composition of any of these legends; viz. the people with its imaginations and traditions, and the hagiographer or the author who gives a written form to these traditions. The formation of false history or legendary accounts, such as they are produced by the people, are attributable chiefly to a lack of competent knowledge, to a taste for exaggerations and to a

lack of honest truthfulness or sincerity. Even to the individual it is a difficult task to give a correct account of an event, especially if it be of a complex nature. Generally, the mind of man being limited, he does not seize all the sides or all the details of a fact, or else, being unable to dominate by his mind his imagination and his disposition of soul, he gives a colored version of the fact, in which his own imagining and his own feelings are mingled with the reality of things. And hence it arises that we receive often so many different versions of one and the same event, from which it is difficult to grasp the elements of real truth. This phenomenon is true to a greater degree of the intelligence of a multitude or of a people. As a matter of fact, the mind or the intelligence of a people taken collectively is very restricted and, as a rule, is not much influenced by the higher or intellectual classes in its midst. The number of ideas retained is usually small, and these ideas are extremely simple. And thus the heroes or Saints, of whom it keeps the memory are few in number; they do not remain distinct, but the last one inherits all the glory of the preceding ones, and whatever great deed was ever accomplished is attributed to him. The differences of time and place are entirely eliminated. Facts of different epochs and of distant localities are combined together for his greater glorification. In this manner the Saint or the Martyr is taken out of his real surroundings of time and space and becomes a type; as in the history of St. Lawrence it is the type of the Christian martyr that is represented. These considerations will explain how it is that the details in the legends of the Saints or the Martyrs are generally the same in many of the documents; the poverty of the imagination is unable to vary the narrative by new elements. The lack of intelligence in the multitude is the cause, that the people attach more importance to the things of the senses than to those of the mind. Hence the tendency of localizing the history of a Saint or a Martyr, of connecting him with a building, a tree, a fountain, a certain definite place, etc.; of explaining certain things with an incident from his life, as *e. g.* by explaining the cavity of a rock as being his footprints, and the like.

The false interpretation of monuments or names, the quest after the miraculous, or the visible supernatural element, is likewise attributable to this cause. The taste for exaggerations in the multitude is a fact of every day experience. And this leads often to pictorial and striking descriptions of incidents, which very simple in themselves, will not satisfy the imagination of the people except in their transformation. The lack of sincerity is generally caused by questions of local interest, in which the whole community is concerned. And in such circumstances it seems, as if each member of it leaves to his neighbor the task of examining the particulars of what is advanced. This lack of sincerity is particularly evident in the legends of the Saints or Martyrs connected with the origin or foundation of a church.

From the little said so far, we may imagine how the real history of a Saint or Martyr may be transfigured, or even how an account may be formed without any real foundation whatever. To the work of the people is added that of the hagiographer, who puts in writing the account about a Saint or a Martyr. The hagiographer must be classed among the writers of history; for after all he wrote or pretended to write works of history. But the idea which the ancients had of history was entirely different from the one entertained by the scholars of our day. To them it was not a correct account of the events of the past, but rather a literary composition, in which the series of events was merely a pretext for the exercise of oratorical and poetical gifts. And hence it is no wonder if the hagiographers felt rather free in arranging the facts concerning their hero, because after all their principal aim was literary style or the edification of the reader. There is another circumstance to be considered. Of all the sources at the disposal of the hagiographer: written works, oral tradition, or monuments, he chose more frequently from the popular traditions, which from the historic standpoint, are less controllable but satisfy more the taste of the multitude. And if he drew from reliable sources, it often happened, that a wrong interpretation was given to the material at hand; and thus it became useless. Finally when the sources proved to be altogether deficient, then the hagiographer resorted

to other means by giving descriptions of a general character of the period and applying the particulars to his hero; by adapting the biography of another Saint or Martyr to his hero, or finally by transcribing entire passages from one or several writers and combining them with other elements so as to suit his hero. When such elements are at work over certain data of history or even without them, the result can be only such as is actually seen in the legendary Acts of Martyrs.

A practical illustration as to how these legends concerning the Martyrs arose, how they were developed in the course of ages, and how they were put in writing is found in the learned work of Albert Dufourcq, *Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains* (Paris, 1900). The author endeavored to trace the origin and the history of the legendary cycles of Roman Martyrs. He comes to the conclusion that all were written a long time after the age of the persecutions, and that all belong to about the same period. They were elaborated during the fifth and sixth centuries, during the time of the Ostrogothic domination in Italy. And they are about contemporary to the lives of the popes as contained in the *Liber Pontificalis.* Of course, some of them are even of a later date. The causes that were directly responsible for their composition were on the one hand the worship of the Martyrs, which assumed such vast proportions in the fourth and fifth centuries; on the other, the practice or profession of asceticism, which culminated in the virtue of chastity. Other circumstances had their share in bringing about the composition of the *Gesta Martyrum,* and traces of them are found in the text; such as theological controversies concerning the errors of the Manicheans, the Pelagians, and the Monophysites, as well as reminiscences of the Byzantine empire. The material of the *Gesta* was taken not from reliable written sources, but rather from the uncertain popular traditions connected with the Roman cemeteries or other places of interest and devotion in Rome. Similar ideas on this subject were expressed several years previously by the Bollandist writer Delehaye in his "L'Amphithéatre Flavien et ses environs dans les textes hagiographiques," in *Analecta Bollandiana,* Vol. xvi. (Brussels, 1897).

There remain only a few words to be said about the principal collections of Acts of Martyrs made by both ancient and modern writers. The Greek Church has had several men of distinction, who endeavored to preserve for posterity the Acts of the Martyrs. The first and the foremost among them was the historian Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine in the first part of the fourth century. This distinguished writer left two works on the Martyrs. The first one had for its title: "Collection of ancient martyrdoms," and to judge from the various references to it in the ecclesiastical history (IV-15, 47; v. Prooem 2; v. 4, 3; v. 21, 5.) it covered the history of the Martyrs in the universal Church. Unfortunately every trace of the work is lost. The second work, smaller in size, is entitled *On the Martyrs of Palestine* and contains the Acts of those Martyrs who suffered for their faith in Palestine during the last persecution under Diocletian and his associates. It appears usually as an addition to the eighth book of the ecclesiastical history. Another collection was made by Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople (842-46), but this has likewise perished. About this same time were written the Acts of many Martyrs, who were put to death in the conflict arising over the worship of images. (Cf. Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte,* pp. 193 ff.).

The most important of the later Greek hagiographers is Symeon Metaphrastes, a writer of the second half of the tenth century. His work follows the calendar of the Greek Church, and describes the Acts of the Martyrs or the lives of other Saints according to the day of the month in which their feast was celebrated. A large number of legends was thus united into one book. The writer generally used for his information Acts that existed before him; at times he changed little or nothing; at times he recast the model as to the form of its composition only; and some times also he changed or altered it completely. The most complete edition is found in Migne, *P. G.,* Vol. 114-16. Several other Greek writers of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, made collections of Acts of Martyrs, but none of them attained the celebrity of Metaphrastes (Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.,* pp. 203 ff.).

Of the works written in the Latin Church we may quote the following: The Latin poet Prudentius of the fourth century wrote in verse the Peristephanon, a book of hymns in fourteen songs, which praise the merits of a number of Martyrs from Spain and Italy (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 60). St. Gregory of Tours in the sixth century devoted one book of his work "Septem libri miraculorum" to the Martyrs, chiefly of Gaul, and entitled it *De gloria Martyrum* (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 71; *Monum. Germ. Histor. Script. rer. Meroving.*, Vol. 1.). It was also during the course of the sixth century, that the *Liber Martyrum* of Rome was written, which contained the legendary cycles of Roman Martyrs (cf. Dufourcq, *Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains*, pp. 77 ff.). Anastasius, surnamed Bibliothecarius, a Roman writer of the ninth century, translated a number of Acts of Martyrs from the Greek into the Latin language (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 129). Flodoard, Canon of the Church of Rheims in the tenth century, wrote a large work in verse, in which he sang the praises of Christ, the Saints, and the Popes of Rome. Many passages of this work treat of the Martyrs (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 135). James de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote the *Legenda Sanctorum*, commonly known as the *Legenda aurea*, which became so popular throughout all countries. Editions of it were made very frequently, among others we may mention those of Brunet (Paris, 1843) and of Graesse (Dresden and Leipzig, 1846, 1850).

In more modern times appeared the following compilations containing Acts of Martyrs: In 1476 a large work was published at Milan by B. Mombritius under the title of *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum collectae ex codicibus manuscriptis*, which gives the lives of the Saints and Martyrs in alphabetical order. In 1551 appeared in Rome the *Historia de vitis Sanctorum* in eight volumes by Al. Lipomanus, Bishop of Verona. This work served as a model for the publication of the Carthusian Laur. Surius, who in 1570-75, edited at Cologne the *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, based on the volumes of Lipomanus and other manuscript material. The

work comprises six volumes and is arranged according to the months and days of the ecclesiastical calendar.

The most important publication is that of Th. Ruinart, the *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera* which appeared for the first time in Paris in 1689, and often since; the handiest edition is that of Ratisbon, 1859. The purpose of the learned Benedictine scholar was to present a work, which would contain all and none but genuine Acts of Martyrs. In the opinion of the scholars of our day Ruinart has not fully succeeded in his object. Besides the good and reliable Acts he inserted in his collection a certain number, which ought to be excluded. On the other hand, there are some Acts, discovered since, which should be included.

Very recently a distinguished scholar and critic, E. Le Blant, has endeavored to enlarge the collection of Ruinart considerably by maintaining that a great number of Acts generally believed to be spurious, are merely interpolated, or genuine as to their substance, or at least, contain many things that are true to history, and hence, should be utilized in the history of the Martyrs. He based his contention on the fact otherwise true, that in the Acts commonly rejected as having no authority, there are many incidents, especially those relating to the juridic side of the trial, which are in conformity with the history of the age of the Martyrs; and hence, they seem to belong to that period, or at least, seem to contain a stock of truth. But these reasons are not entirely convincing. In fact, the circumstance noted by Le Blant may be explained in two other ways. It may be that the writers of the Acts in question had before them genuine writings, from which such details were taken. Or also it may be understood by considering that at the time when these spurious Acts were written the ways of the criminal procedure were substantially the same as in the age of the Martyrs. The most complete collection, embracing not only Acts of Martyrs but lives of Saints generally, is that edited by the Bollandist writers of the Society of Jesus under the title of *Acta Sanctorum,* of which the first volume appeared in 1643. It is arranged according to the months and days of the calendar; and the last volume, which appeared in 1894, brings it down

to the fourth day of November. Apart from that since 1882 the Bollandists edit also an addition to the *Acta Sanctorum* under the title of *Analecta Bollandiana,* a periodical in which newly discovered texts or else essays in connection with the lives of the Saints or the Acts of the Martyrs are published. Outside of the Bollandists there is a large number of other scholars, who devote their time to the study of the Acts of the Martyrs. A fairly accurate account of the work done in that line may be found in Ehrhard: *Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung,* Vol. I, pp. 539 ff. Syrian and Persian Acts were published by St. Evod. Assemani under the title: *Acta Martyrum orientalium et occidentalium* (Rome, 1778); and more recently by P. Bedjan: *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (Paris and Leipzig, 1890-95). Armenian texts of Acts of Martyrs were published by the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice (Venice, 1874). Coptic Acts of Martyrs were published by H. Hyvernat under the title: *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte* (Rome, 1886-87). A large number of single Acts are published apart. A description of these is given by Ehrhard in the work and passage referred to.

The Acts of the Martyrs are most interesting relics of ancient Christian literature. Their study presents many and intricate problems, which the best talent among the scholars of the present day endeavors to solve. And if the result seems to favor the genuineness of only a small number, this scarcity is compensated by the inner worth of those that are in this class. Their simplicity and beauty never fail to move the soul of a Christian reader.

FRANCIS J. SCHAEFER.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

A NEW SYNTHESIS IN ETHICS.

It is with a feeling rather of curiosity than of expectation that the hardened student of ethics takes up a book that promises any original thought in ethical construction. The old materials, without increase or diminution, that were at the disposal of Aristotle and Epicurus, are still ready to the hand of any one ambitious to invent. But the task has been tried so often that any fresh production, if it possess any cohesion at all, is pretty sure to be but a revival of some well known design, more or less modified in unessential detail. A recent little volume, however, whose modest title [1] wins in advance the goodwill of the reader, offers a plan which posseses some originality. But the originality consists in ignoring the first limitations inexorably imposed, by the nature of the case, upon all competitors. This condition is that the ultimate determinant of morality must be found either in the results of action as computed in terms of pleasure or utility, or else in some factor of man's moral nature in virtue of which the dividing line between right and wrong is fixed, prior to the mere consequences of action. Make your choice, the *good* or the *pleasurable,* as the end of conduct; but under penalty of incurring the proverbial fate of the man who tries to sit between two stools, do not attempt to combine both on a level of equality. Now this, it seems to us, is just what Mr. Stork has done.

The task which he undertakes is to analyze the nature of moral obligation in its psychological aspect. He begins with a frank profession of thoroughgoing hedonism. Quoting the works in which St. Paul describes the "eternal conflict between duty and bodily appetite," Mr. Stork affirms that this conflict, "on a more careful consideration, will reveal itself as in reality a conflict between different pleasures; for the 'ought' or 'must' of duty, properly understood, is as essen-

[1] *Hints towards a Theory of Ethics.* By Theo. B. Stork. Published for the Author by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia.

tially a creation of pleasure and pain as the most sensual of pleasures." Hence, when any one prefers duty to some solicitation of pleasure he is merely making a thoroughly selfish calculation and a thoroughly selfish choice between two pleasures. As our purpose is to expose the inconsistency lurking in Mr. Stork's principles, we shall not stop to urge the fatal objections that have been repeatedly advanced against the doctrine which in defiance of the universal conviction of humanity, obliterates the distinction between selfishness and self-sacrifice; which would say to a mother who is spending herself for her sick child: Madam, the world believes you are worthy of reverence, because your love prompts you to sacrifice your self that it may be well with your infant: but; do not delude yourself; you really do not love your child; you love only yourself. The child is of value in your eyes just so far as, like a new gown or an opera, you can extract some pleasure out of them.

Now let us follow Mr. Stork in his analysis of the feeling of duty, or moral obligation.—"It first emerges into consciousness in the shape of the feeling or perception, or sense which the Ego has the instant it comes in contact with the manifold presented to it in intuition, that it, the percipient Ego and the perceived non-Ego, are parts of one great whole, greater than either and inclusive of both, yet vague, not clearly conceived but only dimly felt." Here, it may be observed in passing, that, as elsewhere, the language savors of monism; but the writer nowhere explicitly commits himself to the identification of the Ego with the whole. This conception of the "ought" he insists upon throughout his exposition. "What makes right or wrong is the sense of obligation, this 'ought' which the Ego feels to serve the unity of the universe—what will produce that unity of the universe is right, and what will produce evil is wrong, because thus the Ego, as was already pointed out, must think the unity of the universe, which its sense of obligation commands it to serve, is to be helped."

We need not remind those familiar with scholastic ethics that this account of the psychological "ought" is not antago-

nistic to the scholastic conception, *i. e.,* that the feeling of "ought" is the impulse of the rational nature to adjust conduct to the universal order. But, whereas we insist that the demands of the universal order, as far as moral conduct is concerned, are written largely in the constitution of human nature Mr. Stork seems to consider that, except the primary impulse of the "ought," the Ego must discover all the rest of the moral law in the world of the non-Ego. Let us proceed with Mr. Stork's exposition. After noting that he defines the primary, radical, moral impulse as a tendency prompting the moral being to a certain line of conduct, namely such conduct as tends to the welfare of the universe, he continues:—The Ego "knowing itself only as a part, it naturally feels itself as subordinate to the whole, regards itself as owing, and the whole as demanding something from it. Thus two ethical impulses or feelings manifest themselves out of which all the rules of duty spring. First, we have the quality of each part to every other, no one part has superior and different rights and obligations from another. Secondly, we have the superiority of the whole to any part; whence not only the duties the individual Ego owes to the whole, but the duties which it owes to other parts of that whole, those duties which, fully developed and defined, are styled altruistic duties; for it is plain that only through the existence of the whole, superior to any part, that any mutual obligations can be established by the parts towards each other." Here we may interrupt for a moment the sequence of Mr. Stork's views to express some reflections that this last statement suggests. It is by no means plain that any moral obligation between the parts can be established by the mere fact that they are parts of the same whole, especially if, as Mr. Stork holds, that the only possible motive for which each individual part can act is its own proper pleasure. And what does Mr. Stork mean by *superior*? Superior in extent or bulk? How can this kind of superiority generate any obligation binding my will? If Mr. Stork means the superiority which generates moral authority; or the right to impose obligations and demands the obedience of my will, he has shown no grounds whatever for his assumption. On the other hand it is very

plain that quite another ground than the one he sets forth for the duties of part to part is conceivable: it is that the Ego and all its fellow parts, as well as the cosmic whole, depend alike on a Supreme Being distinct from them, to whom the moral part owes the duty of obeying that law of conduct which that Being has made existent in the nature of man and the order of the universe. Resuming Mr. Stork's account we find, when treating of altruistic acts, that he passes condemnation on Herbert Spencer for holding that altruistic acts are simply a development of self-pleasing acts; and then he makes the statement: "*other pleasing altruistic acts can never be based, either mediately or immediately upon self-pleasing acts.*" Now this statement is quite consistent with Mr. Stork's theory which describes the "ought" as a primary tendency prompting man to a certain line of conduct and restraining him from an opposite one. But it is absolutely anti-hedonistic; for it implies that the discriminating norm between good and bad is fixed in human nature antecedent to the pleasure and pain standard. And if altruistic action can never spring from self-pleasing action, how can the "ought" which impels to altruism be essentially "a creature of pleasure and pain"?

As if resolved to entangle himself in the deepest slough of hedonism, the author, without any advantage to his theory, assumes the burden of maintaining that pleasures differ only in quantity and not in quality. Hedonists, after Mill, saw that this opinion was the weakest of their weak points; and endeavored to show that they could legitimately adopt the principle that pleasures are to be estimated not merely according to quantity but also according to quality. But for Mr. Stork the pleasures of a good dinner, of listening to a fine opera and of making a heroic self-sacrifice are all of the same quality—there is no higher and lower among them. To speak thus is to become the dupe of abstract terms. Pleasure is a subjective condition attendant upon the satisfaction of tendency, appetite, or desire; and pleasures differ as much as these do among themselves. Each feeling of satisfaction takes its character not, as Mr. Stork holds, merely from the external object which gives the pleasure, but primarily from the nature of the

tendency which is satisfied. The intellectual pleasure attendant upon success in solving a difficult scientific problem differs as much from the feeling of pleasure consequent upon a good meal as the action of the pylorus differs from the act of thinking. Furthermore pleasure differs not merely qualitatively, but also hierarchically. If any one insists that, for example, the pleasure attendant on satisfying the feeling of reverence for parents or the feeling of duty does not manifest itself in his rational nature as different in quality from the feeling of gratified curiosity, we can only say that we believe his introspective processes do injustice to his character.

Let us accept Mr. Stork's hedonistic axiom that the "ought" is the creature of pleasure, that we pursue duty for pleasure's sake alone, and see how it would serve as a basis of conduct. If I prefer the pleasure of intoxication to the pleasure attendant on serving the unity of the universe, what reproach can Mr. Stork address to me? That I have degraded myself by choosing a lower pleasure before a higher one? No: for there is no higher and lower in pleasure. That I have chosen the smaller quantity of pleasure rather than the larger measure? To this I reply that I alone am competent to judge correctly of my consciousness and my choice indicates that for me the pleasure I have preferred is the more pleasurable.

There is another way open to Mr. Stork. Turning his back on hedonism he might stick to his anti-hedonistic principle, and tell me that I have violated the innate impulse of my rational nature to respect the order of the universe, or as he would say, the unity of the universe. But if he does he implicitly makes profession of another ethical creed—that *the good,* not the pleasurable, is the pole to which the magnet of conduct points.

The confusion which pervades the reasoning of these *Hints* is summarized in a single sentence: "In all possible ethical systems there is an undoubted identity of the right with the good, the pleasurable, and of the wrong with the evil, the painful." Here the *good* and *pleasurable* are identified; whereas one is the cause, the other an effect of that cause. To say that

pleasure, the subjective feeling constitutes the nature of the object, that is renders good, the object from which the pleasure flows is akin to saying that the smoke makes the fire. At one time Mr. Stork argues in this strain; at another, he, without fully appreciating the fact, advocates the true view, that the division of conduct into right and wrong is fixed in the order of the universe including the impulses of the Ego, antecedent to any consideration of resulting pleasure and pain, which may attend upon compliance with or deviation from the path of rectitude.

James J. Fox.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

In the June number of the *Bulletin* we pointed out some of the general features of the work to be accomplished for the child during his first few days in school and gave in detail a tentative program for the first day. We must now pass on to a brief consideration of the child's

First Steps in Written Language.

Neither reading, writing nor spelling appears in the program given for the child's first day in school. The reasons for this omission are obvious. The first thing to be accomplished for the child is to make him feel at home in his new surroundings, and written language in any of its aspects presents too few points of contact with his previous experience to render it desirable material for the child to work upon his first day in school. But just as soon as the children have grown sufficiently familiar with the school environment to give them freedom in the use of their faculties various exercises designed to give them a working knowledge of written language should be taken up. A beginning in this work may usually be made on the third or fourth day.

The program for the first day will, consequently, be profoundly changed before the end of the first week. The principal's talk, the greeting game, and the assignment of places will, of course, be dropped from the program after the first morning and in their places on subsequent days will be found morning prayer, a good morning song, and a morning talk by the teacher. These exercises collectively will occupy about twenty-five minutes and they should be followed by action games designed to rest the children and prepare them for a reading lesson. From this time forward two periods a day

of twenty minutes each should be devoted to reading, one period to sight spelling and one period to dramatic games. In classes of forty or more pupils the children should be divided into two groups. While one of these groups is busy with the reading lesson or sight spelling, the other group should be doing seat work.

The first reading lesson should consist of action words written on the blackboard which the teacher makes use of as signals for the children to perform the actions indicated. Thus, if she writes the word *run* on the blackboard, she should show the children what the chalk says by running, and then she should allow the children to do what the chalk says. After a number of action words, in their written forms, have become familiar to the children simple sentences beginning with action words should be written on the board, *e. g.*, "Run to the door." In this way the children gain a knowledge of the names of objects, etc. After they have learned the meaning of the sentence as a whole, they should be drilled in picking out the parts of a sentence that stand for the different elements.

The sight spelling here recommended is intended to develop a vivid mental image of the word or sentence. The exercises may be conducted in various ways. For example, a familiar word is written on the board which the children are requested to look at intently. The word is then erased and the children are asked to reproduce it. At first it is well that they should observe the teacher as she writes the word and that they should follow the motion of her hand with their own hands as if they were writing the word in the air. The children should then turn to the blackboard and attempt to reproduce the word with the chalk. While the children are thus engaged the teacher observes whether or not a majority of the children are succeeding. If a large number of them are failing, she requests all of them to erase their work and to repeat their observation of her as she reproduces the word. If only a few of the children fail, the teacher should pass from one to another of these children and erase the erroneous words as quickly as possible, writing the word correctly before each child.

In the seat work following this exercise the teacher writes

the word correctly on the children's desks and they are required to outline it over the chalk with pegs. In the subsequent exercises the word is written only on the board and the children are required to copy it on their desks with the pegs. In selecting the material for these exercises both the content and the vocabulary of the child's first book must be kept in mind. For the convenience of the teachers who are using Religion, First Book, the complete vocabulary of 782 words used in the book is given, alphabetically arranged, on pages 289-297 of the Teaching of Religion, which is intended to fill the place of a teacher's manual. This vocabulary, with very few exceptions, is selected from the spoken vocabulary of the normal English-speaking child of six years of age. A mastery of this vocabulary by the children is, of course, a prerequisite to their understanding of the content of Religion, First Book, and to their enjoyment of it.

It has been the custom to prepare the children carefully by drills of various sorts to understand the vocabulary used in the primary reader, while little or no systematic preparation has been made in many of our schools looking towards the mastery of the vocabulary to be employed in the first books in Christian Doctrine. In the plan here proposed the truths of the Christian religion are the central themes of the child's first reading book and hence, in preparing him to read and to write, we are at the same time preparing him to understand the fundamental truths of Christian Doctrine.

The nature study and the domestic scene are so developed that their content leads the child to an understanding of the purely religious lesson which follows. In like manner, an analysis of the language employed will reveal the fact that the vocabulary used in the nature studies and in the domestic scene constitute a direct preparation for the language in which the religious truths are presented to the child in the New Testament story in which each chapter of this book is concluded.

The following analysis of the vocabulary will show the distribution of new words in the written text of the nature study, the home scene and the religious lesson of each of the five chapters of Religion, First Book.

DISTRIBUTION OF NEW WORDS IN THE LESSONS.

	Study.	Pages.	Total Number of Words.	Number of New Words.	Percentage of New Words.
	Nature	7–11	179	87	48.6
I	Home	12–15	157	52	33.1
	Religious	16–25	634	150	23.6
	Nature	28–31	119	28	23.5
II	Home	32–37	335	52	16
	Religious	38–39	226	44	19.4
	Nature	44–49	337	71	21.1
III	Home	50–53	276	58	21
	Religious	54–57	444	82	18.4
	Nature	62–63	116	16	13.7
IV	Home	64–65	174	14	8.1
	Religious	65–67	316	36	11.3
	Nature	73–74	139	22	15.8
V	Home	75–77	553	21	8.3
	Religious	78–82	401	48	11.9

It will be noticed that there are 48.6% of new words in the first nature study, 33.1% in the first home study, and only 23.5% of new words in the first religious study. The drill work in language is thus shifted, in large measure, from the Biblical story to the nature study and the domestic scene, where the meaning of the words can more readily be brought home to the children through action games, dramatic presentation, and their conduct in the home surroundings. This is made possible through the coördination of the nature study and the home study with the religious lesson in each story. These two preliminary parts thus constitute an efficient preparation for the religious study. The percentage of new words falls still lower in the subsequent chapters of the text-book; thus, in the second chapter it is only 19.4%; in the third chapter it is 18.4%; in the fourth chapter it is 11.3%; and in the fifth chapter 11.9%.

There are only 289 new words in the first chapter, which occupies 18 pages of the book. These words, which are given in an alphabetical list on pages 303-306 of the Teaching of Religion, should be practically learned by the children through

blackboard and chart exercises before they are given the book to read, or at least the first 142 words, which are employed in the first nature study and the first home scene, should be so mastered. The competent primary teacher will prepare most of the new words in this way before the child reaches them in the book.

The children need constant repetition of words in a context that is interesting to them. This, it will be seen, is amply provided for in this book. While there are 289 new words used in the first chapter, 345 words are repeated, and many of the 289 words are derivatives, such as plurals, past tenses, possessives, etc. The extent of this repetition in the subsequent chapters is still higher. Thus in chapter two there are 124 new words with 556 repetitions from this and the preceding chapter and in chapter three there are 211 new words with 846 repetitions. In chapter four there are 66 new words and 550 repetitions and in the final chapter there are 91 new words and 702 repetitions from this and the preceding chapters. It is evident, therefore, that the children are given abundant opportunity to master the vocabulary of 782 words contained in Religion, First Book.

The religious stories have been told in the simple language of childhood with as close an approximation as possible to the Biblical narrative. Perhaps no better way could be devised of bringing home to the primary teacher the value of a close correlation in the children's work. In the plan here outlined all the work in the schoolroom is made to serve as a preparation for the teaching of religion, while reading and the other legitimate studies of the curriculum are all strengthened by the work in religion. Let any one try to tell these Biblical stories to the children through the medium of a printed page without such preliminary studies and the value of this plan will at once be apparent. Again, the close correlation between the home and school secured through the domestic study in each chapter brings the home experience of the child to the teacher's aid in the work of the school, while the school work helps to build up correct habits in the home life of the child.

It will be seen that the chapters are not fragments collected

together in one book but are parts of one organic whole, for the work of each preceding chapter is a preparation for each subsequent chapter, both in vocabulary and in content. This allows the second nature study to be presented with only 23.5% new words. This connected narrative serves to maintain the child's interest and to lessen his difficulty in mastering the new words which are woven into the context. This in itself is a factor of no inconsiderable influence in the child's progress.

An examination of the vocabulary of this book will further show that the words therein contained are not only among the simplest words in the language but they are the most vivid in the child's possession and they are among the most serviceable words in all lines of thinking for the child and for the man. The reason of this is to be found in the fact that the content of the book deals with the deepest concerns of human life: with the child's relation to his parents, to his brothers and sisters, with man's duty to God and to his fellow man, with the ordinary human feelings and emotions. The language thus taught the child in his first year in school is not a mere instrument for his play but an instrument which he may turn to immediate use in all the deeper concerns of his life as well.

Catholic Educational Literature.

It has often been said by those in a position to know that no matter how thorough the normal training of a teacher may have been, three years of actual work in the schoolroom will find her settling into a rut unless she keeps her mind alive and her spirits refreshed by contact with the world outside the schoolroom. Furthermore, it is evident that she will rapidly become wooden in her methods and stereotyped in her knowledge unless she keeps abreast of her profession by frequent contact with current educational thought and literature. To avoid a deterioration of this sort every influence is brought to bear to induce the teachers to attend educational conventions and lectures, from time to time, on educational topics by

educators who are supposed to have something vital to impart. Many of our teachers, however, are so situated as to be unable to take advantage of these sources of help except at very rare intervals. The only hope of such teachers is the educational literature that may be placed within their reach.

The faculties of our parochial schools are very fortunately situated in many ways. They usually live under the same roof and frequent discussion with their fellow teachers is thus rendered possible. In many instances the teachers of several parochial schools live in one convent. This, of course, affords a still better opportunity for interchange of thought and experience. Again, our teachers are for the most part free from domestic care and from the thousand and one sources of distraction that daily fall to the lot of the public school teacher. This is either a blessing or a curse. A blessing if the opportunity is seized upon for improvement along academic and professional lines. But the converse if it merely means stagnation and loss of contact with the busy, active world for entrance into which they are preparing their pupils. Clearly, therefore, our teachers stand in greater need of the help that educational literature is calculated to afford than do any other teachers in the country. It is pertinent, therefore, to ask, how are the reading rooms of our teaching communities supplied? Shall we find on their reading table an abundance of recent literature on questions of vital interest to every teacher? Are the book-racks supplied with standard works on educational topics? Large sums of money have been spent in erecting school buildings and in equipping them with blackboards, charts, and such other devices as are demanded for the use of the children. But the teacher is the chief factor in the school and to neglect her and to ignore her needs is a very shortsighted policy.

The outlay required to supply educational literature to the teachers is not large, but the difficulty is in securing the literature. Emphasis is frequently laid on the fact that there is very little educational literature in English that is suitable for our teachers. The recent literature, particularly, is animated by a spirit that is far from encouraging to those who have the

interests of religion at heart. It is permeated, for the most part, by the spirit of agnosticism. God and religion are either entirely ignored or openly repudiated. Man's origin is traced from the brute, the existence of his spiritual soul is denied, his destiny confined to the brief years of his present life, the decrees of an Over-ruling Providence and the revealed truths that have built the present civilization and guided man upward from paganism and savagery are rejected. Such literature, it is argued, can scarcely prove helpful to the Catholic teacher who finds in all this a repudiation of the motives which have led her to embrace the religious life and to devote herself with tireless zeal to the upbuilding of Christian character in her pupils. Such literature may prove useful when it is a question of estimating the motives and measuring the influence of educational methods that spring from these sources, but evidently this literature cannot form the staple of the religious teacher's reading if she is to persevere in her life-work.

If Catholic educational literature is meagre at present, there is correspondingly little excuse for not having all there is of it within the reach of our teachers. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is destined to serve many noble ends in the cause of truth and religion, but nowhere does it fill a greater need than in supplying authentic information to our Catholic teachers on a multitude of subjects upon which they should be well posted. It is to be hoped that this splendid work will be found in every convent home where our teachers assemble to refresh their spirits after the toil of the day and to store their minds with facts and principles that will render tomorrow's work in the Lord's vineyard more fruitful. But the Encyclopedia, however useful, is not sufficient. The teacher needs to come into contact with educational issues that have not been crystallized and taken out of the field of controversy as they must be before they are worthy to find a place in standard works of reference such as the Encyclopedia.

Attention has been called, from time to time, in the pages of the *Bulletin* to works on Catholic education which should find a place on the shelves of the pedagogical library of every Catholic school, such as, the Proceedings of the Catholic Edu-

cational Association, now in its sixth volume, the works of Bishop Spalding, Cardinal Gibbons, Brother Azarias, the Catholic School System of the United States by Dr. Burns, Jesuit Education by Rev. Robert Schwickerath, S. J., The Young Christian Teacher Encouraged by Brother Constantius, F.S.C., and the numerous works on catechetics that have recently issued from the press. We have added our mite to the meagre store in The Education of Our Girls, The Making and the Unmaking of a Dullard, The Psychology of Education and the Teaching of Religion. But works of this kind are not sufficient. Probably the greatest need of the teacher is periodical literature that offers her current topics, treated in brief form, by those who are competent to deal with the questions under discussion from a Catholic standpoint. And in this department our poverty has indeed been great. Some years ago the gifted Dr. Judge of Chicago made a brave attempt to relieve the situation, but his Catholic pedagogical review died in a single year from want of support. The Catholic School Journal of Milwaukee has been in existence eight years and has done some service in this field, but it is felt by many that it does not represent the larger thought and spirit of Catholic education nor does it in paper, type and artistic make-up present an attractive appearance to the tired teacher. However, it is not well to be too critical in these matters until a fuller support is guaranteed to more worthy publications. For the last two years the *Catholic University Bulletin* has lent its pages, in large measure, to educational thought and literature in the hope that it might bring refreshment and strength to the multitude of our teachers throughout the land who stand in such sore need of help along these lines. We are convinced that when those who are responsible for our school libraries come to realize the value of the *Bulletin* to our teachers, they will do their part in making it reach a still larger number of them in the future.

Since the last issue of the *Bulletin* a new Catholic educational periodical has made its appearance. We hope it will meet a hearty welcome in every Catholic school in the land. *Catholic School Work,* "a journal for the practical use of teachers published bi-monthly by the Educational Press, 123

East 23d St., New York," ($1. per year) presents an attractive appearance. It is of convenient size, the paper and printing are good, and the list of contributors gives fair promise of splendid service in the years to come. The current number contains the following contributions: The Catholic Ideal in Education, Rt. Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, D. D., Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York; The Work of the New York Catholic Schools, Rev. Thomas A. Thornton, Superintendent of the New York Catholic Schools; The Teaching of Religion, Rev. Joseph F. Smith, Superintendent of the New York Catholic Schools; Proposed New Course in Religion for all Grades with Plans of Study Prepared for the New York Catholic School Board, Rev. Joseph F. Smith; Proposed New Course and Syllabus in Drawing for all Grades Prepared by the New York Catholic School Board; Model Lesson, Nature Work, (The humming bird) Second Year, Anna Pergolie; Model Lesson, English, Sixth Year, (The Teaching of the Complex Sentence and the Relative Pronoun) Augusta M. Wilson, Ph. D.; Model Lesson, Geography, Seventh Year, (Longitude and Time) Gertrude M. Clark, M. A.; Model Lesson, Arithmetic, Eighth Year, (Percentage and its Applications) John J. Burke, M. A.; A Plea for Manual Training, Rev. Brother Victor, F. C.S., Assistant Visitor of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. It adds: Educational Notes and Comments, Book Department, Reviews, Inquiries, Announcement of Recent Books of Interest to Teachers.

The eminently practical character of this new periodical is conspicuous and yet it finds room for considerations of great moment both in the history of education and in its theory. We trust that every reader of the *Bulletin* in any way interested in Catholic education will subscribe for this magazine. They will be more than compensated for their small investment and they will help to support an enterprise which is destined to yield great fruit in the cause of God and country.

False Philosophy in Education.

Monsignor Hayes, in the leading article of *Catholic School Work,* gives terse expression to many weighty truths which should be constantly kept before the eyes of our teachers that they may not be misled by the false philosophy of education that pervades the school atmosphere of our day. "School systems charged with the training of the young approach the ideal in so far as they employ the means practical and potent enough to develop the mind and soul of the child in the manner the Creator intended. The Catholic Church protests against educational methods that do not begin and end with God, because it is in Him we live, move, and have our being; and since this is so, the training of the child must be towards God and not away from Him or against Him." If this truth were understood as fully as it should be by our teachers and lived up to as uncompromisingly as we have a right to expect from those chosen sons and daughters of the Church to whom the formation of the characters and the development of the minds of our children are entrusted, we would not so often find the anomaly of a school calling itself Catholic, taught by religious, and still employing text-books and methods that are in direct contravention of the truth so well stated by Dr. Hayes. A Catholic school is not one in which secular knowledge is imparted separately without reference to religion or to God and religious instruction added during one or two intervals of the day. Such a school is essentially pagan or secular no matter by whom it is taught, even if it be such a broad-minded pagan school as to permit religion to visit its halls at stated intervals. Religious education means that religion must permeate the whole atmosphere of the school and give life and meaning to every truth imparted within its walls. "There is a teacher with divine authority, the Church, not only favoring the development of intellect, but, at the same time, unfolding to the soul a realm of knowledge into which man, by reason alone, can peer but dimly, and for which he needs a divine illumination from God Himself. The experience of the ages shows

that religion ever has interpreted nature and man's existence in the world, and while so doing, has given to literature, science and art the greatest possible inspiration. Wherever Christianity was preached and established, civilization of a high order came into being; and the sublimest ideals of human life were set up to teach man the way to walk in this world that the end of his mortal journey might be realized in an eternity of blessed immortality and happiness with God."

On the other hand, wherever religion disappears from among the formative influences of a people extinction is the ultimate result. This truth stands out in bold relief in the history of the decline of ancient civilizations and among Christian nations it is equally obvious, as may be seen from a study of the French Revolution and as is becoming painfully evident in the result of purely secular education in our own land. There is a large and influential body of citizens outside the pale of the Catholic Church who will heartily endorse this statement of the fundamental principle underlying this phase of education as stated by Monsignor Hayes. "Religion belongs to the primary agencies which have been at work within the soul of man from the dawn of creation. The principle of ignoring religion in education is a fundamental fallacy; the practice of restricting the province of education to informing the intellect propagates a grave error full of menace to American life. Together with the enlightenment of the intellect should go a strengthening of the will and an awakening of conscience; and this with the definite aim of elevating the whole being of man, his moral as well as his intellectual side. Education must be, indeed, something more and better than the study of merely secular branches of learning."

This ideal was cast into practical form by Father Smith in his article on the Teaching of Religion and in the course in Religion which he proposes for all the grades. We quote the opening statement of his article. "The Catholic teacher in the parochial school must ever keep before his mind that the teaching of religion is the compelling and paramount reason for the existence of our costly, magnificent separate system of education. This fact alone will make him realize the im-

portance of religious education and will impress upon him the necessity of giving it the place of honor in the school curriculum. This primacy of the training in religion arises from the fundamental fact that man is composed of body and soul and that not only the mind but the heart, the conscience and the will—the entire man—must be educated. The existence of a Supreme Being that created the world and guides and rules the universe and all human beings, is made known to us not only through the inspired books of revelation, but also through the book of nature and the consciousness of every intelligent creature. Any system of education that attempts to ignore this fact, and fails to teach man his relations to his Creator is not only incomplete but false and misleading."

We would emphasize particularly the remark that the existence of a Supreme Being is "made known to us not only through the inspired books of revelation but through the *book of nature and the consciousness of every intelligent creature.*" From this it is perfectly plain that we are not fulfilling our duty as Christian teachers if we segregate the teaching of religion from the other subjects of the curriculum. We have attempted to show how religious truth should be organized with secular knowledge in the first two primary grades. Religion, First Book, and Religion, Second Book, are concrete embodiments of this principle and all that has thus far been said in these articles on the teaching of religion is in direct line with this. This thought is further emphasized by Father Smith (page 11). "From the history, therefore, of every early school, and particularly of the Catholic school of Colonial times in our own land, the teacher will learn that the Church has always rejected the idea of character which is based upon the natural virtues alone, but that 'it is Christian character, based upon the supernatural virtues and teaching of Christ not distinct from the natural virtues, but including them, and much more besides, which the Christian school places first among its duties, as the thing of most fundamental importance to the child' (Burns). He will be filled with a desire to adopt the Church's system of education when he discovers from the above arguments of the learned psychologist, Rev. Dr. Pace, which

we have all too briefly quoted in almost his exact words, that in following her Divine Model-Teacher, Christ, she has during all the centuries followed the laws of the mind and anticipated the findings and methods of so-called modern education. Have we hitherto followed, are we now making the most of the methods pursued by the Church? Is our religious education all that it should be? Has the teaching of religion kept pace with the improvements in the methods of imparting the secular branches? Are we fully alive to the educational value, even from an intellectual standpoint, of Christian Doctrine? These are a few of the frank and friendly criticisms that have been passed on the teaching of religion in the Catholic schools of this and other lands.

"The newest and best way of giving religious education, one now much in vogue, and one which is being strongly advocated in Catholic books, commentaries and magazines, is called the psychological method. As its name implies, it is a method of imparting religious knowledge according to the laws of the mind, of applying to this all-important study the well-established findings of Catholic psychology. It means to follow the way of teaching of the All-Knowing Master-Mind, it means to follow the example of the Church, in her teaching, her liturgy, and her symbolism." Our Catholic teachers will be particularly interested in the "plan of study for catechism" and the "plan of study for Bible history" as well as in the "proposed new course in religion." This course marks a step in advance over that now in use in some of our schools, and whether this course be adopted outside of New York in its entirety or not, its careful perusal cannot fail to help the teacher of Christian Doctrine.

Lessons from the History of Education.

The present trend of education everywhere might be justly characterized as a transition from the static to the dynamic. The scholar of to-day feels that he cannot know anything as it is until he has learned something of how it has come to be what it is. This is preëminently true of all educational prob-

lems. It is only the superficial mind that will rest content with appearances and seek to fathom the meaning of movements and tendencies without having consulted the historical development that lies back of all such movements. Father Thornton, in this first number of *Catholic School Work,* gathers into a few brief pages some of the salient points in an intensely interesting and important chapter of the history of Catholic education in this country. The younger generation of our teachers is apt to forget the origin of the public school system in this country. Here is its origin in New York as described by Father Thornton: "The Catholic agitation of that time was directed against the conduct of the trustees of the Public School Society, then in charge of the city's public schools and the medium through which the city's money was dispensed for the support of its schools. In 1840 the public schools of the city contained 13,189 pupils, for whose education, in that same year, $115,799.42 were expended. This society was organized in 1805 by a number of public-spirited men headed by Honorable De Witt Clinton. Its original purpose as set forth in its charter was to provide a free school for the education of poor children in the city, 'who do not belong to, or are not provided for by any religious society.' In 1808 its name was changed to the 'Free School Society of New York,' and again in 1826 to the 'Public School Society of New York,' and its powers widened 'to provide for the education of all children not otherwise provided for.' Year by year, thereafter, this society got further away from its original Christian purpose, until in 1840 it had become a huge sectarian combination against the Catholic school, the only one of the denominational schools which continued to oppose its monopoly of the education of the children of New York City. In spite of all protest and petition, the Catholics were denied their just and much-needed share of the school appropriations. But some good and lasting results were obtained. The Public School Society was reorganized on a more American plan from which has resulted the present gigantic New York Public School, and the text-books used in these schools were purged of their calumnious stories against the Catholic Church. Convinced that no aid

was to be expected from the State, the Catholics of New York resolved to continue to organize and maintain their own system of free schools, at their own expense. 'Go,' said Archbishop Hughes, 'build your own schools; raise arguments in stone with a cross on top; raise arguments in the shape of the best educated and most moral citizens of the republic, and the day will come when you will enforce recognition.'"

How nobly our people throughout the whole country have responded to this call is evidenced by our present Catholic school system, not only in the Archdiocese of New York, but throughout the whole United States. Never in the whole history of Christianity has there been a more generous sacrifice on the part of Christian people for a principle. After paying their share of the taxes to support a public school system in which the children of their neighbors were being educated, they freely taxed themselves to build and maintain a separate Catholic school system. The amount of money here involved has usually been set down at altogether too low a figure, and yet it is impressive enough; but this money is the least part of the sacrifice involved. The tens of thousands of young men and young women who have renounced the world with all its allurements and ambitions to devote themselves to a life of poverty and unremitting toil in the cause of Catholic education is a far more impressive argument than any hordes of gold that might be offered even by the poor toilers of the land. But the financial side of this argument is well worth considering. Father Thornton gives some very impressive figures, and they are evidently not the result of guess-work. "In the Borough of Manhattan to-day, which in 1840 comprised the entire city, instead of eight schools with 4,000 pupils, there are sixty-two schools with a register of 50,613 pupils. In 1840 nearly all the Catholic schools were held in the poorly lighted basements of the churches. Now they are accommodated in elaborate fire-proof buildings which have been erected by the zealous pastors of New York on the dearest land in the world, through the generosity of their people, at a cost of $8,495,458, and which are maintained on a high plane of pedagogical excellence at an ever-increasing annual expenditure of hundreds of thous-

ands of dollars. The cost of maintenance for the year 1908 was $553,924. Within the entire limits of the Archdiocese there are 139 schools with a total register of 70,002 pupils. The school buildings with the land they stand on are worth $11,016,858 and during the year 1908 the sum of $774,420 was spent in their maintenance. These one hundred and thirty-nine Catholic schools may not be classed as private schools supported by the tuition fees paid regularly by the parents who send their children to them for their education. On the contrary, these are public schools open to all the Catholic school children of the parishes. Every requisite for their education is supplied to the pupils free of charge, so that no charges for tuition or text-books are exacted from the children or their parents. The millions of dollars required for the purchase of the ground and the erection of the school buildings, as well as the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent yearly to keep them open for the children, have been and are provided for out of the regular revenues of the churches which maintain the schools; which revenues are the voluntary contributions of all the people of the parishes for the works of the Church."

There is a side to this financial sacrifice, however, that has not often been adverted to by writers on the subject. There is no question but that this sacrifice was willingly made by people who could ill afford it without any thought of earthly compensation. It was made by loyal Catholic hearts in response to the call of the Church rendered articulate on the lips of the illustrious Archbishop Hughes. But like so many other generous deeds, it has been bread cast upon the waters. The Catholics of New York have prospered. They have not suffered in their temporal affairs by the sacrifices which they made in the interests of Catholic education. Their children are multiplied in the land. They are filling positions of trust and influence. To them is committed in large and ever increasing measure the destinies of the commonwealth. This were compensation enough to make every Catholic realize that what they give to God is given back to them an hundred-fold.

There are many Catholics to-day who are confidently looking forward to the obtaining of support for our schools from the

public treasury. The justice of their claim is so apparent that fair-minded men of every shade of belief are forced to recognize it. And yet, before pushing forward this policy, it would be well that we make a careful study of the history of education where it is under State control, and it would be well also to devote a little attention to the figures involved. It has been noticed in many cities that public school buildings cost the city from two to three times as much as equally well built schools cost our Catholic parishes. This comes from the munificence of our public enterprises, from politics and graft, if you will, and on the other hand, from the conscientious care and self-sacrificing devotion of those to whom the erection of Catholic school buildings is usually entrusted. To this consideration we should add another. According to Father Thornton, "The Board of Education of New York City spends about $50. a year for the education of each pupil in the New York Public Schools." The cost per capita of the pupils in our Catholic schools may easily be ascertained from the figures given above. 70,002 pupils attending the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New York for the year 1908 cost $774,420, or $11.06 per capita. If our Catholic children were being educated in the public schools of New York the additional demand made upon the Catholic tax payers would probably exceed by a considerable figure the sum which they now contribute to the support of separate Catholic schools, so that what in reality was intended as a free offering God and the zeal of our Catholic teachers and pastors have turned into a saving. The handing over of our Catholic schools, therefore, to government control would mean not only an added tax upon our non-Catholic citizens, but a greater outlay of money on the part of our Catholics.

State Interference in Catholic Schools.

Every approach towards State control should be jealously looked into. The history of government interference in the past in all Christian countries shows the danger which is to be found in the situation. Of course the State has its rights in

the premises which no intelligent citizen will ignore. She has a right to see to it that the children are properly educated in all those things which lead to good citizenship, but her rights end here. The education of the child is essentially a parental function; as much so as the care and protection of his physical being. The parent is the natural provider of the mental food of the child as well as of the physical food. The school's function is, therefore, essentially a delegated parental function. But just as the parent must submit to the legitimate authority of the State in the discharge of his civic duties and to the jurisdiction of the Church in all spiritual matters, so must the school in like manner, while fulfilling essentially a parental function, submit to the legitimate jurisdiction of both the Church and the State. Experience, however, shows us that the State is seldom content with this, and only in extremely rare cases has it been content with it where it acted as the trustee of the people in supplying the funds to support the school.

In the matter of the Regents' examinations in the State of New York we have an illustration of this State aggressiveness. For some time the pupils of the New York Catholic schools have been taking the Regents' examinations. "In the year 1908," says Father Thornton, "4,998 pupils from the Catholic schools of New York, took 15,006 examinations in the elementary and first year high school subjects, which the Regents found perfect enough, according to their standards, to accept for their counts and pass cards." This is all very well and may serve to show to those amongst us who are benighted enough to need such demonstration that our Catholic schools are equal in efficiency to the public schools. If they were not more than this it would be an eternal disgrace, for our teaching staff is recruited for the most part from religious who devote their whole lives, from motives of religious zeal, to the work of education, whereas teaching in the public schools is for the most part purely an economic function and the teaching staff is in large measure made up of non-professional teachers. But this is a digression. It is a very dangerous thing to invite State interference in our Catholic schools. Such interference is a far graver injustice and is fraught with infinitely graver dangers

than is the present situation of the unjust apportionment of the school fund, of which complaint is so often made. However harmless the Regents' examinations may seem at first sight it is but an entering wedge to still further interference. Where the school has to look forward to the time when the children must pass the Regents' examination, no one can reasonably doubt that the whole trend of the school will be modified accordingly both in curriculum and in methods, and the modification in this instance is in the direction of the de-Christianized school. Moreover, Mr. Draper, President of the Board of Regents, has shown where such interference naturally leads to by publishing a regulation, during the past year, by which the children of all schools not organized under the Board of Regents will have to make seventy-five points in order to pass, whereas all public school pupils and all pupils from Catholic schools organized under the Board of Regents need only sixty points to pass. This is exercising a very decided pressure to compel our schools to organize under the Regents and by so doing to give the State more direct control over the organization and spirit of the school. The folly of educating our people, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, to the spectacle of State interference in the standardizing and methods of our Catholic schools must be apparent to all students of the subject.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, D.D., V.G., in an able article in the *Irish Educational Review,* April, 1909, entitled "State Aggressiveness in Education," says: "Education, in the true sense of the word, is not a mere accumulation of knowledge, but the process of development of the whole man, the intellectual and moral culture which springs from the fashioning of the mind and heart. The right to educate belongs primarily to the parents. It is a domestic, not a civil function. It is an inalienable right, involving a duty. The Church has its rights in education. These are either denied or ignored by outsiders, but must be acknowledged by all Catholics. These rights are, moreover, of divine origin, inherent in its office and constitution. She exercises them directly over the child, who has been incorporated into her by baptism, and for whose moral and spiritual welfare she thus becomes responsible. As this de-

pends, to a great extent, on the kind of education the child gets, so the Church has an inherent right to such supervision and control over its education as will give her a reasonable security that in no department of education will these interests be imperilled. She exercises this right also, but indirectly, through the parents of the child who are bound in the discharge of this most important natural duty towards their child, the same as in that of every other moral obligation, to follow the directions of the Church—their infallible guide. This right the Church has always claimed and exercised. From the cradle of Christianity up to the revolt of the 16th century the work of education was carried out principally, if not exclusively, under the immediate control and education of the Church. Since then, however, the secular power has been gradually encroaching on the domain of the Church—by either denying her rights or restricting them within the narrowest limits. Latterly, in many countries, the civil power has been legalizing a system of education which seeks to divorce religion altogether from it, and to bring it completely and exclusively under its own control."

The writer then sets forth clearly and concisely the rights of the State in the province of education, after which he continues: "But the trend of modern States is, not to respect the rights of parents or religion, but to monopolize the whole work of education, and ignore or trample on their rights. This is effected either directly, by inhibiting all educational institutions except those under its own immediate control, or indirectly, by unequal treatment of different teaching institutions. Here in Ireland we have been for generations the victims of both kinds of monopoly. We see the sad consequences of it in almost every department of the civil life of the nation; and if, in the higher and spiritual sphere, it has not produced disastrous consequences, it is due to a special Providence of God."

We are more fortunate in this respect than Ireland since our government does not and cannot constitutionally exercise the first species of control here alluded to, but it can and does exercise the second species, that of "unequal treatment of different teaching institutions." It does this in New York State, with all the boasted liberality and fair-mindedness of

the Regents, when it demands seventy-five points in order to pass the Regents' examinations by children from Catholic schools that elect to retain their own distinct character unhampered by the control and interference of the State, while it allows children from State schools and those under State control to pass these examinations at sixty points.

In the last few years this country has witnessed the spectacle of the State and its universities attempting to monopolize the education of the whole country by its system of affiliations, entrance examinations, etc. Discussing this subject, Monsignor Hallinan says: "Of all monopolies, there is none so dangerous as that of education, and when used by a government regarding the nation, it is a most insidious and deadly attack on the natural liberty of the subject, and becomes one of the most hateful forms of persecution and tyranny." The Monsignor continues to point out that the mere fact of the State's contributing the funds does not justify it in assuming such monopoly, but wherever the State does contribute the funds, as a matter of fact it has the power in its hands to enforce this policy and it usually does so. We may plead against it as we will, but history reveals to us the extreme difficulty or the utter futility of such pleading. Here is Monsignor Hallinan's statement of the case: "Nor does the fact that the monies for the work of education are paid by the State give any title to such monopoly. For the State merely applies the monies, which are supplied by its subjects in taxes, and, consequently, the State is only a trustee or administrator of public funds and becomes guilty of injustice if it applies them for purposes opposed to the public good or in an unjust and partial manner." Nevertheless, as Monsignor Hallinan points out, the State has persistently dealt with the educational system in Ireland in this unjust manner, and the State is probably as fair-minded there as elsewhere.

Wisdom evidently bids us beware of State interference and State control. Even contributing the funds necessary to the support of our schools would be a very cheap exchange for our liberty apart from all other considerations, such as those which we have pointed out in this article. We have built our schools

without State aid and have supported them without State aid thus far and it is a very short-sighted policy to sacrifice our advantages now for a very questionable financial gain. All interference in our schools on the part of State institutions should be guarded against with the most watchful care. In Belgium, a Catholic country, and for the last twenty-five years under a Catholic ministry, the Church has refused to accept State aid for its schools and insisted on maintaining them from the voluntary contributions of her children. WHY? Because the French Revolution taught the Church in Belgium a lesson never to be forgotten. Those who are advocating State aid for our Catholic schools in this country would do well to study the history of Catholic education in Belgium and its relationship to State control and State support, before placing the Church and the school in a position from which retreat would be difficult or impossible.

The splendid series of articles contributed by Monsignor Hallinan to the *Irish Educational Review* on State Aggressiveness in Education, should be carefully studied by all those who are responsible for shaping the policies of our Catholic schools in this country. We have quoted from the Monsignor at some length, but the articles should be read in their entirety to be fully appreciated, and it may not be amiss right here to recommend to our Catholic schools the *Irish Educational Review,* which has done good work in the two years of its existence. Many of its articles, naturally, deal with local situations, but even these have their value in this country and there is always something of a high, scholarly, and Catholic character the perusal of which would benefit every teacher in our Catholic schools.

The burden of the article from which we have been quoting concerns another phase of State aggressiveness which is peculiarly opportune in this country at the present time and serves to strengthen the suggestion just given that educational problems in Ireland are not so different from educational problems in this country and that we can ill afford to lose sight of the solution of these problems that is being worked out by the scholarly hierarchy and clergy of Ireland.

Our State institutions, of course, admit of no religious test and within the last few years the Carnegie Institute has adopted the same motto and the country has witnessed the most disgraceful betrayal of religious interests since the days of Judas Iscariot in the clamorous hurry of so many educational institutions in this country, built and endowed by religious bodies, to renounce all religious tests so that their retiring professors might enjoy the pension offered by this Institute. The thirty million dollars of the Carnegie Fund calls to mind persistently those other thirty pieces of silver that were too unclean for the coffers of the temple and were used to buy a burying place for paupers. We have frequently alluded to this subject in the pages of the *Bulletin,* listen to what Monsignor Hallinan has to say on the subject. " Let us now examine another form of State aggressiveness, which is being forced to the front with persistent pertinacity, under the guise of liberty. I allude to the motto: ' No religious tests.' Let us examine this shibboleth from a Catholic point of view and in the light of Catholic principles. Doubtless, in most respects, sincerely religious-minded members of other religious denominations repudiate and reject it on the same grounds and for the same reasons. And, first of all, we must distinguish between the words ' no religious tests ' when applied to students and when applied to teachers. As has been already remarked, in an united system of education, that is, one in which all the teachers or professors are Catholics, there is no difficulty in allowing non-Catholics as well as Catholics to attend such lectures. The harm comes in when the principle applies to the teacher or professors, that is, when appointments are to be made in the teaching profession, any person, who may be otherwise qualified for the position, has a perfect right to it, no matter what that person's religious belief may be. Hence, a Jew, or Unitarian, or Socinian, has as good a right, on principle, to be appointed a professor or teacher in an educational institution founded with such a charter as a Christian or a Catholic, and that in a Christian land. Looking at such a principle in itself and theoretically, the first thing that strikes one is, that it sets aside altogether the rights of the parents to educate their children, and substitutes for them the civil power

or government of the day. Hitherto the teachers have been regarded as the representatives of the parents, and, as such, were entitled to the respect and obedience of the pupils. The teachers, on the other hand, representing the parents, were expected to give such a religious, moral and secular training as their parents would, had they been able and willing to do so. It is only in this sense, and to this extent, that the secular power has the right to raise money for educational purposes. Now, however, according to the 'no religious tests' principle, the State, outstepping its proper function says: I will not give any of the public money which I have received from the tax payers for educational purposes, unless every person, no matter what his religious belief, be he Jew, Turk, heathen, or heretic, be equally eligible to teach a Catholic child as a Catholic. This means that education is to be administered as a political department, without any regard to the wishes or the conscience of the parents. It is, therefore, an invasion of the natural right of the parent, a subversion of order, an unjust application of public money, and an odious and indefensible system of persecution and tyranny."

But what are we to think of the situation in this country, where the denominational schools and colleges have flocked to the standard of Andrew Carnegie and allowed him the control which is here denied to the State? We cannot forbear making a further lengthy quotation from the article before us. "Furthermore, such an enactment rests on another false principle, namely, that education may be safely divorced from religion, and that religious influences may be excluded from the schools. . . . . Before the revolt of the sixteenth century, the idea of education without religion was so grotesque and absurd that it entered not into the minds of the people. . . . What a change has come over the face of Christendom since the principles of Protestantism took root and propagated their natural and pernicious fruits. Ever since, the tendency is to sacrifice religion to the supposed interests of education. As dogma after dogma was set aside and the march of heresy toward infidelity became more marked, the downward process was reflected in the school, and, through the school, in every department of the life

of the people. In some countries, at the present moment, education is degraded to the position of being the handmaid of infidelity, and where it has not reached that pass, the tendency is generally in that direction. Nor is this infidelity begotten of Godless education a mere speculation. It is a living, concrete fact, having a policy of its own well suited to attain the specific end, at which it aims, and that is the complete destruction of Christian civilization and a substitution in its stead of a new society and order of things, without authority, without property, without Christianity, or without God Himself. It is a return to paganism. . . . . True, the object in view is never plainly stated. Neither are all those who are instruments of this unholy work conscious of the use that is being made of them, and the ultimate effects of the principles and systems which they are laying down with such plausible reasoning. To say as they do say—that they have nothing to do with the teaching of religion, that they will neither praise nor blame the religion of any student in the academic hall, that they neither teach religion nor assail it, all this sounds fair and looks attractive to the unreflecting. But, while professing all this, they are contradicting themselves and acting in opposition to their fundamental principles. For the system itself is a denial of a Catholic truth, a violation of a Catholic principle, which every Catholic is bound to believe and hold, namely, that education must not be divorced from religion, but should be united with it. Regarding, then, this motto, 'no religious tests for teachers,' from whatever point of view one considers it, it necessarily leads to disastrous results wherever it is applied."

We have pointed out in preceding numbers of the *Bulletin* some of the pernicious fruits that schools of this character are producing in this land and we shall have more to say on the same subject in the subsequent issues of this magazine.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

De Necessitate Credendi et Credendorum seu de Fide salutari, dissertatio theologica, quam pro gradu Lectoris Sacrae Theologiae, in Ordine Praedicatorum consequendo, scripsit Fr. Raimundus-Maria Martin, eiusdem Ordinis alumnus. Lovanii Ap. A. Uystpruyst-Dieudonné via dicta de la Monnaie, 1909.

In this dissertation dedicated to Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Mechlin, and bearing his imprimatur, Father Martin undertakes to establish the two following propositions: 1—" Credere aliquid fide theologica supernaturali necessarium est necessitate medii ad salutem."

2—" Necessitate medii ad salutem duo mysteria Incarnationis et Ss. Trinitatis in V. Test. credere tenebantur maiores explicite, minores implicite tantum; in Novo Testamento vero, necessitate medii ad salutem haec mysteria credere tenentur omnes explicite."

The second proposition is taken almost verbatim from St. Thomas (III Dist. XXV, qu. II, art. 2 sol. 2,—2a 2ae, qu. II, a 7. et alibi). Even those who are not willing to accept the author's conclusions must admit that the dissertation furnishes a very clear explanation and a very strong defense of his thesis. As to the objection frequently made, viz., that those who maintain the second proposition as well as the first make salvation too difficult under the New Law, I would answer with the author: In exceptional cases there must be a special intervention of Providence, in order that the one to be saved may have supernatural faith (in Deum auctorem supernaturalem) and it is just as easy for God to make known three truths (God, the Trinity, the Incarnation) as it is to make known one. The well-known text from St. Thomas (De Veritate, qu. XIV, a. 11, ad 1) covers all cases: " Si aliquis in silvis enutritus, ductum naturalis rationis sequeretur in appetitu boni et fuga mali, certissime est tenendum, quod ei Deus vel per internam inspirationem revelaret ea quae sunt ad credendum necessaria, vel aliquem fidei praedicatorem ad eum dirigeret, sicut misit Petrum ad Cornelium (Art. 10); hoc enim ad divinam providentiam pertinet, ut cuilibet provideat de necessariis ad salutem, dummodo ex parte eius non impediatur." To this Father Martin adds a

reference to the *Revue Thomiste,* September-October, 1905, p. 385 and sqq., "ubi doctrina tradita exemplo illustratur; quod exemplum desumptum est ex opere; *Trinidad,* Journal d'un missionaire dominicain, pp. 273-276, Paris, Retaux."

Perfect order and clearness characterize the dissertation: the "Elenchus auctorum et operum consulendorum" is very valuable.

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century. By Joseph Louis Perrier, Ph. D. New York, Columbia University Press and The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. viii, 344.

Strange as it may seem, the greatest difficulty in the way of the revival of Scholasticism has been the unwillingness of the general philosophical public to give the Neo-Scholastic credit for singleness of purpose. Picavet in France and Paulsen in Germany have openly expressed their conviction that the impulse given to Neo-Thomism by Leo XIII was primarily and essentially a political affair. The command to return to the genuine works of the great Scholastics simply masked an attempt to subvert the Third Republic or to strengthen the position of the Centre Party in the Reichstag. It is one of the many merits of Dr. Perrier's book that it dispels this ridiculous illusion and shows very clearly that Neo-Scholasticism has no such arrière-pensée. Neo-Scholasticism claims to be a philosophy, and invites an examination of its claims. It is neither a political plot nor an incident in religious propagandism. It has a right to be judged in the same way as Hegelianism, Agnosticism or Pragmatism is judged.

Dr. Perrier's book is chiefly historical. It gives a very accurate and detailed account of the persons, institutions, events and literary productions which brought about the movement of Catholic thought known as Neo-Scholasticism. The account of the revival in the United States and Canada will, naturally, be read with the greatest interest. The account too, is intelligently sympathetic, as is evident from the protest which is entered (p. 169) against the sweeping condemnation of the Roman Thomists by M. Besse. But more remarkable than the historical sketch is the singularly clear and generally accurate exposition of the Scholastic system in Logic, Metaphysics, Cosmology, Psychology, Natural Theology and Ethics.

The author's mental attitude is indicated in several passages besides the following: "It has become a fashion in philosophy to deride the notions of the plain man. . . . He is ridiculed as a fetish worshipper if he feels the slightest sympathy for the old doctrine of causal power. For my part, I confess that I can hardly part from these naïve beliefs; and, at the risk of being mocked for not having yet bestridden the threshold of philosophy, I frankly take part with the plain man in his realism, his libertarianism, his belief in efficiency" (p. 69).

Not by any means the least valuable part of the book is the "Bibliography," extending over almost a hundred pages. This alone would entitle the author to the gratitude of all who favor the Neo-Scholastic revival. We have no doubt that his book will be read by many non-Catholics who are curious to knew what Scholasticism is and by a still larger number of those among us who wish to know the history of philosophy within the Church during the last thirty years.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Le Catéchisme Romain, ou l'enseignement de la Doctrine Chrétienne. Explication nouvelle, par Georges Bareille, Docteur en Théologie et en Droit canonique, Chanoine honoraire de Toulouse. Tomes I–II: Première partie, Le Symbole, Montrejeau, 1906, J. M. Soubiron.

This is a timely and practical publication, called forth by the Encyclical of Pius X, *Acerbo Nimis* (April 15, 1905), on "The Teaching of Christian Doctrine." The obligation of instructing the people in the truths and precepts of our faith has been urged upon all those who have the care of souls from the days of the Apostles, who received from our Lord Himself the commission to "teach all nations," down to this twentieth century when Providence gave to the Universal Church a supreme Pastor whose desire is "to re-establish all things in Christ" (Eph. 1, 10).

Pius X ordained that "all parish priests and others having the care of souls, shall, in addition to the usual homily on the Gospel to be delivered at the Parochial Mass on all days of obligation, explain the Catechism for the faithful, in an easy style. . . . In this instruction they are to make use of the Catechism of the Council of Trent; and they are to divide the matter in such a way as within the space of four or five years to treat of the apostles'

Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Precepts of the Church."

Canon Bareille's volumes are intended, principally, to be an aid to those whose duty it will be to instruct the faithful in accordance with the directions of Pius X.

The author of the "Explication Nouvelle" religiously preserves the "Catechismus ad Parochos," adding notes, explanations and short treatises, historical, scientific, dogmatical, moral, and liturgical, which will be a mine of information, easy of access, and most helpful to those who wish to add life and variety to their explanations of the Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer.

The first two volumes are devoted to annotations on the Creed. Every chapter is strictly "up-to-date," including refutations of the pernicious Loisy theories. M. Bareille is modern, but not a Modernist. The articles on the Teaching of the Catechism before and after the Council of Trent, on the *Creed* and *Creeds,* on *Faith,* and on *Dogma* deserve special mention. The bibliography, giving a valuable list of authors to be consulted, is a feature that will be highly appreciated. The author protests that it is not his intention to compose a Theology, although the work, when completed, will be an excellent manual of theology for pastors: and he promises to give an enlarged "Praxis Catechismi Romani," which will be welcomed by many busy priests as a hand-book of solid, authoritative instructions for Sundays and feast-days, far and away more reliable than the ordinary collections of prones and instructions.

The great authority of the original text, together with the learning and skill of the annotator, make it very desirable that this valuable work should be finished in the near future, and presented as soon as possible, in an English dress to the priests of the United States.

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

A Manual of Moral Theology for English-Speaking Countries. By Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J., St. Bruno's College, St. Asaph. With notes on American legislation, by Rev. Michael Martin, S. J., Professor of Moral Theology, St. Louis University. Vols. I–II. Benziger, New York, 1908.

The object of these volumes is "to present the common teaching of the Catholic moral theologians in an English dress."

As to the advisibility of such a publication the author writes: "That such a book will be found useful seems certain from the fact that works of the kind exist in abundance in other modern languages."

Priests, indeed, should learn theology from works written in Latin, and the author is to be commended for not translating into English those chapters or treatises, the knowledge of which is not necessary for those who are not called to guide sinners in all things that pertain to life as it is in this miserable world. It is, however, certain that the knowledge of moral theology in its general outlines and in many special tracts will be very useful and in nowise hurtful to many laymen, *e. g.*, to physicians, lawyers, professors in colleges and others, who either cannot or will not take the pains to read theological works written in Latin. Moreover, the author's hopes of doing good even among non-Catholics are well founded. It is well to prove to those who frequently misrepresent and malign the moral theology of the Catholic Church that we conceal nothing, bearing in mind, however, that it is not desirable to be too plain and explicit in treating subjects which should not so much as be mentioned among good Christians whenever silence is possible.

Father Slater's volumes follow the order and contain all the treatises usually given in good manuals of Catholic moral theology, the work being done with remarkable care and accuracy.

The author has succeeded admirably in the translation of terms and definitions which many could give in Latin, but would not attempt to express in English. And this striking feature of the work will make it acceptable even to priests and students who are familiar with the official language of the Church.

Father Martin's notes on American Legislation are a very valuable addition to the work, and they will be gratefully received by the zealous, hard-working priests of the United States.

Where everything is well done it is not necessary to call attention to special chapters. It is to be hoped that all non-Catholics—if such there be—who still "have their suspicions" about the Jesuits will read and meditate upon the chapters on "The End of Human Acts" and on "Lying," in order to satisfy themselves once and forever that no Jesuit ever held that "the end justifies the means," and that their theories concerning mental reservations furnish no excuse for doubting their statements.

The chapters on matrimonial legislation and on the organization

of the Roman Curia are up to the date of the latest decrees of Rome.

I have no intention of exciting, much less of entering into, a controversy concerning the relative merits of Probabilism and Equiprobabilism; the discussion would probably do more harm than good. Nevertheless I cannot refrain from making the following remarks anent Father Slater's chapter on the "The Probable Conscience."

1*st.* The example used on pp. 68, 69 and 73, it seems to me, is not well chosen and will "cloud the issue" because it might well be claimed that when a young man reasons as follows: This action which I am contemplating is lawful, "*for example marrying according to my promise a good and suitable person in spite of the prohibition of my parents, which indeed does not seem to be reasonable,*" he is reasoning according to an opinion which should be called *more probable* than the opposite, if indeed it be not morally certain.

2*nd.* Whatever may be said of Probabilism in se, or of St. Alphonsus' opinions during his earlier years, to me it seems certain that for about twenty years before his death he defended Equiprobabilism, which he calls *his* system. Why *his* if he did not reject Probabilism? In a letter dated July 30th, 1768—the document cited by Father Slater is of 1755—St. Alphonsus wrote: "My system on Probability is not that of the Jesuit Fathers, for I do not admit (*io reprovo*) that one can follow an opinion which he knows to be less probable, as Busembaum and Lacroix teach." (See Lettera CCIX in *Lettere di Alfonso Maria de Ligouri, parte secunda, Correspondenza speciale,*" 1890). And this opinion was formed after thirty years of study and prayer. "Triginta circiter annis de hac materia innumeros legi auctores tam benignos quam rigidos, et infra hoc tempus a Deo lumen indesinenter quaesivi ad statuendum systema quod tenere debeam, ne errem: tandem systema meum statui." (Dichiaraz. del systema, n. 49). In the *Homo Apostolicus,* I, 75, we read "*Quod meum systema aequiprobabilis opinionis* evidenter demonstrasse mihi suadeo." And again "Si opinio quae stat pro lege videatur certe probabilior, ipsam omnino sectari tenemur." (*Theol. Moral.,* Morale Systema, n. 56). There is no necessity of multiplying these citations. The words of St. Alphonsus himself confirm the contention of his disciples that the Saint defended Equiprobabilism. If at any time he admitted Probabilism, he

repudiated that system towards the end of his life. Any person desiring more information on this subject can find it in works on moral theology, written by the Redemptorist Fathers (*e. g.*, Marc and Aertnys) and in a pamphlet *Théories et Système des Probabilités en Théologie Morale,* par le R. P. M. A. Boisdron, de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs." (Fribourg, Suisse, 1894). These facts put in a new light the arguments drawn from the approbation of the works of St. Alphonsus and from the " tolerantia ecclesiae."

Perfect candor demanded these remarks, which must not be interpreted as diminishing in the least the admiration which the writer feels for Father Slater's admirable and useful work. " Lis est adhuc sub judice," and " Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet."

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

Na Dovine Sidhe is Uirsgeulan eile. Gaelic Fairy Tales. Glasgow, Archibald Sinclair, 1908.

This is the second edition of a collection of three Scottish-Gaelic folk-tales, two of which had already appeared in other collections. *Spiorad na H-aoise,* " The Spirit of Eld " is from the pen of Norman Macleod, better known perhaps as " Caraid nan Gaìdheal." *Iolaire Loch-Treig,* " The Eagle of Loch Tréig," was written by the late D. C. Macpherson and appeared originally in Vol. I of " The Gael," and *A Bhean Tighe Mhath's Obair-Oídhche,* " The Good Housewife and her Night Labours," is reprinted from the *Craignish Tales* in Vol. I of Campbell of Islay's " Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition." These tales are prettily printed in a very artistically gotten up little book, with binding and illustrations in colors in a style of their own. Merely as stories, they are not especially interesting. Their claim lies in the beauty of the Gaelic in which they were told and written, and their value in this, that they form a part of the great body of folk-story of the Gaels of Ireland and of the Highlands. Moreover, they are an offspring of the rich and brilliant imagination which is so characteristic of the fairy tales of Celtic origin. It will be a subject for some investigators some day to make this vast field of Gaelic fairy legend and story the subject of a study which will show the common fund of lore and a common manner of telling of the sea-divided Gael.

Parallels of these, as of many other Highland tales, are found in Irish-Gaelic, for example, the "Spirit of Eld" contains a motive which was found in a tale told to the late John Synge and which he has preserved an outline in his book *The Aran Islands,* Dublin, 1907.

JOSEPH DUNN.

An Irish Precursor of Dante. A Study on the Vision of Heaven and Hell ascribed to the eighth-century Irish Saint Adamnán, with translation of the Irish text, by C. S. Boswell. London, David Nutt, 1908.

A clearly defined visionary trait is one of the most pronounced characteristics of the mediæval literature of the Celts. In the religious literature of Ireland, visions in Irish and in Latin play a large rôle and found their way thence to the Continent. One of the most celebrated of the works belonging to this class of so-called "visionary" writings is the *Fis* or "Vision" which goes under the name of the famous Irish saint Adamnán, who was known as the "High Scholar of the Western World." Not that the work is one of the author to whom it has been ascribed, for, as Mr. C. S. Boswell points out, the *Fis* was surely not composed till fully one hundred years after the death of the abbot of Iona. Mr. Boswell's book, the most recent contribution to the literature on this world-myth, reminds us, by its title, of Alessandro d'Ancona's *I Precursori di Dante,* (Florence, 1874), a work that is still indispensable to the student of the subject. But, Mr. Boswell treats of much more than might be supposed from the title of his book; among other topics, the following are of particular interest to students of Irish civilization in the early Middle Ages: Learning in ancient Ireland, the Constitution of the Irish Church and the *Imram,* or sea-voyage class of Irish wonder-tale. Of wider interest, perhaps, are the chapters on the conception of the Otherworld in classical and oriental tradition and in the tradition of the Eastern and Western Churches. It was not Mr. Boswell's intention to enumerate all the forms which this theme of the Otherworld took on in the earlier and later Middle Ages—to do so would have been to enlarge his work beyond measure, the literature of the period simply teems with tales belonging to this branch of writings. This particular

Vision, the *Fis Adamnáin* is remarkable among other things for its literary quality which is far superior to anything of the time, and for the fact that it represents "the highest level attained by the school to which it belonged, and that it is "the most important contribution made to the growth of the legend within the Christian Church prior to the advent of Dante." It is well known that the Divina Commedia was but the culmination of a long line of predecessors who treated of the same or a similar theme. While it is not to be imagined that the subject of the Otherworld was the exclusive property of Irish visionaries, on the other hand it is clearly seen from a comparison of the visions which were composed on Irish soil with those which arose in the Orient and on the continent of Europe that, with its appearance in Ireland, the legend assumed new life and entered upon a fresh career of influence. It can never be shown that Dante Alighieri was acquainted with the Vision of Adamnán until a Latin or Romance version of the *Fis* anterior to Dante's day is known to have existed. But, in this sense at least it is true that the *Fis Adamnáin* was a precursor of the *Divina* Commedia, that Dante was undoubtedly acquainted with such other works of this class as the Vision of Tundale, Saint Patrick's Purgatory and the Voyage of Saint Brendan all of which, as well as many others, had come under the influence of and were more or less moulded by the Vision ascribed to Adamnán.

The Irish text of the *Fis Adamnáin* was published for the first time by Ernest Windisch in his *Irische Texte* from the Book of the Dun Cow and the Speckled Book. It is these texts that Mr. Boswell has taken as the basis for his translation. He has overlooked a third manuscript of the vision, however, which is found at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is probably also by an oversight that he fails to mention the reprint of the translation of the *Fis* by the late Whitley Stokes, published in 1870 in a now extremely rare edition of fifty copies, of which mention is made on pages 27 and 27. These reprints appeared in *Frazer's Magazine* for 1871 and in the appendix to Miss Margaret Stokes' *Three Months in the Forests of France.*

JOSEPH DUNN.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. V. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J. New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1909.

This volume is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The most sanguine expectations of the friends of the *Encyclopedia* have thus far been more than realized and the enterprise has come to be accepted as an assured success, even by the most timid of its supporters. It is already to be found in the reference room of scholars, editors and libraries throughout the land. It has found its way into many of our parochial school libraries and it is to be hoped that the present volume will go a long way towards making the friend of our parochial schools see the wisdom of placing a set of the *Encyclopedia* in every Catholic school in the land. This would confer an incalculable advantage on the pupils both directly and through their teachers. The pupils would find full and authentic information on many topics concerning which they are misinformed by their associations out of school and by their contact with current literature.

There are many articles in each volume of the *Encyclopedia* that would prove of inestimable value to every intelligent teacher, but in this respect the present volume is particularly strong. The article on Education from the pen of the Very Rev. Dr. Pace is in the author's best style. Its lucid pages and concise statements will make every friend of the *Encyclopedia* wish that his contributions might be more numerous in the subsequent volumes of the work. In the nine pages of this article there is crowded a wealth of information that is usually not to be found in a single volume of whatever size. The article is divided into the following subheads: Education in General; Oriental Education; The Greeks; The Romans; The Jews; Christian Education; Jesus Christ as Teacher; The Aim of Christian Education; The Educational Work of the Church.

The meaning of education is set forth in the opening paragraph which we quote here: "In the broadest sense, education includes all those experiences by which intelligence is developed, knowledge acquired and character formed. In a narrower sense, it is the work done by certain agencies and institutions, the home and the school, for the express purpose of training immature minds. The

child is born with latent capacities which must be developed so as to fit him for the activities and duties of life. The meaning of life, therefore, of its purposes and values as understood by the educator, primarily determines the nature of his work. Education aims at an *ideal,* and this in turn depends on the view that is taken of man and his destiny, of his relations to God, to his fellow men, and to the physical world. The *content* of education is furnished by the previous acquisition of mankind in literature, art, and science, in moral, social, and religious principles. The inheritance, however, contains elements that differ greatly in value, both as mental possessions and as means of culture; hence a selection is necessary, and this must be guided largely by the educational ideal. It will also be influenced by the consideration of the educative *process.* Teaching must be adapted to the needs of the developing mind, and the endeavor to make the adaptation more thorough results in theories and methods which are, or should be, based on the findings of biology, physiology, and psychology."

From the meaning of education as thus set forth the Catholic educator comes to realize the fact that if our schools are to be true to their ideal it cannot copy the methods of the State schools nor adopt their ideals. The mere addition of the religious element to the content of education does not suffice to make education Catholic.

The article then sets forth in a very clear light the relations of home, State and Church to the work of education and makes clear to the educator the need of the history of education as well as the comprehension of the fundamental principles on which the work of the school rests. The inadequacy of purely secular education stands out clearly in the brief review of education among pagan nations. Educators too frequently fail to realize the fact that the religious element in education is necessary not only for the maintenance of the Church but for the very existence of the State as well. Intellectual education alone has, in the experience of the past, always failed to preserve civilization. This is brought out in the closing lines of the paragraph on Roman Education. "The vigorous Roman character yielded but slowly to the intellectualism of the Greeks, and when the latter finally triumphed, far-reaching changes had come about in Roman society, government, and life. Whatever the causes of decline—political, economic, or moral—they could not be stayed by the imported refinement of Greek thought and practice. Nevertheless, pagan

education as a whole, with its ideals, successes, and failures, has a profound significance. It was the product of the highest human wisdom, speculative and practical, that the world has known. It pursued in turn the ideals that appeal most strongly to the human mind. It engaged the thought of the greatest philosophers and the action of the wisest legislators. Art, science, and literature were placed at its service, and the mighty influence of the State was exerted in its behalf. In itself, therefore, and in its results, it shows how much little human reason can accomplish where it seeks no guidance higher than itself and strives for no purposes other than those which find, or may find, their realization in the present phase of existence."

The main portion of the article is naturally devoted to Christian Education. Under the subhead, Jesus Christ as Teacher, there is a vivid delineation of the principles of pedagogy embodied in Our Lord's method of teaching. The forces of His Divine Personality in its appeal to the imitative instinct, the emphasis placed by the Master-Teacher on expression through action, the essential need of purity of motive, the adaptation of His teaching to His hearers and the preparation of the minds of His audience for the truth to be imparted are all clearly stated.

The scholarly article from the pen of Dr. Henry Hyvernat on Egypt occupies thirty-two pages, but there is not one superfluous line in the article. The subject is treated under the following seven heads: General Description; Ancient Egyptian History; Ancient Egyptian Religion; Literary Monuments of Ancient Egypt; The Coptic Church; Coptic Literature; Copto-Arabic Literature. The style is so clear, simple and direct that much of the material is brought within the scope of the older pupils in our parochial schools, while the material and treatment will meet all the requirements of advanced scholarship.

Non-technical students of every shade of belief will be grateful for the very able article on Evolution contributed by Rev. Eric Wasmann, S. J., and Rev. H. Muckermann, S. J. Father Wasmann gives us a very brief and concise statement of the attitude of Catholics towards the theory of Evolution. The most valuable part of this brief essay is to be found in the distinctions which he draws between the various meanings attaching to the word in its popular usage. "We must distinguish (1) between the theory of evolution as a scientific hypothesis and as a philosophic speculation; (2) between the theory of evolution as based on theistic

principles and as based on a materialistic and atheistic foundation; (3) between the theory of evolution and Darwinism; (4) between the theory of evolution as applied to the vegetable and animal kingdoms and as applied to man." He points out that "the scientific theory of evolution, therefore, does not concern itself with the origin of life. It merely inquires into the genetic relations of systematic species, genera, and families and endeavors to arrange them according to natural series of descent. . . . . This is the gist of the theory of evolution as a scientific hypothesis. It is in perfect agreement with the Christian conception of the universe; for Scripture does not tell us in what form the present species of plants and of animals were originally created by God. As early as 1877 Knabenbauer stated 'that there is no objection, so far as faith is concerned, to assuming the descent of all plant and animal species from a few types.'" Evolution as a philosophical theory is explained and the attitude of the Church towards it is then stated in these words: "This conception is in agreement with the Christian view of the universe. God is the creator of heaven and earth. If God produced the universe by a single creative act of His will, then its natural development by laws implanted in it by the Creator is to the greater glory of His Divine Power and Wisdom." St. Thomas and Suarez are quoted in support.

The theory of evolution founded on atheistic principles is then stated and the fallacies on which it rests pointed out. Finally, the theory of evolution as applied to man is stated by Father Wasmann in these words: "That God should have made use of natural, evolutionary, original causes in the production of man's body, is *per se* not improbable, and was propounded by St. Augustine. The actual proofs of the descent of man's body from animals is, however, inadequate, especially in respect to palaeontology. And the human soul could not have been derived through natural evolution from that of the brute, since it is of a spiritual nature; for which reason we must refer its origin to a creative act on the history and scientific foundations of the theory of evolution which is replete with interest for scholars in every field of modern thought."

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, 1908-1909.

The commencement exercises of the Catholic University of America, held Wednesday, June 12, in McMahon Hall, marked the closing of the twentieth year of that institution. Grouped upon the platform beneath the painting of Leo XIII were the deans of the several faculties. In the center of the stage sat the Rev. Dr. Thomas Joseph Shahan, Rector of the University. Clergymen from every section of the country, men distinguished in the world of letters and of art, and a large number of relatives and friends of the priests, seminarians, and lay students assembled to witness the conferring of degrees.

Dr. Shahan opened the exercises, and following the presentation of degrees by the deans of the faculties, he gave a review of the history of the university.

"In the last twenty years," said Dr. Shahan, "very much has been accomplished. The university found Northeast Washington an undeveloped section of the city. Gradually this section has developed in contact with the life and work of the university, until now Brookland and Bloomingdale are rightly accounted among the most desirable parts of our beautiful city.

"More important, however, is the actual development of our university. Its professors have grown from 4 to 32, and its students have increased in proportion. The university now counts about 225 registered students, of whom 85 are lay students, partly graduate, partly undergraduate.

"An admirable library has been created, containing some 65,000 volumes, and, including the professors' libraries, is much nearer 130,000 volumes, no small achievement in two decades of existence.

"Generally speaking, the Catholic University of America has every reason to congratulate itself on its present status. It has outlived many difficulties and trials, has proved its right to exist amid similar work, has earned a high place in the

Catholic life of the world, and will accomplish eventually all that its founders had in mind when, with unparalleled zeal and earnestness, they undertook this great work. The university has enjoyed the generous direction of two Popes—Leo XIII and Pius X. It is in them and their successors that the university places its chief hope of attaining one day the fullness of its calling."

The degrees granted were as follows:

A.B.—Oswald Martin Crotty, Cleveland, Ohio; Mariano Lora y Romero, Havana, Cuba; Frank Alphonso Mulvanity, Nashua, N. H.; Peter Marie Nicrosi, Montgomery, Ala.; Edward Joseph Ralph, Washington, D. C.; Vincent LeRoy Toomey, Washington, D. C.

A.M.—Bernard Joseph Vincent, Ph.B., New York City.

B.S.—Diego Ramos, B.S. in C.E., Mexico City, Mexico; Yasuke Wakamiya, B.S. in C. E., Toyoma, Japan; Louis Henry Crook, Washington D, C.

C.E.—William Bernard Fennell, B.S., Washington, D. C.

PH.B.—Rev. Matthias Joseph Gillen, Saint Paul, Minn.; Francis Marmion Kelly, Houston, Minn.; Joseph Simon Loughran, Washington, D. C.; Bernard Joseph Vincent, New York, N. Y.

PH.M.—Rev. Arthur Joseph Scanlon, Ph.B., New York; Rev. Patrick Francis Mackin, A.B., New York City.

PH.D.—Richard Stephen Burke, A.M., Ph.M., Boston, Mass.; Joseph Henry Burke, A.B., C.S.C., Washington, D. C.; Thomas Patrick Irving, A.B., C.S.C., Washington, D. C.

LL.B.—Oswald Martin Crotty, A.B., Cleveland, Ohio; John Collins Moran, A.B., Providence, R. I.; Benedict Joseph Semmes, A.B., Memphis, Tenn.; Leo Aloysius Smyth, A.B., Memphis, Tenn.; Vincent LeRoy Toomey, A.B., Washington, D. C.

LL.M.—George Anthony Canale, A.B., LL.B., Memphis, Tenn.; John Pritchard Kenney, LL.B., Lowell, Mass.; Hon. J. Davis Brodhead, M.C., Bethlehem, Pa.

J.D.—Arthur Benedict Crotty, J.D., LL.B., LL.M., Cleveland, Ohio; Hon. William Milnes Maloy, LL.B., LL.M., Baltimore, Md.

S.T.B.—Rev. Edward Herman Amsinger, Archdiocese of St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. James Joseph Dacey, Diocese of Albany; Rev. James Deenihan, Diocese of Los Angeles; Rev. John Baptist Delaunay, A.B., Ph.D., Congregation of Holy Cross; Rev. Michael J. Doyle, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Rev. John Francis Ambrose Georgelin, Marist Congregation; Rev. Joseph Patrick Green, Archdiocese of New York; Rev. John Capistran Gruden, Archdiocese of St. Paul; Rev. James Edward Kearney, Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Michael Joseph Keyes, Marist Congregation; Rev. Thomas Joseph McCormick, A.B., Archdiocese of New York; Rev. John Conrad Melies, Archdiocese of St. Louis; Rev. Joseph Patrick Munday, A.B., A.M., Diocese of Alton; Rev. Walter Alexander O'Hara, A.B., A.M., Diocese of Pittsburg; Rev. John Michael Ryan, B.L., Congregation of Holy Cross; Rev. Paul John Sandalgi, Archdiocese of Baltimore; Rev. Patrick Joseph Waters, Archdiocese of Boston, Mass.

J.C.B.—Rev. Patrick Stephen Canning, Diocese of Providence; Rev. John Baptist Delaunay, A.B., Ph.D., Congregation of Holy Cross; Rev. John Andrew Françon, Archdiocese of New Orleans; Rev. Joseph Patrick Green, Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Charles Whittenmore Heath, Archdiocese of Baltimore; Rev. James Edward Kearney, Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Thomas Joseph McCormick, A.B., Archdiocese of New York; Rev. John Conrad Melies, Archdiocese of St. Louis; Rev. Walter Alexander O'Hara, A.B., A.M., Diocese of Pittsburg; Rev. Michael Lawrence Ryan, S.T.B., Diocese of Providence; Rev. Joseph Leo Noel Wolfe, S.T.B., Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

S.T.L.—John Andrew Françon, S.T.B., Archdiocese of New Orleans; Rev. Thomas Joseph Loughlin, S.T.B., Diocese

of Albany; Rev. Leo Edward Ryan, S.T.B., Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Thomas Francis Ryder, S.T.B., Congregation of St. Paul; Rev. George Aloysius Sinnott, S.T.B., Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Joseph Leo Noel Wolfe, S.T.B., Archdiocese of Philadelphia; Rev. James Patrick Towey, S. T. B., Congregation of St. Paul.

S.T.D.—Rev. Nicholas Aloysius Weber, S.T.L., Marist Congregation.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Baccalaureate Sunday. On Sunday, June 6th, Solemn High Mass was celebrated in Caldwell Hall in the presence of the body of professors, students and graduates of the University. The celebrant of the Mass was Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas Sim Lee, and the preacher of the baccalaureate sermon was Reverend Doctor William Russell, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C.

Donations. Mrs. Bellamy Storer has given to the University the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, as a contribution to the Endowment Fund.—His Grace the Archbishop of Philadelphia contributed One Hundred Dollars towards completing the collection of publications of foreign learned societies which was mentioned in the June *Bulletin*.—Dr. Hyvernat has acquired for his private library and has placed at the disposal of the University the valuable collection belonging to the celebrated French Orientalist, Professor Rubens Duval. The collection consists of five or six hundred volumes, chiefly on Syriac and Hebrew literature.

The Museum. The gratitude of all interested in the University is due to Mr. James C. Mooney, of the American Bureau of Ethnology, for the kind interest he took in the University Museum and the time and care which he expended this summer in superintending its transfer to the third floor of McMahon Hall.

Mr. Myles P. O'Connor. By the death of Judge Myles Poore O'Connor, of San José, California, the University lost a generous benefactor and beloved friend. Judge O'Connor is the Founder of the Chair of Canon Law.

Appointments. Dr. Frank O'Hara has been appointed Instructor in Economics. Dr. O'Hara is a native of Minnesota.

He received his early education at Lanesboro in that state and was graduated with honor from the classical course of the state university, in 1900. The next year he spent at the University of Notre Dame where he received the Master's degree for work in economics and philosophy. After two years' work in economics, philosophy and history at the University of Berlin he was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *cum laude,* in 1904. In 1905 he was editor of the *Catholic Progress,* Seattle. His teaching experience covers high school work at Butte, Montana, La Porte, Indiana and Chicago, and two years at the University of Notre Dame where he was Professor of Economics and History.

Rev. John M. Cooper, Ph. D., D. D., Assistant Pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D. C., has been appointed lecturer on Christian Doctrine.

Rev. Nicholas Weber, S. T. D., of the Marist College, has been appointed to lecture on History in the Undergraduate Department.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *December, 1909.* *No. 8.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

Published by

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Washington, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS

BALTIMORE

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV. *December, 1909.* *No. 8.*

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF REALITY IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

Modern philosophy began in the winter of 1619-1620 at Neuberg on the Danube. It was here the idea first occurred to René Descartes that the attention of philosophers had been misplaced for centuries. Man is primarily a student of himself, not of nature. Too much precious time and thought, it appeared to him, had been mis-spent already on externals. It was unfortunate that the centre of human inquiry had ever shifted from man to things; and a second Socrates, teaching men to know *themselves,* before attempting to penetrate the secrets of the outer universe, would prove the man of the hour. Philosophy, like charity, should begin at home, and settle a pressing domestic problem, before venturing abroad in excess of zeal. Less of Anaxagoras and his starry firmament, more of Plato and his inner world of ideas, would rescue philosophy from its dotage and actually renew its youth. Philosophers had long enough indulged the habit of employing the human mind to investigate everything but itself. Descartes proposed to teach them to study, rather, the mechanism of the lamp with which they set out so confidently to explore the surrounding dark. Henceforth there was to be method, at least, in philosophic madness. Such was the new career mapped out for modern philosophy by a French mathematician well nigh three hundred years ago.

To secure an unbiassed starting-point Descartes chose the method of doubting everything that his predecessors had taught. He thus hoped to begin with a clean slate, to turn over a new leaf, as it were, after expunging from the record all the prejudiced information of the ancients. Only those ideas which were perceived so clearly and distinctly as to shut out all possibility of the opposite's being true, were deemed worthy of retention under the new method. Among these was the truth of his own personal existence. This truth he considered as so intuitively certain that no honest doubt could for a moment be entertained in its regard, and he made it accordingly the corner stone of the new philosophy. From this sole survivor of the method of doubting everything, he deduced the existence of God and the reality of the outer world. What was let out at the door thus came back through the window, somewhat the worse, in appearance, at least, for the summary manner of its ejection, and the forced, unnatural way by which it was prevailed upon to return. The details of the keen Frenchman's system have long since been disregarded, the corner stone crumbling with the rest of the edifice built upon it. As an articulated body of doctrine, his system has seen its day. But the soul, the spirit of it, has survived the destruction of the body. Descartes' method has become the chief heirloom of modern philosophy.

The Point of View Changes.

The mode of procedure, accepted and followed by secular philosophers since Descartes, is true in the main to the lines laid down by the pioneer Frenchman and afterwards more tightly drawn by Emmanuel Kant. Consciousness is studied first. From the results reached through this preliminary analysis of internal experience, it is decided what answers shall be given to the problems of the world, man, and God. These three great questions no longer occupy the first place either in interest or in treatment. They have, owing to the imperative demands of the new method, dropped to the level of matters of secondary inquiry and importance, dependent altogether for

their scientific solution on the outcome of a previous investigation of the human mind and the conditions under which it works. Modern thought moves outward by expansion so as to envelop or overlap reality rather than inward by compulsion from the reality that lies without. The physical world thus gradually ceased to be regarded as a fact of direct perception, and became an inference, a postulate, a need, an hallucination, or merely a matter of instinctive belief. It is for this reason that some men get no further than the preface in reading the book of Nature.

Unfortunately for the subsequent development of philosophy, Descartes rid himself of the prejudices of the ancients only to add in their stead a new and special prejudice of his own. He overlooked the prejudice lurking and inherent in the peculiar angle of view from which he proposed to work out his scheme of philosophical reform. He selected a purely inner starting-point, which was not in accord with actual experience, because man is a compound of body and soul, and not a disembodied spirit. The judgment, "I think, therefore I am," if made by the intellect alone, and that is how Descartes understood it, contains not a shred of the reality which he thought it tersely expressed. It was a great mistake to conceive the intellect as working apart from sense, instead of with and through it, and intellectualist philosophy has paid dear in our own day for this foolhardy attempt to deprive the senses of their due share in the construction of the idea of reality, or real existence. We should start our system, whatever it be, with man as we find him, a concert of powers, and not a pure intelligence. Sense and intellect work together, not apart, and judgments of existence and reality are joint products of both in unison.

In overlooking the fact that man is a compound of sense and intelligence, Descartes became the advocate of an extreme form of intellectualism which is now receiving hard blows from extremists of an opposite type, the pragmatists. He cut the continuity between thought and its object, took the mind out of its natural setting, and deprived it of all physical background. Worse still, his method created artificial problems which have proved veritable Chinese puzzles baffling all attempts at solution.

An undetected mental bias at the beginning of one's thought is sure to produce more mischief as it trails along, and this was what actually happened with Descartes. Prepossessed, perhaps unconsciously, by the artifices of his own method, he allowed himself to prejudge important, fundamental issues which should not have been thus settled at a stroke beforehand, but left open to investigation and the verdict of unbiassed experience, the only way in the long run by which philosophical issues can be squarely faced and fairly judged.

The Problem of the Bridge.

Chief among the issues thus peremptorily prejudged, and not investigated, as it should have been, was the problem of the relation between mind and matter. Descartes so falsely contrasted these two that they appeared to his thought as completely severed and mutually opposed. The fallacy of separating things that belong together and are found united in concrete human experience, thus raised the most vexing problem in modern philosophy, one which still complacently awaits solution, the problem, namely, of bridging over the assumed chasm between the mental and the physical, the ideal and the real, the world of ideas and the world of things. The history of modern philosophical thought is largely the history of unsuccessful attempts to build a connecting bridge between these two worlds, capable of restoring the communication interrupted by Descartes and declared unsafe by his method.

The theoretical idealists of Germany were the first to attempt the solution of this transit problem. They tried to reason their way across from idea to reality, but never succeeded. The story of their efforts is too long to be told here, and may be deferred to another occasion. These theoretical idealists have latterly fallen into disrepute, and received more than their share of effective modern scorn. Their places are now being taken by the empirical idealists, or pragmatists, the practically minded men of our own day and generation who are trying 'tender' methods where 'tough' ones failed so signally to effect the desired transition. Not unlike the master builders who now use

"re-enforced concrete" for purposes of construction, and no longer trim and fit rebellious stone after the manner of their fathers, these more knowing practicalists first melt the world and make it plastic before they begin to build. Their idea is to fill in the gaps and intervening spaces by a multitude of concrete, particular blocks of information, "conjunctions" Professor James calls them, which will eventually connect thought with reality sufficiently at least for all practical purposes. This most recent attempt at bridge-building seems more like a study in mosaics than anything else we can presently imagine. Its advocates have discharged reason and engaged feeling to superintend the work of construction. Reason, they say, if we accept its plans for guidance, would simply go about the work after the manner of the old stonemason of fifty years ago; it would force upon us the old-fashioned notion that the world is fixed, static, and unyielding. Such a world is too hard to handle. But feeling—once we elect it to the foremanship—turns the hardened world of fact into a molten mass, and allows us to shape reality as we will. In thus setting up a world of purely human make, rooted in immediate impulse, instinct, and feeling rather than in reason and intelligence, the humanist wishes to do away with the independent, self-enclosed empire of pure thought which idealists are so fond of building. Unfortunately, however, the attack on abstract reasoning as such has not stopped there, but gone further, and degenerated into an unworthy onslaught on the use, no less than the abuse, of the human intellect itself.

A Plastic World.

Wonderful things have happened in our day, but none more so than that this hard and crusty old physical world about us, which has so stubbornly resisted for centuries the blandishments of theoretical idealists, should suddenly become soft, melting, and yielding at the suggestion of the empirical idealists who go by the name of humanists and pragmatists. At least, so one portion of the new story runs, though it is not yet told to the last chapter. There are those today who maintain that the whole universe is responsive to the influence of the human will,

and there are those, too, in the common camp of pragmatism who do not go such lengths of admission. It seems a matter of little or no moment to those who believe in the doctrine of universal plasticity, that the extent to which the physical world yields to " psychic treatment " is very slight. Their faith keeps so far ahead of their science in this regard that there seems to be no immediate danger of its being overtaken. One miracle, at least, has been judged worthy of retention—the miracle of feeling. Where the old philosophy of abstract reasoning, so dear to idealists of the transcendental type, stood aghast at the contradictory reports of reality furnished by sense and reason almost in the same breath, the new philosophy of concrete feeling grows rapturous over a miracle in which all contradiction has melted away.

The pragmatists have thus rid themselves of the physical world, which has always stood in the way of idealist philosophers. Nor will they allow an " absolute mind " to take its place. Such a substitution would only repeat the folly of the old idealism, whereas the new philosophy thinks we can all get along better both in thought and action without the interference of absolutes of any kind, spiritual or physical. Some modern Moses has tapped the rock of physical reality with his staff, and lo! it has changed into a flowing psychic stream. "Treat the world, the whole universe in fact, as a thing to be exploited in your own interest, and build your doctrine of reality on a metaphor of cash-values," is the common gospel of the new relativism, whether it affirm at Chicago that the whole universe is plastic to human influence, or deny at Cambridge that it is quite so yielding as all that. The universe is ours, and no other's. We are advised to claim our inheritance at once and assume the management of our own exclusive property.

The Idea of Ownership.

One of the surprises of modern philosophy is to be found in this favorite idea that the world is our personal property. It would be hard to over-estimate the breadth of its influence. For over three centuries philosophy has been almost wholly

written in the posessive case; so much so that at times it gives one the impression of having been drawn up for the most part by retired lawyers who never quite forget their old habits of the bar in cultivating those of the lamp. The property-idea is everywhere conspicuous and prominent; it underlies the theories of knowledge, crops out where we should least expect it, in the unselfish field of religion, and is now being commandeered by the pragmatists to explain the very nature and foundations of reality itself. Philosophy, as is well known, is a very sensitive recorder. It registers the social and industrial ideas of the times in which it is written, and one is not greatly surprised to hear some echoes of the business world even in the philosopher's closet.

But this close sympathy between philosophic thought and social action will not fully account for the strange fact that the philosophers of the day make so much of the ideal of personal possession and so readily fall into the speech of landed gentry. Has the business man at last turned philosopher? Is the "sensitiveness of the market" affecting thought as well as trade? Has the "nation of shop-keepers" finally found a world-view to its suiting? The French seem to think so, judging from recent utterances, but then it may be that they are only renewing acquaintance with an old prejudice instead of fairly describing a new situation. Be this as it may, the property-idea is so ingrained in the very fibre of modern philosophical thought that a recent writer has perhaps not gone too far back for the explanation when he ascribes its origin to the Goths and to the theory of private judgment which came in with the Reformation. Philosophy is obsessed by the idea of ownership. "We find ourselves unable to think save in terms of proprietorship." [1]

How did it come about that human "experience" ever got so completely over from the objective into the possessive case? How did the impersonal question, What? become transformed into the personal question, Whose? Why is it that reality has to be owned by some individual as a piece of personal property

[1] "The Universe as Philosopher," L. P. Jacks, *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1907, p. 25.

before it can be called reality? It seems strange that the vast real estate of the physical world, to call it such, must have its title to existence recorded in the mind of some percipient, must become a personal belonging of somebody, before it can be admitted to exist. Knowledge is only one of many relations in which objects are capable of standing. Why is this one relation made so paramount and exclusive that to be real has now no other accepted meaning than to be known, willed, felt, or experienced? With no ear to hear, eye to see, or mind to know, the symphony of the universe would indeed be wasted on the desert air. But even this "infinite waste of beauty" hardly justifies our considering man as both the orchestra and the audience of Nature.

Construction versus Apprehension.

There is, it is true, a very large constructive side to human knowledge, a very large amount of real building activity carried on by the human mind. This significant truth no one acquainted with the facts will dare deny. The mind of man is neither a mirror, nor a camera. No such comparison of it with machines at all represents its nature, or its behaviour in acquiring knowledge. The schoolmen were indeed fond of likening the mind to a mirror, but they were not unaware of the limping, halting character of this figure of speech, and those who read them would do well not to see in this suggestive metaphor a theory of knowledge which is not there at all. It is high time that some one else, besides Sir William Hamilton, should thumb the pages of the schoolmen. The same Sir William seems to have done the reading, and none too well at that, for the whole community of English-speaking critics. One is not prepared to find scholastic philosophers still held up to ridicule as defenders of the theory that the human mind instantly copies or photographs reality. Men were not so benighted as all that even in the ages which it is still the fashion to call dark, to say nothing of contemporary realists who are persistently misreported as advocates of the same gross concep-

tion of the nature of human knowledge. The ease and triumph with which Professor James and his disciples refute the so-called "copyists" nowadays, would lead one to expect that if any of them were around, we should have heard from them before this. There would surely have been some bleating audible of the lambs thus noisily led to the slaughter.

It is true then to say that we actually construct the ideas of an external world, of God, of our own bodily and real selves. But it is only partially true to say so. Before we begin to construct our inner world of thought, we are in the presence of an outer world peopled with objects, and we apprehend reality as something distinct from the ideas we have of it. This apprehension of a something that is not ourselves, is vague at first, a mere outline, as it were, to be slowly filled in and made definite by the subsequent work of reflection, analysis, and comparison. Why is this primary, fundamental, pre-reflective stage of human knowing so completely ignored, so contemptuously disregarded? The objective character of human knowledge is as much entitled to respectful consideration as are the subjective features upon which the thinkers of our day lay an altogether false emphasis. We hope to show later the soundness of the human judgment that reality (something, that is, distinct from anybody's and everybody's ideas of it) exists. To say that such a judgment is an hallucination pure and simple, due either to a blind tendency of the mind to objectify its own data, or to the child's habit of associating sensations with movement and distance, is merely to go behind the returns, a fashion, by the way, much in vogue since Kant's time. Somehow or other, in a way that is hard to understand, recent philosophers know altogether too much of what takes place in the dark room of the human understanding, and too little of what occurs out in the open sunlight of human consciousness. Dark closets seem to have become the favorite haunts of theorists, they speak so much of the skeletons they find there. One might well ask if the danger of illusion is lessened when one thus goes a-groping in the dark.

The Ban on Realism.

It would be far more enlightening to face the unfashionable truth that the knower is related to the things he knows by a relation of real dependence. Was it not Saint Thomas who said that this relation between the knower and the thing known is a dependent relation, real, though not reciprocal?[2] And who for that matter has ever proven the reciprocity of this relation by showing the dependence of things for their reality on the fact that they are known by us and housed in our human consciousness? Why should the knower be changed beyond recognition into an owner or a doer? Why is it that things have always to be accompanied by their owner, leashed, and led about by a string? How did knowledge, in addition to all its other troubles, take upon itself the duty of constituting reality as well as representing it? Is there nothing at all that streams in through the windows of us tabernacles made of clay?

The old Greek conception of the nature of knowledge was that of a faithful reproduction of objects. Kant started the innovation of regarding knowledge as highly moral in its constitution and character; with him it became a practical obligation to be fulfilled. Now comes the American view, superseding its predecessors, and complacently stating that knowledge is by nature a very selfish affair, concerned only with the satisfaction of our personal, practical needs. Three theories of the nature of knowledge thus confront us, the realistic of the Greeks, the moralistic of Kant, and the utilitarian of the pragmatists, the latter contending that knowledge is wholly instrumental in character, an enlightened and useful means of getting along, but not for arriving anywhere in particular; just useful information for persons, but not in any sense an account of what men commonly understand by reality.

One naturally asks at this stage of the inquiry, how did it come about that the real world of objects so totally disappeared from men's thoughts that only a stream of subjective human

[2] Qq. Dd., *De Verit*, q. 1, a. 2, c.

experience now remains to mark the spot where once a world had stood. It is well worth the telling, this story of the departure of modern thought from the old moorings of realism, and its drifting voyage ever since over the shoreless sea of idealism. Will there ever be a return to the ancient place of anchorage? Many signs would seem to indicate that the return journey had already begun, but this is not the place to discuss signs and portents. It is the outward voyage, not the homeward, which interests us just at present. We wish to indicate as briefly as possible how the physical world became gradually submerged in the minds of philosophers until it is now spoken of as a sunken island which our forefathers once knew. Our purpose is so doing is to secure a good perspective in history from which to view the origin of the present tidal wave of pragmatism. It is always good to know the cross-currents of the sea before trusting one's self to the tender mercies of its bosom.

The Real is the Perceptual.

Bishop Berkeley is entitled to the first place of consideration in this rapid survey of sources. He it was who first boldly stated in English thought that so-called reality consisted in our human act of perceiving it rather than in any act of being or existence of its own. Modern philosophy, since the days of the bishop of Cloyne, has persistently regarded reality as somehow reducible to a 'mode of mind.' Even the new school of pragmatists does not propose to check this tendency, but merely to control it, although there are signs, as we said, of a return to realism, to the view that there is something, after all, independent of consciousness. The thought of pragmatists is extremely floating, and their favorite doctrine that reality is change would seem also to apply to their ideas as well. This makes it difficult for a reviewer to report them accurately, for pragmatism seems to one at times, both as to its theory of the world and the personal views of its adherents, pretty much what the common law is said to be, "a wilderness of single instances." But to return to Berkeley.

The bishop of Cloyne was well-intentioned. He thought to offset the materialists and atheists of his day by cutting the material world completely from under their feet, thus depriving them of their favorite source of argument. Accordingly, he reduced matter to a mere sum of perceptions. To be is to be perceived. *Esse est percipi.* Matter consequently exists only in so far as dependent on perceiving mind. This theory that matter is 'perceptual' rather than 'real' is heartily endorsed by the pragmatists of our own day, who look upon Berkeley in consequence as the father of their philosophy of pure experience. But Berkeley's success against the unbeliever was short-lived. Hume soon began to argue on Berkeley's own principles that mind could be reduced to a sum of perceptions just as successfully as matter, and proceeded to formulate the doctrine that mind is the sum of its contents and nothing more.

Mental contents, he argued, are all particular, with not so much as a single, valid universal principle to justify the inference that there is anything "substantial" in our sense-bound human experience, or beyond it, for that matter. Universal ideas are due to the mind's "native propensity to feign" and the world of thought, like the world of things, is only the passing pageant of our own impressions. The substantial "self" was to Hume a wraith of fancy. He assures us that, try as he might, he could never quite succeed in catching "himself" at any time without a perception or observe anything but the perception. The consequence of this line of thought was the complete disappearance of the notion of 'substance.' In its stead we are left with a succession of particular experiences in which so-called 'reality' appears to so-called 'mind.'

The reader will observe that the physical world is already beginning to fade from view. Philosophers will soon be seen casting about for a substitute to replace it, and we shall hear much of these substitutes in the course of later philosophical thought, such as a world of absolute mind, or absolute nescience, a world of absolute matter, or a world of "things-in-themselves" thickly screened off from the vulgar gaze of us poor mortals. Your pragmatist advises strongly against all this world-hunting

tendency of the past. He will not join in this search after "other" worlds; and finds, so he says, one of his chief distinguishing marks in the making of this great refusal. There is for him no world, physical, spiritual, or otherwise, distinct from human experience, much less independent of it. For the pragmatist, the kingdom of this world and the kingdom of heaven are both within us, not outside or beyond at all. His world is altogether and exclusively human, a world of experience with no reality in heaven or on earth to correspond.[3]

The work of reducing mind and matter to the shadowy, unsubstantial order of mere 'appearances' had been carried on by Berkeley and Hume to this alarming extent when Emmanuel Kant appeared upon the scene and resolved to rescue philosophy from the clutches of Hume's scepticism.

The Real is the Right.

This rescue Kant sought to accomplish by framing a theory of knowledge in which the question, What can we really know? would be so definitely answered as to render impossible the future reappearance of scepticism. He accordingly drew attention to the defects in Hume's analysis of mind. It was, first of all, incomplete. Hume, in his efforts to reduce the contents of mind to a mere sum of 'sense-particulars,' had failed to take into proper account the universal elements undeniably present in human thought. These universal elements, such as space, time, necessity, causality, could not be reduced to particular impressions; nor were they, as Hume had said, due to the mind's propensity to feign. To explain them Kant proposed his famous doctrine of the creative character of thought.

The mind is no passive mirror in which things are reflected, but, on the contrary, an active cause coöperating in the production of its own experience. To this special activity of the mind are due the universal forms which our thoughts are accustomed

[3] In a recent article an attempt is made to cut pragmatism clear of all this excessive humanism. *Journal of Philosophy*, etc., Nov. 11, 1909, "What Pragmatism is and is not," J. E. Boodin.

to take. It is of the very nature of the mind to anticipate all particular experience by these universal thought-forms, which are, as it were, empty molds of the mind's own making, into which our concrete experience of the world is cast, in such a way as to be completely re-shaped and transformed. So far from being results of experience, therefore, the universal principles of thought are anticipations of experience, and wholly subjective in origin, character, and validity.

Kant set great store by this novel conception of the mind's creativeness. He was fond of likening his discovery to that of Copernicus in the field of astronomy. But Kant's so-called Copernican revolution in philosophy, which consisted in making objects revolve around thought, instead of thought around objects, was not based on a scientific induction as was the theory of the great Polish astronomer. It was a case with him of abstractly prejudging the nature of human experience and of the mind's power to know instead of investigating it, as he should have done. It was clearly an arbitrary assumption on his part that the universal features of human thought are in no sense derived from the mind's reflection on the data furnished by objective experience. Such a view as this could be established only by painstaking proof, and proof of any kind Kant failed to adduce. In fact there is no proof possible of the purely subjective origin of first principles. Even if it were proven down to the hilt that the "categories live subjectively in the very act of knowing," we should still be as far as ever away from having established that these subjective categories do not at the same time express and represent the reality of the thing known.

The presupposition of all knowledge is that thought and its objects are harmoniously related. We live in one world, not two, and yet Kant boldly invented a second world of 'things-in-themselves' lying behind the veil of appearances and utterly inaccessible. He thus cut the mind completely off from its object, took it out of its real context, as it were, and misrepresented its nature and function by this false severance. He was driven to this desperate makeshift by the logic of his own assumptions. When he shifted the centre of the human mind

from a world of objects thought-about to a world of thinking subjects, and transferred necessity from things to thought, he destroyed the conscious, rational, objective evidence of first principles and sank the foundations of knowledge in the inexplorable region of the unconscious. Knowledge became at bottom and at best a matter rooted in subjective impulse, blind belief, unanalyzable faith. There was no longer any conscious rational way of approach left open to the solution of the three great problems of the world, the self, and God, and Kant had to give them up as rationally unsolvable. All three were accordingly marked with the warning sign "no thoroughfare," and but few followers of secular thought have had the hardihood to take any of these three roads since. As a result of assuming this untenable position Kant had to beat a hasty retreat all along the line before Hume. The keen Scotchman of Edinburgh had completely outgeneralled the philosopher of Königsberg. Kant surrendered to him the real physical world and took up the defense of an imaginary universe which has since fallen into the hands of the 'enemy', largely because no one seems to have known its topography but Kant, and the secret died with him.

To save himself, Kant fell back upon a distinction, purely inventive and arbitrary, but thoroughly logical to a man in his position, between reality and appearance, between things "as they are" and things as they "appear to be" to a mind predisposed to regard them distortingly. He was consequently forced to abandon the intellect as a means of reaching substantial reality. The most the intellect could do was to assist in arranging and organizing the disorderly material furnished by the senses. The intellect was of purely domestic habits, according to Kant, and never came in contact with the outer world. None of its principles held good outside, and so it confined itself strictly to affairs of domestic economy within. Kant thus continued to retreat before Hume until he made his final stand against him "in the citadel of the moral conscience," in the famous categorical "Thou shalt" of the moral reason. Here he tried to recover by a new strategy the ground he had given up and lost without so much as striking a blow. By

changing the idea of God from a proposition containing real knowledge to a proposition that merely regulated conduct, Kant tried to rescue from scepticism the substantial reality of God and the soul. The will thus took upon itself the task of establishing what the intellect was deemed powerless to accomplish. The theoretical reason was completely separated from the practical. The mind was divided into two hemispheres, one of 'pure thought,' the other of 'pure will.' In consequence of this illegitimate separation of faculties or functions, that at most should have been simply distinguished, and then left to enjoy their continuity unbroken, reality ceased to be known and began henceforth to be considered rather as willed.

Looking backward to see how much of Kant has been built into the philosophy of pragmatism, one is surprised to find that it is the defects rather than the virtues which have been incorporated. The high ethical sense of the German philosopher is conspicuous by its absence. Pragmatism has as yet laid down no criterion of right and wrong worthy the name of such. But it has retained Kant's false separation of intellect and will, and also his misconception of the function of the intellect as working apart from, rather than with and through, the senses. It is not rare by any means to find in pragmatic writers allusions to the "ideal frames" which the mind furnishes for the orderly tabellation of our promiscuous experiences. Much as pragmatists renounce Kant and all his works, they have nevertheless inherited his spirit to an extent that is surprising when we think of the differences between the formalistic psychology of his day and the concrete psychology of ours. So much may be said in passing.

The Real is the Rational.

The philosopher Hegel, who succeeded, took for his starting point Kant's doctrine of the creative character of thought. But he added to it the idea of evolution or development, and thus contributed to the pragmatism of our own day its central working-principle. By means of this principle Hegel closed up the

gap of severance between subject and object, reality and appearance, which Kant had opened. By affirming the identity of thought and reality, Hegel succeeded in avoiding the tormenting task of constructing a sort of logical cantilever bridge to span the distance which separated subject and object. Agnosticism has recently tried to reopen this gap only to find the neo-Hegelian ever prompt and ready to close it. There is no distinction, so Hegel argued, to be drawn between reality and appearance, as Kant imagined when he tried to regard the 'real' world as a stage hidden from the observer's view by a thick curtain of 'appearances.' Reality is the appearance itself. The more we know about a thing, and the more we see its intimate connection with the system of events to which it belongs, the more real the thing itself becomes for us. The pebble is more real to the geologist who knows it in relation to the history of the past and the science of the present than to the plain man who merely apprehends it as an isolated, unrelated fact of observation.

The 'rational' is, therefore, the 'real,' or what has become known to reason as organically related to all the other items of scientific knowledge. In other words, the 'real' is what has acquired its proper 'place' in the mental world of ordered and organized experience. The unknown is merely what has not yet become 'real' for us. Kant was, therefore, mistaken according to Hegel in regarding the world, the soul, and God, as three intrinsically unknowable entities. We have a real, though still incomplete, knowledge of all three in their respective appearances and manifestations. In so far as they "appear" to mind, they are really known. Absolute reality, says Hegel, is not to be conceived as a static source of being, but as a dynamic process of becoming. Once we recognize that the absolute is not rest or stability, but motion, change, development, the world takes on an appearance calculated to increase rather than to check our aspirations after knowledge. The 'object' becomes the 'idea' itself, and ceases to be a remote and different something which we vainly strive to reach. Exchange opposition for identity, substitute process for inert substance, and we are at once and forever out of the forest of

Kant's abstractions. It is the idea which generates physics, ethics, art, religion, church, state, everything. It is the master-builder, and reality is only another name for the idea progressively realizing itself. Logic is in fact ontology, the processes of thought are the processes of things, and the system of ideas is the system of the world. Reality must, therefore, by our efforts be compelled to manifest itself more and more until the whole becomes thoroughly self-conscious and the race emerges from the present partial eclipse of ignorance into the sunlight of the completely rational and the fully known. Hegel thus wrested the primacy from the will where Kant had located it and restored it again to the intellect. Intellectualism thus regained its respectability only to lose it again by the arrogance of its claims.

It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the amount of suggestive influence which this doctrine of 'mind-in-motion,' the identification of knowledge and reality with the principle of development, has exerted on the modern mind. To be is to be conceived, to become progressively known to reason. Hegel's theory of reality as conceptual was thus a point higher, and we might say in passing, one point further away, than Berkeley's perceptual theory. But Hegel's view has left an indelible impress on the character of subsequent idealism. The study of the genetic relations and connections of ideas has since been regarded by many as equivalent to the exploiting of reality directly in itself. The question of origin has thus assumed, so far as ideas are concerned, a far greater importance than the question of their truth and validity, which is altogether independent of pedigree or lineage. Attempts have been made to rewrite history as if the course of events were reducible to a logical process pure and simple. And now we are witnessing in pragmatism an attempt to rewrite the story of humanity in terms of feeling or pure experience. Pragmatism is Hegelism with Hegel left out. The universe is no longer what it was with Hegel, a stream of thought, but what it has become with James, a stream of experience.

All forms of idealism, since Hegel's time, rest upon the assumption that self-consciousness is so far analogous to, or

identical with, the world of reality that this world itself is opened up to direct human inspection within ourselves, without there being any need of our going "outside." In consciousness, it is said, we no longer sit on the outer rim of the wheel, but stand at the very centre of the universe, listen to the pulse-beats of marching reality, plant our feet firmly on the very foundation-stone of being, and realize that the world has a rational constitution like ourselves. *Homo mensura omnium, ipse non mensuratus.* Hegel's followers of the left wing, as they are called, identified God with the growing experience of the race, and took to the by-path of idealistic pantheism. Those of the right wing, who claim to be in possession of the mind of the master here, do not pursue the analogy of the conscious self so far as identity, but are content to stop at similarity. They refuse to go the length of regarding God as grossly immersed in the flowing stream of human experience. God is, indeed, immanent in the world, but he is also transcendent. Coleridge, Carlyle, Stirling, the brothers Caird, and Thomas Hill Green introduced Hegel's intellectualist views to English readers, and William T. Harris and Professor Royce to American. The latter, substituting potential infinity for actual and combining the method of the pragmatist with that of the rational idealist, conceives men as "bits of the absolute" on the way to perfect self-realization in the Divine. It is this mixture of theoretical with practical elements which Professor James of Harvard vigorously opposes in his efforts to keep his favorite "stream of consciousness" pure and undefiled from such 'rational' contamination. But when all is said, Professor James is merely Hegel in the concrete. Both are inspired by the idea that the world is a perpetual becoming and not a permanent reality at all.

The Real is the Good.

Hegel's extreme intellectualism has meanwhile undergone considerable modification. Modern idealism, under no very great pressure from without, has carried on an extensive move-

ment of reform from within. Schleiermacher made a plea for including the feelings and the emotions in the theory we frame of the universe. Our sense of oneness with the Whole, our passive feeling of dependence on the divine life which is being realized in and through us, counts for far more, he said, in the long run than a merely moral or intellectual world-view. Religion is feeling; thought is a matter of indifference to the real religious sense. It was Hermann Lotze, however, who introduced the most important modification and suggested views which are now in general acceptance among idealists. He insisted on the fact that many things in our experience may be traced to a non-rational source in the feelings and emotions. The intellect, consequently, does not originate, but merely recognizes the presence of these moral and emotional elements in our experience. As a matter of fact, we *feel* that truth, beauty, goodness, and love have a worth and value all their own. Lotze accordingly rejected both the conformist theory that our judgments contain real knowledge of existing things and the theory of Kant that they merely regulate conduct. For knowledge-judgments Lotze substituted judgments of value, worth, personal appreciation. Human judgments register ideas, not reality,—a view which Ritschl afterward pressed into the service of his theory that faith and knowledge reside in two absolutely separate, non-communicating compartments of the mind, where a believing heart is thus enabled to live in peace with an agnostic intellect. This pectoralism of Ritschl, Harnack, and Sabatier, which denies the possibility of acquiring any knowledge of God either by means of reason or revelation, and lays stress on the emotional appreciation of experienced ideals, has been incorporated into pragmatism, especially as regards religion. Hegel furnished the main principle in his doctrine of reality as a perpetual flux. Lotze and Ritschl taught the pragmatist to call the attention of fellow passengers to the enchanting scenery which adorns the banks of the "stream of experience." But it is merely a matter with them of noting details that might otherwise escape observation. We are going nowhere in particular with the pragmatists. The main thing with them is to keep moving.

Lotze believed that much mischief had come to human thought from keeping the intellect isolated from the rest of man's faculties; it is the entire man who judges, not a part. It is our complex personality acting as a powerful whole composed of feeling, will, and thought, which produces these so-called judgments of worth, not our simple reasoning faculty by itself. Hegel, consequently, made a great mistake in regarding the true and the known as first and foremost in our experience. There is a higher category than Truth; it is the good. The 'true' is only a means to the 'good,' subordinate to the latter in every respect. The intellect is a servant, not a master at all. The category of the good is all-inclusive. The function of the intellect is not to analyze, so much as to discover what place a thing occupies in relation to the purposeful scheme of the good which, like a silver strand, runs through all the events of history and of individual life. Idealism thus dropped from the purely rational plane of Hegel to an experimental mode of thought. The category of purpose, finality, was raised to the n^{th} power of significance. The practical began to assume importance in philosophical thought, and the theoretical became relatively of less and less account. There have evidently been a great many changes of government since the intellect lost the presidency and became secretary of the interior. There is no "foreign relations committee" now. It would have nothing to report, according to the humanists.

This deposition of the intellect, this attempt to shift the centre of philosophy from the true to the good recalls an effort in a similar direction made by Scotus and the mystics generally in the thirteenth century, one of whom uttered the soul-cry of his kind when he said that he would rather feel compunction than know its definition. But the difference of attitude between the intellectualist philosophy of St. Thomas and the affective world-view of the mystics in those olden days was in no sense the separatist movement that it is to-day.[4] The difference between these two thinkers was psychological and tempera-

[4] Unde melior est amor Dei quam cognitio; e contrario autem melior est cognitio rerum corporalium quam amor. Simpliciter (absolutely) tamen, intellectus est nobilior quam voluntas."—Sum. Theol., I^A, q. 82, c.

mental rather than logical and separatist. Now, however, the differences amount to a decided aversion to the control of man's interests and ideals by a dominant reason or intelligence. The trend of thought in the nineteenth century is travelling fast towards not only the supremacy of the practical, but the actual separation of it from all theoretical interests, owing in large measure, no doubt, to the reactionary influence of existing social conditions on the formation of mental habits.

Secular philosophers are now centering their efforts, not where Lotze advised, on the purposeful whole, but on the purposeful parts or on individuals solely. The interests of the finite are coming exclusively into the foreground of attention. Idealists and pragmatists alike have set their hearts on framing a philosophy of finite purposes. The realization of personal needs seems now to be regarded as a sufficiently elastic formula in which to rewrite the history and raise the hopes of human kind. We are thus brought face to face with the fact that in its efforts to reform itself from within, modern idealism has followed a sinuous line of descent from the "pure reason" of Hegel to the "pure will" of Kant and Lotze, and thence to the "pure experience" of Professor James which makes reality consist primarily, if not exclusively, in the fact of its being personally felt and willed.

Edmund T. Shanahan.

ELEMENTARY LABORATORY-WORK IN ENGLISH.

Literary laboratory-work as well as chemical embraces Analysis and Synthesis. Phrases, Sentences and Paragraphs are open to as much analysis and worthy of as much study as chemical substances. For, their structure is artistic, their parts are manifold; every word has a history, every phrase has its law of formation, and all sentences can be reduced to a few general types. Literary models and mere vacuities alike spring from the same vocabulary; just as diamonds and charcoal are evolved from the same substance. Language is gross material that can be refined indefinitely and cast into a variety of forms: its possible combinations are numberless, and its shades, iridescent.

If the uninitiated wonder at the patience of the chemical analyst, they have reason to marvel none the less at the painstaking of the student of literature. For, both are drudges; they must work constantly, frequently without interest, at a task that is in itself repellent. In chemistry the student descends through the brilliant surface of things to the dull interior;—through the light of stars, to their material; through the sparkle of a rain-drop, to its molecules; through fair flowers to their elements. It is pleasant enough to view these things from without; but the knowledge is from within. So too nothing is more agreeable to a man of taste than to range over the superb surfaces of literature;—nothing harder than, in the midst of his careering, to pause and force his way downward into the depths. In making this descent he begins to understand that there is a difference between a passing observation of literary beauties and the thorough study of them; that the latter requires an application of mind zealous and constant; and that a considerable effort is required for the mind to overcome the temptation of escaping from the limits of a word or phrase or sentence, so as to wander freely over pages, chapters and even whole books. But with time, as in the case of chemical analysis, concentration displays its bright side; and

in consequence he learns to take more pleasure in getting a few exact notions about a text than in entertaining large but indefinite views about it. Formerly it was wide readings that gratified his natural bent; but now he stops to trace a word to its beginnings. He used to swallow books; but now he pauses to masticate the smallest sentences. At first it was the matter of his readings; but now it is the form. He has conceived a kind of affection for words, and fondles sentences.

In the literary analysis of models the following four ingredients reveal themselves to any moderately studious reader: Imagination, Individuality, Signs of Large Reading, and Love of Technicalities.

First then it may be observed how these authors generally hit upon a subject that lends itself to imaginative work. Accordingly the pages of our classics glow with color and sparkle with brilliant expression. It is a hidden color at first glance like the iridescence of a braid of hair in the sunshine: but just as the revelation of the glories of diffraction grows and grows, on closer inspection, into a fairy field of rainbow-hues, so a page of De Quincy or of Hawthorne, tedious in the beginning, becomes bearable, grows interesting, invites a second reading and a third and fourth, unveils new beauties momentarily, until in the end we feel something of the author's own enthusiastic love of imaginative expression. If his genius had missed and led him to the treatment of some dry topic, all his powers of illustration would have been benumbed, his words would have risen slowly without the flush of spontaneity and his sentences would lack their winning grace. The result would have been a catalogue of facts instead of a narration; an enumeration of particulars instead of a living description; or a dead level of language instead of the undulating surfaces of literature.

Secondly, Individuality or the personal element always figures conspicuously in their works. They either draw their thoughts from within, or, in case they touch upon something external to themselves, that object is first bathed in the light of their imagination and warmed by contact with their sentiments. They love their thoughts and cherish their subject;

it is sunshine to them—even a part of their being: in moments of retirement it lives and breathes in them; and in company it manifests itself not unfrequently, coloring their conversation and laying its impress upon their conduct in general. The expression of it is more a pleasure than a task; and if at times their pen balks and the ink seems to coagulate along with their thoughts, they are favored afterwards with new lights and unaccustomed richness of expression. It is not so much the facts they tell, that makes their composition literary; not so much the views expressed in their essays; nor the incidents narrated in their tales, as the radiations of their personal magnetism. The same facts might be told by another with poor effect; the same views uttered and pass unnoticed; the same incidents penned, and bore a patient reader.

This personal element supposes independence and initiative in judging things. It is not always the safest mental attitude to take; but without it, individual outlines are sure to be merged into surrounding generalities.

It supposes too, more or less peculiarity of character. For, just as ordinary views are the product of ordinary minds, so, by way of contrast, in most instances originality can be traced to some idiosyncrasy in mental or moral make-up. In point of fact the generality of literatures have displayed a degree of freakishness in social intercourse quite as repellant as their compositions are winning. It would seem that eccentric tendencies in every-day life are the parents of literary beauties. If you think in a common-sense way you are too dull to read. It is the unusual and the unexpected that procures an appreciative perusal. Would it be too much to say that the literary world is largely a world of oddities? Coleridge and De Quincy were opium fiends and derived much of their inspiration from the drug. Southey was accustomed to burn his day's work regularly. Wordsworth used to cut the leaves of borrowed books with a greasy butter-knife; and looked upon himself as Shakespeare's equal. Keats died of the pain of a harsh criticism. And Shelley was at war with universal Christian sentiments. Swift was a madman, Steele a vagabond, Marlowe, a brawler; Goldsmith, a fop; Johnson, the

impersonation of egotism; Ruskin, an enthusiast; Collins, a lunatic; and Carlyle very nearly one. These were peculiar men, as are a good many of their followers of the present day; and so the conclusion is forced upon us with a considerable degree of probability, that ordinarily it requires peculiar men to attain to marked success in literature.

Though our writers were espoused to their own opinions and engrossed in their own sentiments, nevertheless, without loss to their originality, they had become familiar with the choicest authors that had preceded them. One would imagine them careful not to admit into their own views any foreign element, nor into their personal feelings, influences from without. But it was quite otherwise. All the color of the richest poetry had fallen across their imagination, and all the pathos, exhilaration and enthusiasm of former bards had mingled with their own hearts' emotions. They had revelled in the wealth of prose composition that flowed down from older sources and had made the authors' names household words. Eminently men of books, they had followed with intensest interest every glowing romance-tale in prose and poetry; had studied out the choicest essays; had looked into orations of the past, and even essayed the metaphysics of the higher-minded. Their study was their paradise, and their books were their bowers, between the pasteboard walls of which they passed their happiest moments. Every word they read was a toothsome morsel and every sentence a delicious repast. Page succeeded page like the courses of a feast, and when the end had come their appetite was still a keen desire. They devoted themselves even to the ancient and modern languages, to enjoy their rich contents. Their works are redolent with the good odor of their predecessors and sprinkled with quotations from their works. They had their favorites and worked according to models. Sometimes together with their beauties they copied their mannerisms and even their glaring faults. Newman, Macaulay, Ruskin, and the rest needed some sympathetic force to draw their powers into motion; some fire to light their own enthusiasm; some written thought to enable them to throw their own into language. Had they not read, maybe they never would have written: for, one

needs to see a printed page before he feels disposed to fill his own. Ruskin in Queen's Gardens sets great value on good books; Johnson admits his debt to Addison, Newman fed on Cicero; Virgil drew from Homer, and it would seem that Tennyson looked into Marlowe. These men did not read to gather facts, to learn words and copy sentence-forms, so much as to catch the spirit of the writer and fuse it with their own.

Finally their love of technicalities and care for minutiae! This trait stands out in striking contrast with their Imagination, Individuality, and Wide Reading: for, a technical mind is calculating; an imaginative, individual and reading mind, is instinctive; the one inclines to the closest study; the other works in accord with natural taste.

These technicalities especially regard words and sentences. It may seem strange at first sight that a man like Macaulay who handled important political questions should trouble himself about the smoothness of his sentences: or that a philosophic mind like Carlyle should look to rhetoric: or that Burke who swayed the destiny of the English nation should study literary expression. But their great intellects were not too great for such trivialities. They appreciated the pleasing effect that the merest touches sometimes cause. Tennnyson is credited with saying that he smoked a box of cigars over the composition of four lines of "The Brook;" and every college boy has heard of the years spent by the poet Gray in perfecting the expressions of his "Elegy." It is evident from the military proclamations of Napoleon Bonaparte that he had learned to soften his iron hand to the gentle work of the pen.

With literary men the use of words is more an instinct than a study. Variety, exactness and suggestiveness characterize their vocabulary. Variety is necessary because of the stationary character of their thought. They do not pass from idea to idea directly; but instead, on account of the imaginative digressions and sentimental side-lights bearing on their particular cast of mind, they circle around the matter in hand and view it from various points. Now it would pall on the reader to observe the identical word repeated over and over again for the same thought. For, though unity of thought pleases, one-

ness of expression does not. Any descriptive page of real value is evidence of the command of words which the authors had. This command is not a bare-bone dictionary knowledge, but the flower and fruit without, of their own warm thoughts within. Words are chosen with such unerring genius that, though perfect synonyms at times, they cannot change places without detriment to the general effect. They simply grow out of the thought like flowers from a stem, and must be left alone. They are still warm with the writer's imagination, and still pulsate with his intellectual vitality. They contain the talismanic power of conjuring up before others a whole field of ideas, and suggesting details without number. It sometimes happens that a whole trend of reflections aroused in a reader's mind and wrought into an elaborate composition can be traced back to pregnant words of this kind.

It cannot escape an attentive reader that our writers shaped their sentences with an artist's loving care. They threw their thoughts into a series of sentence-forms like liquid metal in casts; so that all the variety which delights us now in their pages was not the rich, spontaneous out-pouring of their minds, imagination and heart; but the result of calculating foresight. They knew that an accumulation of periods palls; that a succession of short, crisp sentences suggest a flippant writer; that too many loose ones deaden the effect and that a partiality for balance in literary construction is synonymous with a formal spirit. They saw, on the other hand, that each kind has its advantages and that their separate graces, if used moderately and if combined happily like the parts of a song, would produce a complete harmony of sound. We may justly suppose that they practised each species in turn until they became so familiar with all of them, that no heat of imagination nor activity of feeling, however intense, could withdraw them from these forms. For, it should not seem more strange for writers to go to these lengths than for singers to do so. May it not be ventured that, in writing, too much is sometimes left to chance? What singer would think of trusting to the inspiration of the moment and to the chance of rendering his song correctly at the appointed time? A page of good prose contains as much

harmony—as many variations in sound, as many sweet trills and inspiring cadences as a page of music: and it requires as much labor to compose the one as the other. Literary order and variety cannot rise out of a chaos of words any more than cosmic order and variety out of material confusion. The grand proportions of the periodic construction had been measured in the author's mind and adopted as his model. The vivacious movement of the crisp style had caused his imagination to vibrate in accord with it: and the graces of antithesis had insinuated themselves into his intellectual make-up as a preparation for the work of the pen in which he was afterwards to engage.

Imagination, Individuality, Large Reading, the Love of words and sentences—these are elements which an attentive reader discovers to be largely the constitution of the best writers. Without the imagination and the personal influence, the technical study of vocabularies and of sentence-structure would have made them pedants. Reading, taken by itself, would have dissipated their powers; and if their Imagination and Feelings had not been kept within bounds by chastening study they would have become dreamers. It does not require much insight to see all this in general. But to understand it in detail is no less a study than the analytic work of the Chemical Laboratory.

Literary laboratory work, besides the analysis of authors, embraces the Synthetic method, or in plain terms, Composition. This is evident: for we do not read for the mere purpose of enjoyment nor merely to learn; but also to introduce into our style the commendable qualities of a model. Composition is more difficult than analytic study, just as building is more difficult than tearing down.

And first of all, it is no easy task to train the Imagination. Imagination is naturally unsettled; it must be taught to act equably. It is hot and fiery; it must be cooled to a gentle warmth. It is independent; it must be made to serve the purpose of illustrating thought. On the one hand it must not be left to its own disposal, for fear of extravagance; nor on the other, straightened by over-study, for fear of undoing it. The

habit of thinking out something for one's self will develop this faculty wonderfully. We must look at things with our own eyes if we wish to be imaginative. We must try to see the color and configuration of objects and for every thought supply a living image in the imagination. The same means tend not only to the cultivation of Imagination; but to the acquisition and perfection of an Individuality as well. Finally it will not be hard to read; but the study of words and sentences will offer difficulty enough.

Without developing the subject of our personal synthetic work in English we will go a step further. The literary laboratory work of the class-room is next in order. Here again Analysis and Synthesis play their part.

In analysing, it will be profitable to show the students, just as we formerly discovered for ourselves, how imaginative thought, personal views, wide reading and the study of words and sentences are prime factors in the make-up of our representative authors.

After this we can employ the synthetic method of transferring these elements in part, from the model to the learner's mind. Imagination and Individuality offer the greatest difficulty for the following reason. The study of the languages and mathematics ordinarily tend more directly to the improvement of the prosaic faculties and beget a common-sense cast of mind which is not easily ruffled by the breath of fancy nor open to the influences of sentiment or imagery. As the young mind solidifies in its strength it naturally becomes less impressionable unless counter-influences are called into action. Declensions, conjugations and rules; themes, parsing and translations of plain texts, whether Latin or Greek, absorb so much attention that no inclination nor power is left to arouse the forces of the pictorial faculty. A straight-forward character is the result; a clear mind without a trace of color in it. Under the stress of this bent in the direction of a substantial mental development, it will be doubly hard to impress on the mind lighter touches and supererogatory flourishes. Boys, so trained, become adepts in the analytic work of extracting the perfections of others' thoughts, but find it almost impossible to formulate ideas

of their own and express them attractively. The exhaustive explanations of texts which are required of them leave them little time to evolve anything out of their own mental being. Besides, it is the natural bent of many professors in the High School Course to corral young minds into the pages of a book and treat them to the intellectual herbage there instead of occasionally permitting them free rein to explore and enjoy the rich wide tracts of Imaginative musing. Students ought to be thrown back on their own resources and told to draw on their own fund. It will not do to train them into the ways of habitual borrowers. Predigested ideas help them little. They should be put in the way of scenes and subjects with which they are familiar. Now, early in life, sensations, especially of sight and hearing, appeal most strongly to them. Hence, scenes in which there is plenty of color and sound occupy the first place. It is essential that these scenes be not commonplace. For, it is characteristic of Imagination to be chameleon-like in reference to subject-matter. Moreover if the color is to be intense and if the impression of it on the reader's mind is likewise to be intense, the range of vision ought to be narrowed as much as possible. In a literary sense, no less than in the field of physics, Intensity and Extension or Amplitude may be said to vary inversely with each other. A whole story should not be insisted on, nor a whole series of scenes, nor—as some of us may have told the boys—" so many pages of foolscap." Let it be a simple thought, a single scene, one incident, a few sentences, a mere paragraph. Let them inclose in that limited space their observations, in the choicest language. It ought to be a matter of words and sentences rather than of pages;—at least until puerile simplicity has become sophisticated. Their minds are capable of but swallow-flights of thought until their wings be strengthened enough by long practice to execute a sustained passage, eagle-like. A concentration of their attention upon words and sentences will be the result of this narrowing down. They will reflect, compare and choose with taste and correctness; so that, in the end, a literary character will be born and nurtured in them. " Our Street at dusk," for example, would afford matter for a neat paragraph. " A Railroad Station at

Train-time" is a scene of engaging interest. "A Walk through the Woods," "On the Lake," "Sunrise," "The Sky at Night," "A Comfortable Homestead," "Under an Umbrella," "Pope Pius X," "A Snow-Storm," "Scenes from a Steeple," "The Ocean" and such-like diversified topics, for the most part descriptive and familiar, could be made the substrata of some interesting paragraphs for the High School Classes. It must be something which will naturally lead their minds through pleasant paths. They should be carried along by the subject, not driven to develop it. They should be told to form a distinct picture before they put pen to paper. Let it be a small picture; it matters not, so long as it is clear-cut and highly colored. Imagination is not long-lived. Accordingly its task should be brief though intense. Finally the little thoughts which we suggest, had better not be taken second hand from a reference-book; because paper-thoughts have lost the blush and vivacity of their first being. But they should be the outgrowth of our own meditations; for then they will possess that freshness which will make them acceptable, that suggestive power which will be productive of new ideas, that warmth and color which will excite sympathetic influences in the student's heart.

So much for Imagination and Individuality in the Synthetic Laboratory Work of the Class-room. Reading follows in order.

Castlemon, Henty and authors like them should be replaced by writers of true literary caliber. Scott and Dickens are the old reliables. Add to these, individual works of the style of Fabiola, The Lion of Flanders, Ben Hur, Dion and the Sibyls, Robinson Crusoe, and The Last Days of Pompeii. The class as a whole ought to be made to read these. Make them matter for examination. This can be done successfully with a little scheming. To avoid the objection of an insufficient supply of these particular books in the library, the class might be divided into two parts: to one-half of them Dickens might be assigned, and to the other half Scott. A certain number of these classics,—say four or five at least—should be read by every boy in the space of two months. They may read more if they wish, even of other authors; but these four or five ought to be of obligation. To keep the students to this duty it will be suffi-

cient to require of them at the expiration of the allotted time a written account of one of the books which they have read, the choice of the particular book for treatment being left to the professor. The average for rewards shall depend on these two items: 1st. the quantity of Reading; 2nd. the quality of the account.

The purpose of such general unscientific reading is to eradicate from the youthful mind an immoderate tendency towards sensational fiction and to introduce it to novelists of acknowledged literary ascendency. This company will have a refining influence on the wild make-up of a boy and accustom him to the more rarified atmosphere of an intellectual life. He learns to live in books instead of on the street; he is trained to love pages of words as well as the play-grounds: and it must be acknowledged that though his readings may be quite careless, there will a considerable advance in his mental cultivation notwithstanding. Scott leads him through a series of highly-colored scenes, displays a galaxy of Romance characters, multiplies deeds of arms and love, introduces him into the secrets of maid and knight, and arrays their conversation in all the bold terms or gentle persuasiveness of olden days. Dickens has built up another world for youthful readers. It is altogether different from the romance-bard's; but quite as interesting: its coloring is not as deep, and its scenes are less brilliant; but his novels touch the heart; more gently because more naturally. It seems that these works are taken up too late in the course. Later on, the student is expected to read poetry, prose-essays and speeches; and if he lives up to this obligation the chances are that he will have little time for the studious reading of fiction. It is, besides, almost a hopeless task to spend oneself in trying to teach scholars to write unless they have first read. The class-room work is the frame work, which must be covered and adorned by their own personal reading. Fluency is an impossibility without reading. Words drawn from other sources than classical authors;—even from the best dictionaries—will lack the real literary tinge, and will show that deficiency when employed in Composition. On the other hand, a teacher recognizes immediately, on examining a set of papers, which boys

are acquainted with the best novels, and which are not. Finally, lest disgust result, the student should not be forced to study these works, so much as merely to read them.

But there is a studious reading to which they ought to be systematically subjected. A certain author, like Washington Irving or Hawthorne, should be employed as a Class-book. Every boy is to have a copy of some choice work—*e. g.,* Twice Told Tales or The Sketch Book. To enrich their vocabulary, have them arrange four columns on a sheet of paper; filling the first with nouns, the second with adjectives, the third with verbs, and the fourth with adverbs taken from a paragraph of moderate length. Memory is aided by the very act of such a segregation. Or secondarily bid them notice all the synonyms on a page of description. Or, put them to work looking up synonyms for a set number of words, note-book in hand. Or show them how to reshape a paragraph by the substitution of synonyms. Or, instead of single words, have them place equivalent phrases; and vice versa.

From words we pass to phrases and sentences. A copy of choice phrases might be made; or new ones might be formulated on the matter in hand. Or the tasty constructions of the author might be converted into plain language, so as to make the student appreciate better, by the contrast, the elaborate refinement of his model.

We should insist from the beginning on the three or four varieties of sentences. The danger to which tyros are exposed in the formation of the periodic is a want of contour. They are liable to accumulate a number of subordinate sentences without regard for balance. They heap up, without arranging; they construct a stone-pile, but not a stone house. It would be well to insist on their introducing into the paragraphs which they write by way of imitation, the various kinds of sentence-forms without exception:—periodic, crisp, antithetical and loose. This should be done constantly even at the risk of becoming too formal. Every day in class a paragraph may be carefully read to them whilst they are giving their closest attention. After this bid them reproduce the paragraph as well as they are able. Some of the original will remain in their

memory, and by being committed to paper will be in a fair way to become part of their own vocabulary.

This is in brief a system of literary laboratory work. It supposes that the professor shall first analyse model-authors and reproduce their qualities in his own composition; and that then he shall lead his class to do the same.

JOHN A. MCCLOREY, S. J.

SACRED HEART COLLEGE,
PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, WIS.

THE IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS (1578-1908).

Its History, and its Work in Three Centuries.

Institutions which form a link with the distant past have an interest of their own for the student of the history of education. Such a one is the Irish College in Paris, founded more than three centuries ago, and incorporated in the ancient University of Paris.

The purpose of the present paper is to sketch its growth, its organization, its life and the work that it has accomplished.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

In the year 1578 John Lee, an Irish priest who had suffered imprisonment for the faith, came to Paris with six companions. To complete their studies they entered the Collège Montaigu, an establishment famous for the brilliancy of its students, and no less famous for its regimen, which was so severe that Rabelais, in his Gargantua, declared that "if he were king of Paris, he would set fire to the College, and burn the Principal and staff."

In due time Father Lee became attached to the church of St. Severin, a church which still exists, and whose artistic beauties Huysmans has made famous. But zealous though he was in the discharge of his duties, he did not forget his fellow-countrymen, who flocked to Paris to seek education denied them at home. He provided for them an humble residence, and placed over it Dr. Thomas Dease. In 1605 he found a generous coöperator in the person of John de l'Escalopier, President of the Parliament of Paris, who provided the Irish students with a more commodious residence, and liberally supplied all their wants. In 1621 Dr. Dease was promoted to the see of Meath, and his place, as rector of the College, was taken by Mgr. Thomas Messingham, Protonotary Apostolic. Under the administration of this learned and distinguished man, the Irish priests and students obtained from Louis XIII, in 1623 the rights of a corporation. In 1625 the College was incorporated in the University of Paris and in the

following year its rules of discipline were canonically approved by the archbishop of Paris. Messingham's College was open to ecclesiastics from all parts of Ireland. But it was unable to contain all who sought admission. In 1638 there was a colony of Irish in the old College de Boncour, an annex of the College of Navarre; and many Irish priests still continued to frequent the College Montaigu. At various times the erection of a more spacious college was under consideration, and in 1672 the Bishops of Ireland deputed Dr. John Molony II of Killaloe to treat with Colbert on the subject. At this time two Irish ecclesiastics were resident in Paris, Dr. Malachy Kelly, one of the chaplains of Louis XIV, and Dr. Patrick Maginne, formerly chaplain to Queen Catherine, wife of Charles II of England. These two eminent men obtained for their fellow countrymen the ancient *Collège des Lombards*. The Lombard College or St. Mary's, as it was styled, had been founded in 1334 for students from Lombardy. It had long enjoyed a considerable reputation in the University. According to the historians of Paris, it had given hospitality to Ignatius of Loyola when he came first to Paris, until he entered the College of *Ste Barbe*. Here too Francis Xavier was entertained, and here the first Fathers of the Society are said to have resided until they entered on possession of the celebrated College subsequently known as Louis-le-Grand.

The endowments of the Lombard College consisted of eleven small bursaries, and to these, eleven Irish priests were nominated. Dr. Kelly and Dr. Maginne rebuilt the college from its foundations at their own expense, and were appointed its first Provisors. The abbé William Bailly, a French ecclesiastic, aided them in the work they had undertaken, and out of his own resources paid the expenses of forty students. In 1699 the Pope sent a subsidy to the Irish exiles in Paris, and amongst them to the students at the Lombard College. On their behalf, too, the immortal Bourdaloue[1] raised his eloquent voice, and his sermon for a seminary preached to an assembly of ladies of rank is a glowing tribute to the virtues of the Irish students preparing in exile and in poverty for a difficult and dangerous mission at home. The course of years

[1] *Bourdaloue*: Deuxième exhortation pour un Seminaire.

brought new benefactors. Nine Irish bishops, thirty-two Irish priests, some officers and doctors, and pious ladies of Irish race and name, made foundations for the education of ecclesiastical students. Before the close of the eighteenth century the College possessed an endowment amounting in value to about 150,000 francs or £6,000 a year.

The number of students too went on increasing. As soon as there was sufficient accommodation the students resident in Messingham's College and elsewhere in Paris, were gathered together in the *Collège des Lombards*. In 1730 the number was eighty. In 1736 it was one hundred; and in 1764 it had risen to one hundred and sixty-five. The existing buildings were no longer sufficient, and in 1769 a plot of ground was purchased, and a new College built to which the junior students, to the number of sixty, were transferred. The two Colleges, which were in fact but two divisions of the same establishment, continued their peaceful work until 1792. When the Revolution had spent its force and order was restored, the College was reopened in 1805 with the sanction of Napoleon I, and the blessing of Pius VII. The older *Collège des Lombards* ceased to be a house of residence and the premises, 5 rue des Irlandais, became the sole Irish College. Its resources, however, were reduced to one-third of their value. The good work resumed in 1805 has since gone on, with but a short interruption during the siege of Paris in 1870–71, and now in 1908 after more than three centuries of existence the College still lives 'doomed indeed to death,' but let us hope, 'fated not to die.'

II.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COLLEGE.

Such was the origin and growth of the College. What was its organization? As an ecclesiastical establishment the College was in the seventeenth century subject to the archbishop of Paris who as local ordinary, appointed the Rector, and enjoyed the right of visitation. As an educational institution it was subject to the University of Paris, which consented to its establishment, on condition that the Rector and students should promise, on oath,

obedience to the laws of the University and should submit to the supervision of two doctors of the Faculty of Theology. The course of studies extended over five years, namely two years in philosophy, and three years and six months in theology. It was provided, however, that students whose talents were practical rather than speculative, should omit the philosophy course, and pass at once to the study of moral theology and scripture, for two years and a half, after which they should be sent back to the Mission in Ireland. The students attended the University classes. But, within the College there were repetitions in theology and philosophy. On Sundays they assisted at a sermon in one of the public churches of the city. In the 17th century their usual rendezvous on Sunday was the chapel of the College des Bons-Enfants of which Vincent de Paul, who was always their benefactor, was principal. The rules of discipline were strictly ecclesiastical, and it is interesting to note that before St. Vincent de Paul or Mr. Olier had commenced their great work for the reformation of clerical education in France, the Irish College in Paris and its sister Irish College at Bordeaux, were fully organized ecclesiastical seminaries.

With the acqusition of the *Collège des Lombards* a more complex system of organization began. The College was still subject to the archbishop of Paris, and to the Rector of the University, both of whom possessed and exercised the right of visitation. But it was governed no longer by one superior, but by two Provisors appointed in the first instance for life. On the death of the first Provisors it was deemed expedient to increase their number to four, who should be Irish priests, chosen by election, one from each province of Ireland. The electors were the students of college, including priests, and students in Theology and Philosophy. The election over, the archbishop of Paris nominated one of the Provisors to be Principal, another, Prefect of the clerics, a third, chaplain, and a fourth, Treasurer. The Provisors held office for three years; but with the sanction of the archbishop they might be re-elected for a second, and even for a third term. The elective system existed in all the Irish Colleges in France. It proved to be the source of agitation and division and in the end it was found necessary to abolish it. The course of studies extended over a period of six

years, namely two years in philosophy and four in theology. The fourth year was specially devoted to the study of Ritual, the composition of sermons and preparation for pastoral work. Students of promise were permitted to present themselves at the end of the third year's theology for the degree of Bachelor, and if successful they were authorized to remain two additional years in preparation for the Licentiate. On the completion of their studies, they were obliged, under pain of suspension from the celebration of Mass to return to Ireland, unless their bishops consented to their remaining longer in France. Within the College the discipline was purely ecclesiastical and it is not unworthy of note, that each student was required to have in his possession a copy of the Bible and to read a chapter of it every day.

When the Revolution came, the ancient university of Paris perished. In 1808 the University of France took its place. But the Sacred Faculty of Paris was gone for ever. Rome never recognized the Theological Faculty of the Napoleonic University. When the Irish College, therefore, was reorganized, after the Revolution, it retained its legal status as a Corporation, but it became a *Collège Libre* no longer subject to the University. Classes of Rhetoric, of Natural and Mental Philosophy and of Theology were established within the College. The Rector and professors were presented by the four archbishops of Ireland, and appointed by the Minister of the Interior until 1832, and since that date by the Minister of Public Instruction. In 1858, just fifty years ago, the Bishops of Ireland, with the approval of the S. C. of Propaganda, confided the entire direction of the College to the Irish Vincentians, who have been aided, from time to time, by secular priests, such as Dr. Thomas Mac-Hale, Dr. Logue, Dean Kinane, and others.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the superior, or Provisors of the College were the administrators of the College property, subject to the local ordinary. In the first half of the nineteenth century the superior possessed the same right, subject however to the control of the Minister of the Interior, or to that of the Minister of Education; in 1850 a French administrator was appointed, and in 1873 the administrator was replaced by a *Bureau gratuit*, or Board, consisting of seven members, of

whom two only are ecclesiastics, one being the rector of the College, who is the only Irish member of the Board.

III.

LIFE AND REPUTATION OF THE STUDENTS.

But it will be asked, whence were the students recruited? What was their manner of life, what was the reputation they enjoyed and the success which they achieved in the schools? The students came from all the Provinces of Ireland. In those days the journey to Paris was no excursion for pleasure. It was attended with much hardship and many dangers. First of all, it was by law a crime to leave the kingdom to receive Catholic education, and parents who sent their children abroad for that purpose were exposed to the rigors of the penal code. Hence students left Ireland with much secrecy, and in many cases sailed in vessels bound for France, under the title of merchant's clerks. Nor was the journey to and from the continent devoid of incident. In 1752 when Patrick Joseph Plunket set out for Paris he travelled as articled to a Dublin merchant, and in 1779 when he left the Irish College to return to Ireland as bishop of Meath the vessel in which he sailed was captured by the famous privateer Paul Jones. The bishop's books and papers were seized, but on the petition of the superior of the College they were eventually restored to him through the good offices of Franklin then representative in Paris of the United States. Many other incidents of such journeys are recorded. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, subsequently a pervert, and a protestant bishop, when coming to Paris made the journey from Holyhead to London on foot. Father Peter O'Neil, in memory of whose fortitude under persecution a statue has recently been erected in Youghal, was waylaid as he passed through the Bois de Boulogne on his journey to the College, but armed with a shillelagh he quickly put his assailants to flight. But perhaps the fullest account of the incidents of the journey is found in an extract from the diary of Dr. Charles O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry. Charles O'Donnell already in priest's orders set out for Paris in July 1777. The extract runs

thus: "July 1777: Invoice of things put into my saddle-bags at the Rev. Dr. McDavitte's house near Strabane.—9 shirts of fine linen, marked C. D.; 6 ditto of coarse kind, 8 sheets, 9 pair of stockings, 2 pair of breeches, 2 flannel waistcoats, 1 French grammar, 2 Irish hymnbooks, 2 pocket-handkerchiefs, 6 pair of ruffled sleeves.

"Left Strabane July 8th, slept that night at Widdow Duggan's; second night at Castleblaney. Third day rode to Drogheda, stayed there two nights. Supped and took breakfast with the ladies of the nunnery. Became acquainted with Father Burrell, and some gentlemen besides. Fourth day of my journey went to Dublin on the stage coach, stayed there two nights. Took the packet boat for Liverpool at five o'clock afternoon. Had a pleasant view of the country going down the Liffey, the Hill of Howth to the left hand, the Wicklow Mountains to the right, which we had in view next morning, likewise Holyhead; sailed down the Welsh coast, and arrived at Liverpool on the 16th at 8 p. m. Took a slight view of the docks, which were well supplied with ships, saw also the floodgates, drawbridges, with some other curiosities. The most pleasing view was from the Exchange, from which the whole town could be seen. That evening, (the next we presume after his arrival) I took my seat in the Liverpool Fly, and set out for London at five o'clock. Drove all night. Dined at Lichfield, about 100 miles from Liverpool. A country village, not very large, but remarkable for an ancient church adorned with three spires, and a great many pictures of saints, and other religious people as they seemed to me to be, set up in places outside the church all made for them.

"Supped that night at Meridon, about thirty miles off. Went by Coventry, St. Albans, and Highgate. From thence to London, where I arrived at eight o'clock p. m. on the 19th day of the month. Stayed two nights, having heard Mass in Lincoln Field chapel. Saw the royal apartments in the King's palace. Took an outside passage on the Dover stage, being anxious to see the country. Went out by the Queen's Head Inn, eight miles from London, to Rochester, a long narrow town, with but few streets, having the Thames running through the middle. From thence to Canterbury twenty-five miles, to Dover fifteen miles;

seventy-three miles from London to Dover. The country seemed very productive, beans, wheat and hops, no flax or potatoes, but great quantities of brush or wood. That day the rain fell prodigiously. We had little pleasure on the journey, but very wet skins for our curiosity. That night we slept at Dover. Entered the College of the Lombards on 26th July, 1777." [2]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of the students who came to Paris were already in priests' orders. They had been ordained in Ireland as soon as they had acquired a sufficient mastery of Latin to enable them to read intelligently the Breviary and the Missal. It was a singular practice, but the Mass stipends of the young priests helped to defray the expense of their education, and this was the ground on which it was justified. In 1764 this practice is referred to in a resolution of the Cathedral chapter of Armagh: "We see with concern, my Lord, that two of the three ordained last year have remained at home from their studies, to the great loss of not having in proper time a sufficient supply for the Diocese, and contrary also to your Grace's positive directions to them. We therefore recommend to your Grace (in order to hinder yet like inconveniences for the future), to direct an order to be given to every young priest, along with his letters of ordination and Exeat, a suspension from saying Mass in Ireland to be incurred, ipso facto, after so many days, weeks or months, as your Grace will judge it convenient to appoint for their leaving the kingdom; and we further request of your Grace to discourage any priest or Community boy, that will return to this diocese except in case of sickness, and that properly attested, before he finishes his regular course; and has proper attestation of his good behaviour from the Superiors; and that if any should so return, to oblige him to go back again without any benefice or other promotion." [3]

But though the majority of the students were already priests, there was a junior section in the College. The juniors usually entered in the class of *troisième*. From the Humanities they

[2] Brief memoirs of the Bishops of Derry, by Rev. James McLaughlin, P. P., pp. 63, 64.

[3] *Collections on Irish Church History*, by Rev. Lawrence Renehan, D. D., p. 108.

passed on to Philosophy and Theology. A wing of the Lombard College was set apart for them, and when their number had increased, it was for their use the buildings of the actual College were constructed. Some of the juniors finding that they had no vocation for the church, left the College and found a field for their talents in business, in medicine, or in the ranks of the Irish Brigade. Those who persevered in their vocation having received a more complete literary formation became more distinguished in the schools, than those who began their studies later in life.[4]

On their arrival at the College the students, whether Juniors or priests, found themselves amongst their countrymen. A home was provided for them, to protect them against the dangers prevalent in a great city. But their appointments cannot have been luxurious. The priests who lived by means of their Mass stipends settled their account every week. When there were bursaries, the revenue of them usually amounted to no more than four hundred francs a year, and for that sum the College was obliged to board and clothe the students and provide them with books and medicine for the entire year.

As has been already observed the students attended the University classes. For Philosophy the priests frequented the College des Grassins, and the Juniors that of Plessis, celebrated for the excellence of its classical department. For Theology they attended either the Sorbonne, or the College of Navarre, where their countryman Dr. Michael Moore had been principal, and where several Irishmen like Dr. Plunket and Dr. Flood were Royal professors of Theology. But what was the success they attained in the schools and what was the reputation they enjoyed in the French capital?

The dialectic skill of the Irish was the theme of many pens. Lesage in his *Gil Blas*, where, under the veil of Spanish imagery he satirizes Parisian life, refers to it. Montesquieu in his *Lettres Persanes* also refers to it. "We have seen," writes the latter, "a whole nation, driven from their own country, cross the seas to settle in France, bringing with them, as a provision for the

[4] The official title of the Junior College was "*Communauté des Clers Irlandais.*" Hence the term 'Community boy.'

necessities of life, nothing but a formidable talent for disputation." [5]

Santeul, the friend of Bossuet, in his Latin poem on a degree day at the University, speaks of the notabilities who attended the ceremony, and amongst them of the Irish.

> "Vidi avidos vultus, et mentem pasta chimaeris
> Spectra Hibernorum, turmatim invadere portas." [6]

Ruhlière follows at a later date in the same strain, and in his poem *Sur les Disputes*, speaks of the

> "Pauvres Hibernois qui fuyant leur pays pour les saintes promesses
> Viennent vivre à Paris d'arguments et de Messes."

Nor does their reputation rest on these testimonies alone. In the 17th and 18th centuries, there was always a body of fifteen or twenty Irish masters of Arts, resident in the University of Paris, taking part in the work of the University, and attending the meetings of the section of the Faculty of Arts, known as *La nation d'Allemagne*: many Irishmen held chairs of Philosophy or Theology in the University Colleges. Amongst them may be mentioned Malachy O'Queeley, the martyred archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Molony of Killaloe, Dr. Sleyne, bishop of Cloyne, Dr. Plunket of Meath, Dr. M'Namara, Dr. Power, Dr. Aherne, Dr. Flood, and the celebrated Dr. Hook. Amongst the priests who returned to Ireland many had attained University honours. And to this day in many a graveyard in Ireland are to be seen tombstones of humble parish priests bearing the inscription, Doctor of the Sacred Faculty of Paris, or Doctor of the Sorbonne.

Nor was the reputation of the Irish students less conspicuous for orthodoxy than for talent. In 1651 in spite of the prohibition of the Rector of the University, they met and issued a declaration against Jansenism which they placed in the hands of St. Vincent de Paul. In 1676 their successors, in a letter to Rome, declared their abhorrence of the same heresy, and in 1736 after an official enquiry the Nuncio of the Holy See at Paris reported, that, at the Irish College nothing but the most correct doctrine was

[5] *Montesquieu: Lettres Persanes*, No. 36.
[6] *Santeul. Poem, Victorinus vindicatus.*

tolerated. Their moral conduct too was above reproach. In 1735 the Rector of the University having made a visitation of the Lombard College officially certified that the students were of blameless life and conduct. The students of the present day have not degenerated, and they are as free from the taint of Modernism, as were their predecessors in the past from that of Jansenism.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century Irish influence was exercised in France both in court and camp, and the Irish college was the centre from which it emanated. One of its Rectors, Dr. Tyrel, was accredited agent of the Confederation of Kilkenny. At the Lombard College, James II returning from defeat at the Boyne received the sympathy and allegiance of the adherents to the Stuart cause. General O'Neil, Lally Tollendal, son of Lally of Fontenoy, Dr. Murry, professor of Medicine at the University, were visitors at the College, as were in more recent years Viscount O'Neil de Tyrone, Count Nugent, and one still more famous, Edmund Patrick MacMahon, Duke of Magenta and Marshal of France. The college chapel was from time to time thrown open to the public, and the feast of St. Brigid, and of St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, were celebrated with due solemnity. During the great Revolution Mass continued to be celebrated in the chapels of the College, when the churches of the capital were closed.

IV.

WHAT THE COLLEGE HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

But it is time to look back and sum up what has been the work of the College, and to ask what it has done for the Church in Ireland during the three centuries of its existence. For two centuries it was the establishment which supplied the largest number of priests to the Irish mission. No doubt there were other Irish colleges on the continent at the time, at Rome, in Spain, in Flanders, and in the provinces of France. But the Irish College in Paris had the largest number of students. At the close of the eighteenth century, there were four hundred and seventy-eight Irish ecclesiastics pursuing their studies on the

continent. At Louvain 40, Antwerp 30, Salamanca 32, Rome 16, Lisbon 12, making a total of 130 outside France. In France there were 348 Irish students, of whom 80 were at Nantes, at Bordeaux 40, at Douay 30, at Toulouse 8, and 180 at Paris. Hence it appears that more than one-half of the priesthood of Ireland at that date were educated in France, and more than one-third of the entire priesthood of the country were students of the Irish College in Paris. Many amongst them rose to eminence in the Church. More than fifty ecclesiastics who had been students or Superiors of the College, governed Irish dioceses as bishops. Lecky, in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, pays an eloquent tribute to Irish priesthood educated on the continent: "No subsequent class of Irish priests have left so good a name as the better class of those who were educated in the seminaries of France, Italy and Flanders, and the Irish College at Salamanca. They came to their ministry at a mature age, and with a real and varied knowledge of the world. If they produced little or nothing of lasting value in theology or literature, they had at least the manners of cultivated gentlemen, and a high sense of clerical decorum." (Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. III, pp. 354–55). Paris was the centre of all that was most refined in continental life, and the students of the Irish College in that capital are entitled to their full share in this eulogy. In the nineteenth century the majority of the priesthood have been educated at home. Yet the Irish College in Paris has continued its work, with an average of seventy to one hundred students. The priests who have gone forth from it, hold an honored place in the ranks of the Irish clergy. The bishops who have been its pupils, and amongst them Dr. Maginn of Derry, and Archbishop Croke of Cashel, have been second to none in zeal and patriotism. Today the College claims as her own Mgr. MacSherry of South Africa, and Mgr. Denis Kelly of Ross; and is proud to reckon amongst her past professors the eminent Cardinal Primate of Ireland.

But though the chief work of the College has been to train up good priests, she has not been inactive in other fields. The College claims to share with the Irish Seminary at Bordeaux the honor of being the Alma Mater of the historian Keating, and it

is beyond all doubt that Abbé McGeoghegan, Sylvester O'Hallaran, John Curry, and Martin Haverty, all historians of Ireland, were Paris students.

In those departments which are more exclusively ecclesiastical she has not been silent. Mgr. Messingham, one of the rectors of the College gave to Ireland a valuable volume *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*, containing the history of her national saints. Rev. Andrew Donlevy another of her superiors, printed and published in Paris a catechism of Christian Doctrine in the Irish and English tongue, which contributed much to promote religious knowledge amongst the people. The history of the Papal States by Dr. Miley is widely known, and a French edition of it was published during the period of his rectorate in Paris. The numerous devotional works of Dean Kinane, a former pupil and professor of the College, have been translated into many languages.

The late Rev. Thomas MacNamara, rector of the College from 1868 to 1889, published during his term of office several works of great utility to ecclesiastics. His *Treatise on Sacred Rhetoric*, his *Encheiridion Clericorum* and *Allocutions on Liturgical Observances*, are replete with solid instruction. His book entitled *Programmes of Sermons and Instructions*, has passed through eight editions, and is a work of great utility to pastors who desire to give to their flock a course of practical instruction, such as our Holy Father Pius X prescribes.

The actual Vice-President of the college, Rev. John McGuinness, has published a course of Dogmatic Theology which for accuracy of doctrine and for clearness and precision of style is highly esteemed. The present writer has tried to rescue from oblivion the memory of benefactors, students and superiors of the College who were more zealous in doing good, than in recording what they had done.

Such in brief, is the history of the origin, organization, and work of the Irish College in Paris. Whether it will be permitted to continue in future its work for the Church in Ireland is at this moment uncertain. The French Government contemplates its suppression. That it has not been already closed is due to the intervention of Sir Edward Grey, British Minister of Foreign Affairs and that of the British Ambassador at Paris. Its suppres-

sion would mean a financial loss to every diocese of Ireland. It would sever what has been a bond of sympathy between Ireland and France for three hundred years. The College has already come forth safe from greater dangers. The influence of England saved it from confiscation in 1791, and that influence was never greater than it is now.

It never formed any part of the endowments of the French Church; and did not derive its existence from the Concordat. Its suppression is not required by any law of France. The Government of the Third Republic may suppress what all the previous Governments of France have protected. But it cannot blot out the good done for three hundred years by the students and priests of the College, who in their day "have made their lives sublime, and departing left behind them, footprints on the sands of time."

PATRICK BOYLE, C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BELLESHEIM: *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Ireland.* 3 vols. Mainz. 1890.

BOYLE, REV. PATRICK:

I. *The Irish College in Paris*, 1578–1901. (Gill and Son, Dublin, with documents and bibliography).

II. Articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record:*

1. The Irish College in Paris (March, 1902).
2. Glimpses of Irish Collegiate Life in Paris (May, 1902).
3. Irishmen in the University of Paris (July, 1903).
4. Hibernia Vencentiana (Oct., 1903).
5. The Irish College in Paris during the French Revolution (Jan., 1904).
6. The Abbé John Baptist Walsh, D. D. (Nov., 1905).
7. A Plea for the Irish College in Paris (March, 1907).

CREVIER: *Histoire de l' Université de Paris* (Paris, 1761).

DEGAULLE: *Histoire de Paris et de ses environs.* Ed. par Charles Nodier (Paris, 1839).

FELIBIEN: *Histoire de la Ville de Paris.* 5 vols. (Paris, 1725).

JOURDAIN: *Histoire de l' Université de Paris* (Paris, 1886–1888).

MAGEOGHEGAN, Abbé: *Histoire d' Irlande* (3 vols. Paris, 1758).

SAUVAL, HENRI: *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la Ville de Paris* (3 vols. fol. Paris, 1724).

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The New Demand on the Primary School.

That our public schools are failing in several important respects is asserted on all sides. Business men find the graduates of our schools incompetent. Professional men contrast the children of to-day with the companions of their own school-days to the great disparagement of the former. In fact, the indictment against the public schools of the country is quite general and there are many who would include in this indictment the elementary schools throughout the country, whether public, parochial or private. Nor can it be said with truth that the schools themselves are satisfied with the work that is being done. The complaint on the part of the secondary schools is loud and long. In some places spelling is being introduced into the high school as a protest against the inefficiency of the grammar school methods. Recent tests in the eighth grade of the schools of some of our large cities have shown alarming results and multitudes of the teachers in the grammar schools throughout the country admit the full truth of the charge of inefficiency brought against the schools.

The sensational public tests of the eighth grade pupils of the Cleveland public schools during the past couple of years is likely to lead to some very radical changes this year. William H. Elson, superintendent of the Cleveland schools, is reported to have reached the conclusion that a departure from the purely academic studies in the grammar schools is demanded by the changed social and economic conditions of our times. At least he is determined to test the value of some of the suggestions offered as a remedy for the condition of things so bitterly complained of by the business men and citizens of Cleveland. These changes are to reach down to the fourth or fifth grades. From that time on through the grammar grades the children will be given a training along practical lines of trade, industry,

and commerce. More than half the time hitherto given to academic subjects, in the four last grades of the grammar schools, it is said, will be given in the future to teaching the boys the arts and crafts and to teaching the girls household work and domestic science. Shops, we are told, are to be installed in all the schools and the children will be required to operate the machines as part of their regular school work. This, it is contended, will give the children a working knowledge of the conditions which they must meet on leaving school and will double their initial earning power, while the children who are fortunate enough to be able to continue their studies in technical high schools will find themselves well equipped to take up the work there. The children who are looking forward to commercial lines of industry will be prepared during the last four years of the grammar school to enter the high school of commerce which is opening its doors to the children of Cleveland this year. Superintendent Elson is quoted as saying: "When we can get away from teaching the child the things that are of little value to him and replace them with subjects which, when mastered, will in the later years of his life mean dollars and cents to him, I think the educational problem will be solved. I believe that injecting commercialism in grammar school studies will go further in bringing beneficial conditions to the school child than any other method." Are the children of this generation to be buried under a hopeless mass of materialism and commercialism? Having banished God and all the high ideals from the higher institutions, are we to take away from the child the idealism that nature herself supplies so that his earning capacity may be doubled on leaving school!

Doctor William Bailey, Assistant Professor of Political Economy in Yale University, joins the chorus of those who complain bitterly of the inability to spell on the part of the students coming up to the colleges, Out of 250 essays of three thousand words each submitted by juniors and seniors he finds only 25 without a misspelled word. Of course Yale is not alone in the multitude of poor spellers among its students. In writing

on the subject in the *Independent,* Dr. Bailey says: "It is evident that something should be done to raise the standard of spelling among college students. But the college is not the place for such instruction. So many additional studies have been crowded into the grammar schools that spelling no longer occupies the position of prominence which it held fifty years ago. The spelling-bee was then possibly the chief intellectual test of the community. To be the best speller was a coveted honor. So many studies have been added to the curriculum that the time devoted to spelling must be curtailed. Perhaps we have gone too far. Certainly college students are deficient in this respect, and the college authorities are trying to place the blame where it belongs by making one of the tests in English the ability to write grammatical English in words correctly spelled. Doubtless spelling is to a considerable extent a memory test, which some persons find extremely difficult to master. Others can sympathize with Aldrich when he writes:

> 'My mind lets go a thousand things
> Like dates of wars and names of kings.'

but no one can blame the colleges of this country if they demand as one of the requirements of admission the ability on the part of the student correctly to spell words with which he would express his thoughts." Similar sentiments are expressed by many other university men. President Faunce, of Brown University, in a recent address at Chautauqua, N. Y., said: "I would like to see the colleges of the country join in an effort to induce the American people to write and speak the English tongue decently. The colleges are not doing it now. Many of our college seniors cannot write a decent business letter. . . . "

The Washington *Herald,* of November 8, reveals a condition of things in this city which is not so different from that which obtains elsewhere. The writer says: "Failure properly to impress the elementary studies upon the grammar school pupils, combined with inadequate legislation in the matter of promoting teachers, has stirred up a storm of criticism among the

citizens of Washington. . . . Business men say high school pupils come to them unable to construct a letter or accurately add a column of figures. Spelling is found by them to be a sort of hit-or-miss operation on the part of the graduates. The methodical drilling found in the schools of twenty years ago has been superseded, they say, by a system of general education wherein the pupil takes up a variety of subjects and studies them superficially without devoting the necessary time to spelling, arithmetic, and American history. Superintendent Stuart and Captain Oyster of the Board of Education agree the system of promotion now in vogue among teachers is not all that it should be. Under the existing laws teachers of pronounced efficiency in the lower grades cannot be kept there at a raise in salary. If they are promoted, it means that they are transferred to a higher grade and their pupils are instructed by a normal school graduate. Old teachers are kept on the pay-roll because no pensioning clause provides for them when they have outlived their usefulness."

There is, in fact, a general agreement as to the inefficiency of the elementary school, but there is anything but agreement in the causes assigned for the obvious failure. The reason for this disagreement is to be found in the fact that there are many causes contributory to the undesirable results. The absence of adequate objective training, which was formerly supplied by the industrial home, is frequently emphasized, and I believe that it is one of the main factors in the problem. The absence of adequate religious training is insisted upon by others. The extent to which this is a real contributary cause may be discovered by a careful comparison of the public schools with the parochial schools of the country. The fragmenting of the school curriculum brought about by the multiplying of books and courses at a time when the child-mind is insufficiently developed is doubtless a factor of no inconsiderable importance. We have discussed this elsewhere and shall have occasion to return to it a little later on.

From time to time defenders of present grammar school methods seek to shift the blame to the primary schools. It is

claimed that the children come up from the primary schools with faculties that have been numbed and with characters that have been formed in too yielding a mold. It is said the children love to play and to have all the work done for them and that it is next to impossible to arouse them to self-activity or to concentrated attention. And the primary school frequently throws back the burden on the kindergarten. This state of affairs calls to mind the scene in the Garden of Eden, Adam seeking to throw the blame on Eve, while Eve cast it upon the poor serpent. But a careful examination of primary methods and primary text-books now in use reveals the fact that this part of the school system is really more to blame for the failures of older pupils than was hitherto suspected.

From one point of view the whole of education may be looked upon as the adjustment of the individual to his environments. The adjustment of the child to the child-environment, but still more, the adjustment of the youth leaving school to the social and industrial environments into which he must enter, is taken as the standard when measuring the efficiency of the school system. The profound and rapid changes which are taking place in the social and economic world in our own day of course demand equally radical and profound changes in the work of the schools that are responsible for the adjustment of the pupils to the environments which they must enter upon leaving school. The transition from school to the adult world is naturally the stage in the process that is first to attract attention. The pupil on leaving the high school fails to pass the entrance examination to a college and straightway the blame is laid at the door of the high school and the demand is made that it raise its standard. The pupil from the grammar school enters a department store and when the employer discovers that he is unable to spell or to add up the price of a simple bill of goods, a protest goes up against the inefficiency of the grammar school. In response to pressure of this kind modifications are made and others suggested for the grammar school and high school. It seems to be taken for granted that a few changes in the curriculum during the last year or two of the pupil's stay in

school will remedy the defects of which complaint is made. But the superficiality of this view scarcely need be dwelt upon in these pages. A finishing school does not educate and cannot give culture. A glossing over of the surface does not change the nature of anything. If the product of the school is unsatisfactory, the process should be examined in its entirety; for the real difficulty may be found at a very early instead of at a late stage in the process, and as a matter of fact this is the case in the present situation. The home life of our city children especially has undergone a complete revolution within the past few decades and our schools have not yet taken this sufficiently into account, and so they have failed more signally in the process of adjusting the child to the child-environment than in that of adjusting the graduate to his adult environment.

In the old days when the duties and responsibilities of the industrial home developed the character of the child and built up vigorous apperception masses from the constant contact with an objective world, any method, however formal, might be employed in the school to teach him the art of reading. Under those circumstances alphabet and phonic methods frequently failed to destroy the child's interest in reality. A few hours drill a day was pitted against the rest of the child's life. And so the child's interest in the things of an objective world remained dominant and strength of character, he developed in an environment filled with real struggles, frequently proved sufficient to carry the pupil through the dullest and driest drills of the alphabet method and where this failed, the birch was called into requisition as an efficient supplement.

To-day all this is changed. The teacher is not allowed to use coercive methods on "mama's darling"; not only is the birch relegated to the lumber room, but every semblance of coercion must be banished in deference to the softer methods used in the home. We are not now quarreling with this state of affairs; we are merely pointing out the fact that this change in the child's home environment must be reckoned with in our schools. Methods which succeeded under the old conditions

may prove quite inadequate in the present situation. One thing is clear; if coercion, which was necessary under the old conditions, is removed at present, its place must be supplied by an increased interest in the objects of study, otherwise the work of education will fail. And secondly, if the sense training given in the homes of the former generation is no longer to be had in the homes of our children, it must be supplied in the school in some way or the work of education will be directed towards form without content and the result will be hopeless inefficiency in the pupils when they are confronted with real situations on leaving school.

In the old days the most incompetent teacher in the school was assigned to the " baby class," and the efficiency of a teacher was recognized by promoting her to a higher grade. Academic content rather than professional training was the standard by which a teacher's value was rated, and in this fact was found the reason for assigning the poorest teacher to the lowest class. Anyone was supposed to be able to make the children recite their a, b, c's and to hear them spell their words of one or two syllables.

But to-day this is very generally changed. Owing to progress in the professional training of teachers, the fact is now recognized that a sucessful primary teacher is not easily obtained and that the greatest amount of professional training is needed in the lowest grades. This of course implies that the standard of efficiency in the primary teacher has been shifted from academic content to professional training. The teacher's method is our present object of examination and this is as it should be.

But there is another side to the question. The teacher and the text-book which she is compelled to use should harmonize. Good results can hardly be expected where the method employed by the teacher is counteracted by an opposite method in the child's text-book. Clearly, if the teacher's methods are faulty, they should be corrected, or else she should be removed from the school. This is particularly true in the primary grades where so much admittedly depends on method. In like man-

ner, where the method embodied in the text-book is faulty, it should be corrected, or the text-book should be removed from the school. Agreement here is essential and frequently there is anything but agreement.

Professor Scott, of the University of Michigan, writing in the *Educational Review* for April, 1909, under the title "A Brief Catechism on Text-Books in English," has many things to say that are well worth considering. After pointing out the fact that the teacher, not the text-book, is the chief factor, he continues: "Of what use, then, is the text-book? It has a variety of uses. For one thing, it economizes the teacher's time and energy. It assembles materials—selections, pictures, exercises, and principles—which the teacher could not herself bring together without great labor and expense and which she could not afford to put into print. For another thing, it economizes the pupil's time and energy, since it gives into his hands in compact, convenient, and permanent form what otherwise would be scattered about in his mind, in his note-book, in the library, or on the blackboard. Still further, the text-book, if it is good, suggests new ways of teaching, new points of view, novel and ingenious exercises. In a word, it adds to the teacher's resources. What are the essentials of a good text-book in English? They are the same as the characteristics of a good teacher—sympathy, interest, originality, progressiveness, stimulus to thought and work. Every good text-book has a personal quality. It is like the voice of a kind, helpful, broadminded, progressive teacher. It is full of impulses. There is uplift and 'go' in it. The pupil in after years remembers it not with scorn and weariness, but with gratitude. How should the teacher regard the text-book? As a friend and ally. How do some teachers treat their text-books? As tyrants or dictators, as fetiches to be worshipped, rather than as instruments to be used. . . . What should a text-book in English aim to accomplish? It should supplement and fortify the teacher's work in two respects. In the first place it should cultivate freedom of speech. It should aid in lifting the floodgates of childish thought. It should set the imprisoned spirit

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

free, letting it rush out through tongue and pen in spontaneous expression. It should make the practice of writing and speaking seem as natural and necessary as sunshine and fresh air and play. It should also reveal to the child the value of speech as a means of communion with his fellows. But in the second place it should cultivate orderliness of speech. It should impress upon the childish mind the need of form and order and selection and restraint. It should cultivate taste and a sense for the idiom and traditions of the mother-tongue. Still further, it should accomplish these two aims simultaneously, so that the pupil, in the end, realizes that the only true freedom of speech is the freedom that comes from obedience to the laws of language. How can the text-book in English help the teacher to do these things? (1) By setting before the pupil choice specimens of prose and poetry adapted to his stage of development. These specimens, if they are readable and suggestive, will stick in his mind and form standards for his own speaking and writing. They will also stimulate his imagination and inspire him to express his own ideas. (2) By asking live, pointed, and thought-provoking questions about his reading, his thoughts, his experiences and his observations. . . . What is the final test of a good text-book in English? Its effects upon the pupil's mental habits and character. If, with a good teacher behind it, the book promotes spiritual growth—if, in Professor John Dewey's words, it ' removes friction, frees activity, economizes effort, makes for richer results,'—it is good. If it does not do these things, it is bad, and should be cast into outer darkness."

The teacher seldom has a voice in the selection of the text-book and those on whom the task of selecting the books devolves are frequently devoid of all knowledge of primary methods. Other considerations, such as the cost of the book, the firm that publishes it, etc., are allowed to sway their judgment. Here, therefore, is a state of affairs that will bear looking into. If the work in the primary grades is not conducted along right lines an injury is inflicted upon the children at the very beginning of their school life. Experience shows that a large per-

centage of the children never recover from the vicious mental habits set up in the kindergarten and in the primary grades. It is high time that attention was called to the methods employed by the primary teacher and to the methods embodied in the primary books which she is compelled to use.

Books for Primary Grades.

The name 'reader' applied to the books used by the children in the first and second grades of the primary school is either a misnomer perpetuating an ancient error, such as is perpetuated by the phrases 'sun-rise' and 'sun-set,' or else it implies the embodiment of a principle in the books which is in open conflict with the current doctrines in psychology and in linguistic science. An examination of the primers and first readers that were almost universally employed a few decades ago and that may still be found in some of our schools reveals the fact that the name 'reader' is not understood as a misnomer. These books are constructed on the principle that the child should be rendered familiar with the letters of the alphabet and with their varied combinations in syllables, words and sentences before any attempt should be made to give the child thought material through the instrumentality of written language. In these books the child's interest is directed exclusively to the verbal series. The real series is either entirely banished or else relegated to a subordinate place. In response to the demands of science a new primary book is being produced in our own day in which the thought element predominates from the very first and in which the attempt is made to teach the art of reading as a means to an end. The child's attention is directed throughout to the thought element and only allowed to dwell upon the formal elements incidentally. On the basis of this fundamental principle, therefore, we may divide all primary books into two groups and the first factor in our decision concerning the availability of a primary book must be our attitude towards this fundamental principle.

Why do we teach our children to read? This question may conceivably be answered in two ways. We teach them to read because as adults the art of reading will prove a valuable asset in the struggle for existence. It may enable John to earn his living as a proof reader and for this purpose the more vividly he realizes the form of words and sentences the more readily will he detect misspelled words, broken or inverted type, etc. Every time his attention wanders to the thought back of the printed page he is liable to pass over unchallenged some error in typography. If, therefore, the end we have in view in teaching children to read is that they may become proof readers on leaving school, we shall be acting quite consistently in holding their attention to the form of words instead of to the meaning that lies back of the printed page. But if our purpose in teaching the art of reading is to enable both the boy and the man to profit by the wisdom that is enshrined in our literature, then our aim must be to render the thought element as vivid as possible and every intrusion of the verbal element upon consciousness must be regarded as a defect. Now, the percentage of children who are destined to become proof readers is so small as to be practically a negligible quantity and we may leave them out of consideration in our present discussion. In teaching the art of reading, therefore, the goal of our ambition must be to enable the reader to grasp the thought back of the printed page as strongly, as quickly and with as little expenditure of mental energy as may be, and this goal once having been determined upon, must in turn determine the means to be employed.

It is a well known psychological law that of two alternative mental states the one first to be established tends to maintain its position at the center of consciousness and to banish the other to the field of indirect mental vision. The conclusion, therefore, of this line of reasoning is obvious. *It is a grave mistake to direct the child's attention to the verbal element during the first years of his endeavor to master the art of reading,* for the natural consequence of such a procedure is to develop in the pupil the proof reader habit of looking at the words instead of through them at the thought. Such pupils

leave school with a screen built up between their minds and the thoughts that were bequeathed to them in the literature of the world.

This is the position taken by Thomas M. Balliet, Ph. D., Dean of the School of Pedagogy of New York University, New York City, in a paper on 'Reading' in the *Atlantic Journal of Education,* January, 1909. We have commented on this article in the March number of the *Bulletin,* but the matter is so pertinent to our present question that we cannot forbear quoting him once more. "The habit of unconsciousness of the page in reading makes for speed and for thoroughness in grasping the thought. All needless consciousness of the page robs the mind of just so much power to grasp the thought. . . . Words are like window panes—they are things to look through, not things to look at. The more invisible they are the more perfectly do they serve their purpose. Any method in teaching a child to read which makes him needlessly conscious of words, which fosters in him the habit of needlessly scrutinizing them or of analyzing them needlessly into their component letters or sounds, develops the proof reader habit of mind, and may make the process of reading a needlessly conscious one all through life. The child must, of course scrutinize new words sufficiently to remember them, but any analysis or inspection of words beyond what is necessary for this purpose is unquestionably bad. . . . Everything which in later life should be done unconsciously, should be taught in the school unconsciously or with a minimum degree of consciousness. It is bad doctrine to say that such processes should be raised to consciousness and then be made unconscious by practice. The difficulty is that in most people such processes never become unconscious. The child learns to pronounce and to speak his mother-tongue mainly by unconscious imitation and he speaks it unconsciously; the adult learns to speak a foreign language by a process that is keenly conscious and he is seldom able to speak it without watching his speech. . . . Illustrations from school and from life might be multiplied indefinitely to show how important it is to teach unconsciously, so far as

possible, what must in life be done unconsciously. Reading is one of these things. The phonic and alphabetical methods, used at the beginning, are likely to lead to a wholly unnecessary degree of word consciousness in reading. The fact that they give the child early the power of finding out the pronunciation of new words by himself, does not necessarily recommend them. If they develop the habit of looking at words instead of through them, this result would show not in the primary grades, but in the middle and upper grades of the elementary schools where it is attributed to other causes." (Pp. 5, 6.)

Here we have one phase of the failure of the elementary school traced back to an unsuspected source in the primary grades. Whether we wholly agree with Professor Balliet or not, the case is well worth investigation. If Professor Balliet's contention is correct, the methods of teaching reading employed by the primary teacher and embodied in the primary text-books may give us the solution of the old puzzle: why the children lose interest in school before they reach the seventh grade and why they are anxious to escape from school, even if such escape means entering the field of hard manual labor. Where the children's interest rests in the verbal series, where it centers around the combination of letters into syllables and syllables into words, it may be preserved during the first two or three years of school life, but by the end of this period this source of interest is exhausted and the sources of permanent interest in the thought have not only been neglected but have been positively excluded from the child's mind by the screen built up through the habit of looking at the words instead of through them. Again, among the indictments brought against the primary school is frequently included the charge that the children are unable to think for themselves or to take the thought from the printed page and clothe it in their own words. This failure would also be explained by the employment in the primary grades of the methods condemned by Professor Balliet.

Alphabet and phonic methods fall under the condemnation of another group of thinkers from quite a different set of considerations. These methods assume that the right way to pro-

ceed in teaching the art of reading is to develop the child's power to recognize letters, words and sentences. In a word, we must teach the child to read first and then to find the thought back of the printed page. Now, the whole current of modern thought is away from this procedure. The biologist tells us that in race history organs were built by their successful functioning, or at least perfected in this way. And practical men have always held that it was blacksmithing that made a blacksmith. "Fabricando fit faber." No amount of preliminary instruction added to finger exercises and drills on the scales would make a musician. And so it is contended that the child should learn to read by reading and not by the study of alphabets, syllables and key words.

Dr. Bolling, in a very able discussion of the mental condition upon which our ability to speak a language depends, uses an argument which finds direct application in the solution of our present problem. "We have already seen reasons to believe that this object which we would describe is exceedingly complex; and accordingly our first effort must be to separate it into simpler parts, to find the materials of which it is composed. The teaching of traditional grammar has been that the elements of our speech are single sounds, that we combine these into syllables, the syllables into words, and the words into sentences. It would seem therefore, at first sight, that we had mapped out before us the road we should follow. To do so would be to fall into the mistake of believing that our language was actually built up from the elements that our analysis finds in it." [1]

The line of reasoning here runs counter to the practice of teaching the child the letters first and then arranging the letters into syllables of various sounds and finally of combining them into words or sentences having a definite meaning. It may also be used with equal effect against the practices enjoined by the phonic method. There are, in fact, two distinct methods embodied in the group of text-books which we are here dis-

[1] *Elements of the Study of Language.* George Melville Bolling, Ph. D., Professor of Greek and Sanskrit, Catholic University of America. Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C. P. 81.

cussing: the alphabet method and the phonic method. Both of these methods unite in the one common defect of producing word consciousness in the child, but each method has its separate characteristics which it will be more convenient to study separately.

The Alphabet Method.

All that has been said against the two methods above mentioned for the development of word consciousness in the child applies with especial force to the alphabetic method which was in general use not very many years ago, and if the employment of this method in the schools of the past failed to produce the evil results of which complaint is now being made, the reason is to be sought in the home conditions which have vanished, and in the great amount of time devoted to drills in spelling, which can no longer be afforded owing to the new demands that are being made upon the school. The alphabet method not only insisted that the child should begin with the ultimate elements of our analysis of written language and of these build up systematically words and sentences, but in the accomplishment of this task it frequently failed to make any attempt to awaken or maintain the child's interest in the tasks which were set him. He learned his alphabet and his monosyllabic and polysyllabic words solely through the application of voluntary attention, intensified by the hope of reward or the stimulus of fear. A great deal has been written and said against this method, and in its worst forms it has in fact passed out of use. The child does not naturally learn language by combining its ultimate elements into larger and still larger units, but quite the contrary. In this he is but following the general law of his mental life and growth. "It is an important characteristic of perception that we perceive the objects of perception as single objects. As Angell puts it, 'Although the chair has four legs and a seat, we do not see each of the legs as separate things, and then somehow put them together with the seat, and so mentally manufacture a chair for ourselves. On the contrary, our immediate response is the consciousness of a single object. We know, of

course, that the chair possesses these various parts, just as we know that it has various colors, and in a sense we notice these features when we perceive it. But the striking thing is that despite the great number of sensory nerves which are being stimulated by such an object, we perceive it, not as an aggregate of qualities a + b + c, but as a unit, a whole, which we can, if necessary, analyze into its parts.' Now, it is in the same way that our perceptions of words take place, and in one respect the fact is more striking. The auditory stimuli are received by the ear not simultaneously but successively, and yet we perceive the word as a whole, not as an aggregate of successive sounds. We can, it is true, analyze the word into these sounds, just as we can analyze our percepts of the chair into percepts of its four legs and seat, but it would be a delusion to believe that we do so in the course of normal speech." [2]

The argument here of course applies to phonic methods directly, but it may be seen to apply with still greater force to the alphabet method, for whereas the ear is compelled to take in the separate sounds successively, the eye gathers up simultaneously the various letters and syllables in the printed word.

The Phonic Method.

The phonic method possesses certain apparent advantages over the alphabet method which have brought it into much vogue with the present generation of primary teachers. It interests the children. The key method (a modification of the phonic method) offers an interesting and at times a somewhat exciting game to the children and the immediate result is a rapid progress in the child's ability to find the pronunciation of new words. It is not surprising, therefore, that the phonic method should be eagerly substituted for the dry and uninteresting alphabet drills of the old school. But it must be obvious that if the child is introduced to the art of reading

[2] Bolling, *Ibid.*, pp. 93–4.

through the phonic method, the result will be an intensified form of the evil complained of in these pages. The very interest which the child takes in his key words and which enables him to make such rapid progress is an interest in the wrong direction, since it is concerned wholly with the formal element to the neglect of the thought. In consequence of the prevalent use of this method in our schools during the last decades the children in the higher grammar grades are found to have comparatively little power of getting the thought from the printed page. There is another respect also in which the phonic method sins deeply against the child's best interests. It places undue stress on the sound series as opposed to the visual series and thus relates the written word with its object through the round-about way of the spoken word. The visual image is related to the auditory image of a word and this auditory image of a word is in turn related to the object, while the direct connection between the written word and its object may be, and frequently is, entirely neglected. The case here is analogous to that of one who attempts to use a foreign language while doing all his thinking in his own language. Pupils taught in this way are compelled to translate the written page into spoken language before they can understand it. The needless waste of mental energy and the consequent clumsiness of the process are too obvious to need comment.

Dr. Bolling, in describing the associations between the visual and auditory images of words and the movements of the organs of speech, says (*Ibid.*, p. 102), " An association of a third degree of strength is that between the visual sensation and the articulatory movement sensations, there being no association in the opposite direction. It is deserving of notice that by means of it and the associations of the movement sensations and the auditory sensations there may be set up a round-about association between the visual sensation and the idea. Indeed, with careless teaching this is likely to be the permanent result in which case the direct associations between the visual sensations and the idea would be lacking."

It should be observed that all the evil effects traced to both the

alphabet method and the phonic method in varying degrees is due to the fact that these methods are used in the initial stages of the process of learning to read. They tend to develop word consciousness because the analysis of the word precedes its function as a means of conveying thought. And they violate the natural process by beginning with the elements instead of the natural mental wholes. No argument thus far brought against these methods applies to them if employed at a later stage in the process of reading. The child should learn to spell, of course, and he should learn how to divide his words into syllables. The only question is when he shall learn it. After he knows the word and is familiar with its use, or prior to such knowledge? Phonetic drills may be very useful in correcting faulty pronunciation, but no child learns to speak his mother-tongue by being drilled first on the separate phonetic elements. The argument here is parallel with that which has placed formal grammar in the higher grammar grades, the contention being that the child should learn to use language correctly first and then he may profitably be taught the laws which govern such usage.

The Word Method.

The word or sentence method, as it is sometimes called, escapes many of the accusations brought against the alphabet and phonic methods. It at least conforms to the demands of psychology in presenting the whole before the parts. The written sentence, whether it consists of one or more words, should function for the child as a whole. It should convey to him a thought, a permission to act, or be the means of conveying his thought to others. The dry and uninteresting drills preceding functioning are here absent. His power of written language, like his lungs, yields results from the very first, and the organ is perfected by its functioning instead of being perfected first through several years of dry drills in order that it might later on be fit to function. But it is quite possible to use the word method in such a way as to defeat the legitimate

purposes of the art of reading. This is the case where sentences are used as mere drills, where the thought is fragmentary and uninteresting to the child. But the word or sentence method properly applied may serve to lead the child by the most direct path to the mastery of his art. This is the case when the content chosen is of the right kind. We shall have more to say of this later on, but before taking up the group of readers in which content is made the dominant element it may be well to examine a few specimens of the type of readers embodying the methods against which we are protesting.

It has been shown that where the child's interest is allowed to rest with the printed words and with their composition and varied combinations he acquires the habit of looking at the printed page instead of at the thought which it should reveal. Such a habit proves in the highest degree injurious to the pupil after he has mastered the elements of the art of reading. The games of word building and sentence making soon lose interest for the growing boy and as this is all that the book yields him, his interests soon lead him out of school and away from books. Such boys are frequently found possessed of a good power of thinking when they are confronted with real situations in their play and at their work, but in the schoolroom they are usually dubbed dullards and are to be found among the 'repeaters' in each grade.

Illustrations of the types embodying the alphabet and phonic methods will at once occur to the reader, for numerous exemplars of both types may still be found in the schoolroom, a fact which goes to show how slowly progress in psychology finds its way into our primary text-books. It is true that the alphabet method has generally passed out of the training schools for teachers and there are few teachers to-day who would openly advocate its use, nevertheless, books embodying this method are still put into the hands of the teachers and they are required to use them in their classrooms. At this point in our study a few specimens from these readers will prove serviceable in showing how completely the formal element dominated the compilers of these books. Word drills, and word drills alone,

seem to be their purpose. Here is the fourth reading lesson of a primer published in Baltimore in 1886:[3] "Is it an ox? It is an ox. Is he on an ox? He is on an ox. Oh! so he is." Lesson VII reads as follows: "Nell is in bed. Let me be led to her. Set my wet net on a peg at ten. The pet hen is fed. We met ten men. Get me a red net." The first of these exercises was evidently meant for a drill on the letter 'o'; the second for a drill on the letter 'e.' Of course the child was not expected to find anything of interest in the thought. This book never went into general use, but it does not differ in any material way from books published at a much later date and which are now in quite general use. Here, for example, is the first lesson in a first reader published in New York in 1903 and which is widely used in our schools at the present time.[4]

LESSON I.

"Sēe the căt the dŏg
see *the cat* *the dog*

See dog cat

See the dog. See the cat."

There is very little danger that the child's interest will wander away from the words to the thought in such a lesson as this. If it be argued that this is a first lesson and that the thought element will come into prominence later, an examination of the book will readily undeceive us. There is no continuity in its thought and the fragments are neither sufficient in themselves to develop an interest in the child, nor are they associated closely enough with the child's experience to make them live in a borrowed interest. How completely the thought element is obscured for the sake of the mere formal element may be seen from the last lesson in the book.

[3] *Illustrated Catholic Reader.* John Murphy & Co., Baltimore.
[4] *The New Century Catholic Series.* Benziger Bros., New York.

Lesson 84 — Review

" All your life, from the moment you were born, an angel has been ever at your side. He prays for you and watches over you. For his sake, then, be careful never to sin.

" The next time that you send a letter to any one, take more pains with it than you did with the last.

" It was on a moonlight night last August that the wagon and harness were stolen from the barn.

" I am told that when Bingo, our dog, got sight of the froggie squatted upon the floor, he ran for it, tossed it over his head, and left it dead. He did not mean to hurt it, for he is not a fierce beast. I suppose he thought it was fun.

" John has some paper feathers, tied with a string.

" Fred has a sad face, but a brave heart.

" One pleasant summer day, some people, whose names I do not remember, came from New York in a light wagon.

" I sighed when I heard the babies cry so bitterly.

" Always say your prayers, night and morning, and keep from everything bad. That is the safe way.

" A hungry fox once saw some grapes spread far above his head. He knew that he would enjoy them ever so much, but they were out of his reach.

" Did you ever hear the story of the man who thought he only needed a pair of spectacles, and that then he could read?

" Mother wishes you to lay this book away; it might be kept on the safe.

" At table you should help another before you help yourself.

" What news do you bring of the race? The turtle won by some minutes; he moved slowly and seemed to creep along, but he kept at it. The rabbit stopped to sleep, but when he woke, he found the turtle was waiting at the tree.

" I hope father will reach home safely.

" When I spoke to the man he stopped to think before he answered me.

" You might help me to write the story of Tobias and the angel. While you are doing this I will look for my spectacles. I suppose you are willing; you have no use for spectacles.

" Fred does not act well, nor can he sing a song.
" The dog stretched himself out in the sun and died.
" Your hat and sword are in the other room, if you want them.
" Can you tell us what a snowflake looks like?"

It is quite evident that the writer of this lesson had not the slightest consciousness of the child's need for an organized thought content. To what shall we liken the jumble of thoughts thrown together here without a semblance of organization? Is it the confusion of moving day? but this falls far short of it, for each article of furniture is at least complete, however forlorn it may look in the confusion, whereas in the lesson which we have just quoted only fragments of the thoughts appear. Shall we liken it to a New England boiled dinner, a *pot pourri*, or Neptune's tribute? The latter would certainly be the proper simile if the child's mental appetite is taken into account. As items of knowledge the specimens included in the above lesson are absolutely valueless since they are shorn of their real meaning. The compiler kept some of the external trappings but missed the real thought in almost every case. Verily, " the letter killeth, it is the spirit that giveth life." The only conceivable justification for such a reading lesson as the foregoing is to be found in the alphabet method, where every available means is taken to banish the thought element from the child's attention while he is learning his letters and words. These books linger among us, it is true, but the pedagogue would indeed be bold who would attempt to justify the principles which they embody, and the primary teacher who would attempt to follow such methods to-day would be regarded as an anachronism.

A late development of the phonetic method, known as the " Synthetic Phonic Word Method," [5] is embodied in a series of readers published in New York in 1900. Book

[5] The New Education Readers: A Synthetic and Phonic Word Method by A. J. Demarest, Supt. Public Instruction, Hoboken, N. J., and William M. VanSickle, American Book Company, New York.

I of this series contains some of the worst features of the fragment building process. The child is taught phonics by the animals. Thus he learns from the cat how to pronounce 'f,' from the dove how to pronounce 'd,' from the cow how to pronounce 'm,' from the dog how to pronounce 'r,' and from the sound made by hot iron plunged in water how to pronounce 's.' The circular saw teaches him the sound of 'n' and the locomotive furnishes him a model for 'p.' A rat in a trap teaches the letter 'y' and the cow-bell sounds 'l.' Of course the bumble bee gives 'z.' The first lesson contains a story to be told by the teacher about the barn and its inmates. This story ends with the teacher imitating a cross cat in pronouncing 'f' while she writes the letter on the board. She is cautioned to give the sound of the letter only, not its name. The lesson continues: "What did the cross cat say? Children: The cross cat said f-f-f. The teacher writes 'f' on the board but does not give the name of the letter. She also draws a picture of the cat." The reading lesson itself is as follows:

f
f

f-f-f (Picture of cat)

New Stock Words.

apple	an	it	is
apple	*an*	*it*	*is*

Is it an apple?

(Picture of an apple)

It is an apple.

The next morning the children are taken to the barn again, in imagination, of course, where they imagine they hear the doves saying 'd,' and the reading lesson following this story consists of a picture of a dove with three 'd's' coming from his bill, a review of the consonant 'f' in script and in print, which, as in the foregoing lesson, is set off in a square, and the new

consonant 'd' in print and in script is added in a square of its own, and then the following reading lesson is given:

REVIEW STOCK WORDS

apple	an	it	is
apple	*an*	*it*	*is*

NEW STOCK WORDS NEW BLEND WORDS

has	see	Fannie	fan
has	*see*	*Fannie*	*fan*

(a picture of Fannie)

See Fannie!
See Fannie!
Has Fannie an apple?
Has Fannie an apple?

The third day's drill opens with the following:

REVIEW STOCK WORDS

apple	an	it	is	Fannie	has	see
apple	*an*	*it*	*is*	*Fannie*	*has*	*see*

I have quoted the foregoing at some length in the endeavor to convey some idea of the overwhelming drill element which this book presents in the child's first reading lessons together with the entire absence of interesting content, but no description can do justice to the book, it must be seen and examined in its entirety in order to be appreciated. It is hard to conceive how anyone at all familiar with child-psychology could be guilty of placing such a barrier between the child and the art of reading, but there are some things in modern education that really pass understanding, and among them may be numbered the fact that the names of two prominent educators are to be found on the title-pages of these books. The fact that these two superintendents have the deciding of the fate of so large a number

of our school children at the present day would incline most of us to return to these books and give them a more serious study in the belief that we must be mistaken. Perhaps it is only the first few lessons that are burdened with this tedium of drill. We find that there is continuity running through the book. Fannie and Dan and Grace and Fannie's father and mother play conspicuous parts, but this is insufficient to prove continuity of interest.

We give here the twelfth day's reading lesson:

"Fannie is at the rill. Fannie has a can and a book. Will Fannie fill the can at the rill? No, the can has ink in it. The ink is for her father. Her father is at the mill. Dan is at home. The book is for Dan. Has the book ink on it? The book has ink on it."

If the reading lesson is dreary, what shall we say of the drills? Here each day is repeated all the words and consonants previously learned and a new word or two is added. The absurdity of this procedure grows on one as the book proceeds. Here, for example, is the twentieth day's drill:

Review consonants.

f	s	m	t	r	n	d	p	h	b	w

Review Stock Words

Fannie apple has an it is or her father the tree he can eat red see book bird on at home flag boy ill what ink and ail are cat does you look no do want girl she egg give in yes mother all pretty pear red

Review Blend Words

Fan	for	man	Dan	sit	seat	ran	books	fat
hats	mat	rat	Nat	Nan	meat	will	rill	win
fill	tin	tail	pan	pink	pat	pail	sand	his hat
hand	wants	hill	hail	bat	bats	band		

The reading lesson for this day is in keeping with the drill.

Review Sentences

Is it a pear or an apple? Fannie has an apple. Her father has a fan and a pear. Dan is in the apple tree. Can you see the flag? Fannie is under the pear tree. Nat and Nan are in the mill. A fat rat ran on the mat. The rat has his home in the mill. See the cat look at Nan. Do you want a pretty hat? Father will give Dan a pretty flag. Can you see the boy and the cat?

"To the teacher: Continue the drill work as previously planned, reviewing each day the consonants, stock words and blend words used in all preceding lessons or as much as is necessary to make the teaching thorough."

What need is there for further testimony? If we had reason to complain of the last primary reader which we were studying for the senseless jumble of thought in its review lesson, where shall we find words adequate to express our appreciation of this book? It is not here a matter of neglecting interesting content. All possible content is banished. We might as well teach the child to read backwards so as to make sure that he would not be tempted to think about the content back of the words. Is it any wonder that complaint is made of the work done in our schools when the children are started out in this way?

Thomas Edward Shields.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique; sous la direction de A. D'Alès. Fascicule Ier, Agnosticisme-Aumône. Paris: G. Beauchesne & Cie, 1909. 160 pp. 4to.

Among the many erudite works that are happily to be found in the theological literature of modern France, the *Apologetic Dictionary of the Catholic Faith* has held a place of honor. There could be no better testimony to its merit and popularity than the fact that it is now appearing in a fourth edition, of which the first part, embracing 160 pages in quarto, has come to hand. The editors aim to bring the work thoroughly up to date so that it shall reflect the results of the best scholarship of today. To this end the articles are being recast by noted scholars of France under the competent direction of the Abbé Adhémar d'Alès, professor in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and author of the excellent book entitled the *Theology of Tertullian.*

To extend the usefulness of the dictionary as far as possible, it has been deemed wise not to restrict the articles to subjects comprised within the limits of apologetics proper, but to include as well the treatment of many other questions that are often exploited to the prejudice of the Catholic Church. Hence in the First Part recently issued, one finds along with articles bearing on the foundations of Catholic belief, others of no little interest and importance, such as the Albigenses, Alexander VI, Antichrist, Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments, Art, Asceticism, Almsgiving.

The thoroughness and comprehensiveness with which the more important articles on subjects strictly apologetic are treated may be judged from the fact that to the subject of agnosticism thirty-seven closely printed pages are devoted, to that of the soul twenty-eight, to that of apologetics thirty.

Among the contributors of the First Part, all of whom are priests, are worthy representatives both of the secular clergy and of the religious orders,—the Abbés Batiffol, Sertillanges, Vacandard, Nau, Lepin ; Bishop Le Roy, Superior General of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Fathers Coconnier and Lemonyer of the Dominican Order, Fathers Chossat and Bachelet of the Society of Jesus, and Dom

Souben, O. S. B. Names like these are a guarantee of the ripe scholarship that one looks for in a dictionary of this kind, and that is surely to be found in the pages already published.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Mass in the Infant Church, by the Rev. Garrett Pierse. Presented to the Theological Faculty in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, for the Degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, 1909. Pp. iv + 197.

The purpose of the author as expressed in the Preface is "to find whether the doctrine of the Mass can be found in the infant church." For reasons which are set forth at length he limits his researches "to the period roughly speaking from 150 to 250 A. D." Though positive rather than polemical in tone, the scope of the book brings the author into conflict with many new writers on the same subject, and his conclusions he regards as a refutation of theirs. He considers the statements of Professor Harnack "as fairly representative of recent Protestant ideas concerning the early Christian concept of sacrifice." More attention however is paid to the views of such men as Renz and Wieland. Wieland in particular is very severely arraigned for the opinions to which he gave expression in his "Mensa und Confessio." Munich, 1906. "As the work," Dr. Pierse says, "does not contain an Imprimatur, it does not vouch for the opinion of any section of Catholics, but only for those of the author." It is very much to be regretted that Wieland's pamphlet "Die Schrift Mensa und Confessio und P. Emil Dorsch, S. J., in Innsbruck, Munich, 1908," in which he defends himself from charges similar to those brought by Dr. Pierse did not form the basis for an estimate of his opinions. Dr. Pierse is to be congratulated for having essayed to clear up the difficult questions centering around the idea of Sacrifice in the early church. Good use has been made of the *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* of Cabrol & Leclercq (not Leclerque). *Les Origines Liturgiques*, Paris, 1906, by Dom Cabrol, should have been read in the preparation of Chapter IX.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Early History of the Christian Church. From its Foundation to the End of the Third Century, by Monsignor Louis Duchesne, Hon. D. Litt., Oxford, and Litt. D., Cambridge, Membre de l'Institut de France. Rendered into English from the Fourth Edition. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.; London: John Murray, 1909. Pp. xx + 428.

This work now translated into English represents the fruits of the labor and research of one of the foremost historians of the present day. Its pages contain the answer to many of the questions which present themselves to those who are interested in the early fortunes of Christianity, but the work is much more than a mere record of events. In the thirty-seven brilliant chapters or essays of which it is composed are to be found so many vivid pictures taken from the titanic struggle which transformed the pagan Roman world into that new order in which the church stood prepared to do battle with the political forces unloosed by Diocletian and Galerius and the intellectual opposition called forth by the teachings of Arius. The manner in which this transformation is unfolded shows in every line the hand of a master in sympathy with the principles which ensured the victory and thoroughly conversant with every detail in the course of events leading thereto. The narrative is strong, consistent and well-balanced, and it is a source of gratification that this excellent work is now available in an English translation. Though pre-eminently a work for scholars, it will be no less useful for students who are taking their first lessons in the history of the church. The translation is in the main, very well done, and when one bears in mind the exceptional gift of concentration possessed by the author and the delicate shading which at times adorns his style, the few faults which it contains may all the more readily be pardoned. Now and then the translator (whose name is not given) verges on the colloquial as v. g. on p. 287, where the *qui ne s'entendaient pas entre eux et ne*, etc., of Duchesne is translated, "who neither hit it off with each other, nor," etc.; p. 317, *parvint à démasquer l'imposture*, is found as "succeeded in showing up the imposture." To say that Methodius "trounced Origen" (p. 361), even figuratively, is perhaps a little too strong.

While there is no agreement among writers in English as to the manner in which Greek and Latin names should be transliterated, consistency requires that the same spelling should prevail in one book. Thus for instance we find (p. 95) Elkesaites, (p. 227) Elkasaites; (p. 243) Coelosyria, (p. 331) Coele-Syria; Nicea (p. 211), Nicaea (p. 383);

Marcian (p. 304), Marcion (p. 305); Eleutherus (p. 172), Eleutherius (p. 332); Taurobola (pp. xx and 392), Taurobolia (p. 396); Patripassionism (p. 226), Patripassianism (p. 229). The mother of Alexander Severus is called Mammea (p. 266), and the famous opponent of Origen, Methodus (p. 254). It is hard to understand how this lack of uniformity crept in, as there is in most of the cases mentioned a form which is generally accepted. There are besides these many cases where the translation though perhaps correct does not express what the author intended. "Procédure contre les chrétiens" means not prosecution (p. 71) but procedure, the method of prosecution. "La colonne Antonine" is not the column of Antoninus (p. 182), but of Marcus Aurelius. Copies (p. 245) does not give the exact meaning of Florilèges, and it is doubtful whether Monsignor Duchesne in speaking of the "martyrologe hieronymien" actually meant to say martyrology of St. Jerome (p. 301), or wished to put himself in opposition to M. D'Arbois de Jubainville by calling those *aventuriers gaulois*, who in the 3rd century B. C. founded the little Celtic state in Phrygia and Pontus, adventurers from Gaul (p. 315). "Dans l'Histoire Auguste" means in the Augustan History, not in Augustian history (p. 349), and Puritans (p. 338) does not exactly mean cathares in the context. Rufus (p. 96) should be Rufinus and Callista (p. 177) Callistus. 2 Tim. v. 21, (p. 172) should be 2 Tim. iv. 21. Gallien (p. 219) should be Galen; Thrascius (p. 312) Thascius, and Gallus (p. 312) Gaius or Caius. Achillas is called Achilles (p. 356), while the Eunonium of the original faithfully reproduced (p. 357).

On page 141, note, there is a curious mistake. v. 377 and v. 385, meaning *vers* 377 and *vers* 386, and referring to the approximate dates of certain works by Epiphanius and Philastrius (also called Philaster, p. 227) are translated "see 377" and "see 385."

The translator's note, p. 253, is not accurate and should have been omitted. To speak of the provinces of Asia Minor as Pontus-with-Bithynia, etc., (p. 315) is clumsy. The usual form Bithynia-Pontus, which is in fact found later on, is much preferable. Besides these there are many typographical errors, which can be pardoned by supposing that the proofs were not read by one versed in church history, but it is hard to imagine why Leoncius of Antioch and St. John Chrysostom are spoken of in the same paragraph (p. 336). These mistakes and others of a similar character which we have not mentioned do not mar the general excellence of the work and in no way impair its usefulness for students or scholars; but it is to be hoped that

they will not be found in the next edition which ought to be soon called for if the work is received as it ought to be.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

La Foi Catholique. Par H. Lesêtre, Beauchesne, Paris, 1909. Pp. 497.

This volume tells the story of Catholic teaching so accurately and interestingly that one lays it down with the feeling of having been in the hands of a competent guide and interpreter. The author begins with a study of the powers and limitations of human reason. This is followed by a description of divine revelation where one sees the natural boundaries of human thought pushed back and overcome. Next comes the treatment of the church as the guardian and interpreter of the revealed deposit, and then in an orderly manner is taken up the entire Catholic teaching on the mysteries of faith, the supernatural life, the sacraments, divine providence, and the future life.

This volume is remarkable, first of all, for the fine, simple and clear presentation it gives of Catholic teaching. The structure of the book might well be said to rest on the definitions or declarations of the councils and the popes, references to which abound at every turn, furnishing the reader with a clear notion of what is of faith on each point considered, an advantage not always found in works of the kind. A second feature worthy of note is the living and interesting style, which is neither jejune nor packed, but well balanced, suggestive, and actual. When a writer can portray each item of doctrine distinctly and at the same time show its continuity and harmony with the rest, he is doing a real service to the exposition of Catholic truth. The presentation of the notion of faith, to mention one among many chapters equally good, is highly creditable.

The pastor of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont has written a volume which the cultivated may read with profit and the ignorant may study unto salvation. It has splendid material for a course of instructions.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Histoire des Dogmes—II. De Saint Athanase à Saint Augustin. Par J. Tixeront. Lecoffre, Paris, 1909. Pp. 534.

Those who have had the pleasure and profit of reading the first

volume of the history of dogma published four years ago by the dean of the Catholic theological faculty of Lyons will find that experience repeats itself when the second volume, delayed somewhat in publication by the author's ill health, falls into their hands.

The period covered is about the same as that treated by Monsignor Duchesne in his second volume of the "Ancient History of the Church." In fact, the author of the work under review would be pleased to have it regarded, from the special standpoint of the history of dogma, as a complement of Monsignor Duchesne's. Not wishing to make the present volume too bulky, or to anticipate the treatment of matters, such as the Semi-Pelagian controversies, which rightly belong to another century, the author brings the second instalment of his labors to a close with the year 430, leaving to a future volume the continuation of the history down to Charlemagne.

Those familiar with the first volume will notice no change of governing principles in the second. There is, however, a slight departure from the method followed in the "Ante-Nicene Theology." Instead of isolating each writer for special analysis, a process that would have proved tedious, the author first presents the history of the Eastern and Western heresies, and then in two general chapters describes the doctrinal condition both of the Latin and the Greek Church. Saint Ephrem, Saint Aphraates, and Saint Augustine are considered separately, the two former on account of the difference of language, the latter because of his commanding stature and doctrinal importance. To offset any disadvantage that might arise from this combined treatment, an analytical table of contents is appended which enables the reader to reconstruct each writer either wholly or in detail according as desired. This method admirably preserves the scientific value of the author's labors for those who wish to follow closely in his steps, and at the same time increases the literary value for the general reader.

This second volume is equal, if not superior, to the first in its marvellous condensation, clearness, and precision. The author is no indifferent reporter of events, but a fair-minded judge who sifts the evidence thoroughly and does not hesitate to give his own personal appreciation of its bearing and drift. This judicious temper of mind is exhibited everywhere in the volume. It is invidious, of course, to single out any instance of this judiciousness as typical of the author's frame of mind, but the reader's attention may nevertheless be directed to the manner in which the moot question is disposed of, whether or not Saint Augustine regarded the gifts of Adam as natural belongings, or special divine bounties. Much has been written since the days of

the reformers and Michel de Bay, and even within the past decade, the purport of which was to show that the great Bishop of Hippo ignored entirely the question of the supernatural and regarded Adam as the normal natural man. M. Tixeront carefully avoids the anachronism which consists in reading St. Augustine in the light of distinctions that appeared centuries later. He establishes by means of textual criticism the fact that Saint Augustine considered the prerogatives of Adam, singly, if not severally, as effects of a special divine liberality. This fact he rescues from the perplexing terminology, and in it we already have the idea, if not the language, of later theology.

The author had the greater part of the volume written before the encyclical "Pascendi" appeared, and finds that it will stand the test of a second reading in the light of this recent pontifical document. Respect for the Fathers, he goes on to say, does not demand in a work of history any palliation of the speculative shortcomings of one or more individuals. Where there is such an abundance of light, a few shadows indicated by an historian will not mar the picture.

The genuine respect for the Fathers, the severity of method combined with the sympathy of appreciation, and the absence of all attempts to force the evidence unduly, all go to make this volume a worthy contribution to the history of dogma. The analytical and topical tables of contents increase its value and serviceableness for the professor, student, and general reader. In these days when so much that is unfair and untrue is written about early Catholic theology it is good to have M. Tixeront's work to recommend as an antidote. *Si quaeris monumenta, circumspice.*

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

The Life of St. Melania, by His Eminence Cardinal Rampolla. Translated by E. Leahy and edited by Herbert Thurston, S. J. Benziger Bros., New York, 1909. Pp. xxi + 164.

Some twenty-five years ago while Nuntio in Madrid Cardinal Rampolla found among some MSS. in the Escurial a Latin *Vita Melaniae Junioris.* A hasty perusal of the text convinced him that it contained a better form of the Life than that found in the version of the Metaphrast and he at once commenced to transcribe it with his own hand. The cares of office and the manifold occupations which fell to the lot of the Cardinal Secretary of State under Leo XIII prevented the

immediate accomplishment of his desire to publish a critical edition of the newly-found text. It was not until after the accession of Pius X that he found leisure to undertake the work which had been so long interrupted. It was published from the Vatican Press in 1905. As soon as it appeared the work was greeted with praise in every quarter. Critics were lavish in their encomiums of the scholarship displayed in its preparation and no less outspoken in their wonder that the Cardinal could after the lapse of twenty years return to the field of historical investigation and produce a work of such consummate erudition. The importance of the subject and the masterly manner in which it had been dealt with both deserved this flattering recognition. In the English translation we do not find a complete rendering of Cardinal Rampolla's work. It contains merely a "straightforward summary of the history of St. Melania and her times" which the Cardinal incorporated in his work. Brief as this is, it gives a good idea of the labor and care bestowed on the elucidation of the career of this marvellously interesting personage. The life of St. Melania (383–439) coincides with one of the most crucial periods in the history of Western civilization. She had as contemporaries some of the greatest figures in the annals of Christianity, and humble as she was she could not avoid being thrown into close contact with the leaders in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. She was the richest heiress in Rome and born of a family, whose rank and traditions were second to none in the Empire. How she overcame the opposition of her parents and husband to devote herself to a life of asceticism, the manner in which she disposed of her vast inheritance in the promotion of good works, and her final career of renunciation in the Holy Land is an interesting page from the annals of Christian effort. The picture of Roman society in the fourth century and the general decline of morality in the Empire which is shown as a background to the life of the saint is an excellent portrayal of the last scenes in the long drama of paganism and the prelude for that new order of events which commenced in the lifetime of Melania when the Goths made themselves masters of the Urbs Invicta. It was not considered advisable to make a complete translation of the work of Cardinal Rampolla, but the summary which is presented in this English version will throw an interesting light on the lives of other Christian Roman ladies of the same period, Paula, Eustochium and others, who reflected such glory in the declining days of the old Roman nobility. The charming Introduction by Father Thurston is a model of its kind, and will undoubtedly be read with much pleasure.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909.

This splendid volume adds another large instalment to the store of valuable information which the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is placing within the reach of the reading public.

It would be hard to find a more lucid presentation of a difficult subject than that contained in the article on God from the pen of Patrick J. Toner, S. T. D. This article is a model of exposition. Of course there is little in it that is new and this renders Dr. Toner's attractive presentation of the matter all the more meritorious. The treatment of the subject under two distinct heads as the God of Philosophy and the God of Theology will clear away the fog from the minds of many hazy thinkers on the subject. The brief summary of the controversy between the Dominican and the Jesuit schools, concerning the "divine knowledge," will be welcomed by many a theologian who has burned the midnight oil in the vain endeavor to find his way through this labyrinth. God, His Existence and His Attributes, have, ever since man began to think, occupied the foremost place in his difficult ascent towards the light which illumines the world. The vast literature of the subject is, accessible to the trained theologian, who is familiar with the ancient languages, but this article of Dr. Toner's puts the whole question in a form that is intelligible to the multitude of laymen who will naturally turn to the Encyclopedia for authentic information on all such subjects.

All who are interested in the cause of Catholic education in this country will welcome the article on France from the pen of Georges Goyau in this volume of the Encyclopedia. Confusing reports and fragments of information and misinformation have been reaching us concerning the strained relationship between the Church and the State in France during the last few years. This splendid presentation of the case, by one who is thoroughly familiar with every detail of the situation, will serve to clear up many misunderstandings. There is a lesson in it all that is worthy of careful study in this country at the present time where a movement not altogether dissimilar is making steady progress. Of course the French situation never could be created here, but the State here has undertaken the work of education and moreover it is pursuing a policy of de-Christianizing education. This may be necessary in the State schools, but there is a well-defined

movement in many quarters of this country looking towards an effectual de-Christianizing of the private and parochial schools of the country. A study of the history of the movement in France and in Germany should prove serviceable in awakening the friends of free education and particularly of religious education in this country to some of the dangers and consequences of the encroachment of State authority upon the rights of free citizens to control the education of their children. The calm and unbiased presentation of the facts and figures by Mr. Goyau makes very impressive reading. "The laicization of Primary Instruction" is particularly instructive and should be read side by side with the history of the public school system of the State of New York. "The law of the 28th of March, 1882, which made primary instruction obligatory, gratuitous, and secular (*laique*), intentionally omitted religious instruction from the curriculum of the public school, and provided one free day every week, besides Sunday, to allow the children, if their parents saw fit, to receive religious instruction; but this instruction was to be given outside the school building." This is a very mild beginning and it reminds one forcibly of the compromise which in this country a little more than a generation ago led to the conclusion that secular instruction might be separated out from all religious teaching and given to the children of the various denominations in the public schools, while their religious instruction might be effectively carried out in their homes and in the Sunday school. But let us follow the march of events in France. "The school regulations of 18 January, 1887, laid it down that the children could be sent to church for catechism or religious exercises only outside of class hours, and that teachers were not bound to take them to church or to watch over their behaviour while there. . . . The spirit of the law of 1882 implied that religious emblems should be excluded from the schools. . . . However, in the public schools dependent on the municipality of Paris, the anti-spiritualistic tendency became so violent that, after 1882, the new editions of certain school books expunged, even where they occurred in selected specimens of literature, the words *God, Providence, Creator*. . . . And while politicians were deprecating the assertion that the schools were Godless, the Masonic conventicles and the professional articles written by certain state pedagogues were explaining that the notion of God must eventually disappear in the school." Twelve years later M. Devinat, afterwards director of the normal school of the department of the Seine, wrote: 'To teach God, it is necessary to believe in God. Now, how are we to find in these days teachers whose souls are sincerely and profoundly religious? It

may be affirmed without any exaggeration that since 1882 the lay public school has been very nearly the Godless school.' . . . The very idea of neutrality in education, to which anti-religious teachers have not always consistently adhered, is now-a-days altogether out of favor with many members of the pedagogical profession. In 1904 the teachers of the department of the Seine advocated, almost unanimously, in place of 'denominational neutrality,' which they said was a lie, the establishment of a 'critical teaching,' which, in the name of science, should abandon all reserves in regard to denominational susceptibilities.'' And so all through the educational situation the movement has been the same. The examination and certification of teachers by the State, the elimination of religion first and then the insertion of anti-religious bias in the texts. Speaking of the pending bills, Mr. Goyau says: ''Bills introduced by MM. Briand and Doumergue impose heavy penalties on fathers whose children refuse to make use of the irreligious books given them by their teachers, and render it impossible for parents to prosecute teachers whose immoral and irreligious instruction may give them reason for complaint.'' As to consequences, one can hardly help turning back to some suggestive statistics given at the beginning of this article. ''There are two points to be noted in the study of French statistics. The annual mean excess of births over deaths for each 10,000 inhabitants during the period 1901–1905 in France was 18, while in Italy it was 106, in Austria 113, in England 121, in Germany 149, in Belgium 155. In 1907 the deaths were more numerous than the births, the number of deaths being 70,455, while that of the births was only 50,535—an excess of 19,920 deaths—and this notwithstanding the fact that in 1907 there were nearly 45,000 more marriages than in 1890. Official investigators attribute this phenomena to sterile marriages.''

The splendid articles on Germany by Martin Spahn and Germans in the United States by Francis M. Schirp place at the disposal of the reader a wealth of information in a very convenient form which would require no little expenditure of time and energy to find elsewhere. The article on Greek Catholics in America by Andrew J. Shipman, Ph. D., will be a surprise to many, revealing as it does the recent development in our midst of a vast Oriental population with their peculiar customs and religious rites. The Western Catholic is usually an entire stranger to the religious customs and ceremonials of these peoples and though they are in our midst, we have had little knowledge of them. It is true that in many of our cities to-day these people are being forced upon our attention and we shall evidently have to

reckon with them in the near future as no inconsiderable element of our population. Nor has it been heretofore an easy matter to obtain authentic information. "Nothing, except a few newspaper and magazine articles, has been written in English or the Western European languages about the Greek Catholics in America. Their own publications must be consulted."

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

Scholasticism, by Joseph Rickaby, S. J. London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1908. Pp. 121. Price, $0.25.

This little book from the pen of the well-known Jesuit writer, Father Joseph Rickaby, is published as one of the series entitled *Philosophies Ancient and Modern*, issued by Messrs. Constable. It is a clear, popular, and on the whole, accurate statement of the origin, method and content of scholastic philosophy. Father Rickaby has the gift of lucid statement. He has the power of putting the abstract and recondite in a phrase so apt and so striking that the matter becomes easily intelligible. For instance, he sums up the difference between the *quod* and the *quo* of scholastic epistemology in the phrase "My consciousness is not the object but the instrument of my cognition" (p. 45). If he is not always accurate, the fault is not his perhaps, but is due to the difficulty, the impossibility, one might say, of putting within the limits of one hundred and twenty pages all that a man of Father Rickaby's erudition has to say about Scholasticism. He does not blink the defects and the mistakes of the scholastics. In fact he seems to us to admit too readily the excessive apriorism of the schoolmen. The volume should be provided with a more complete bibliography and the late Dr. Stöckl's name should be given correctly.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Could Bacon have Written the Plays? A Brief Study of Characteristics. By the Rev. George O'Neill, S. J., M. A., F. R. U. I. Dublin: E. Ponsonby, 116 Grafton St., 1909. Price, 6d.

Father O'Neill, who has been until recently a Fellow and Examiner of the Royal University of Ireland and has just been appointed to the Professorship of English Language and Philology in University College, Dublin, one of the constituent colleges of the new National Uni-

versity of Ireland, has in this little pamphlet of 31 pages supplied one among many good refutations of the charge, sometimes made, that literary matters are not studied in a scientific spirit or on scientific lines in British and Irish universities. Choosing a veritably Teutonic and microscopic phase of a very large and very vexed question, he examines it carefully, inside and out, in all its bearings and relations. He illuminates his theme with the light derived from a wide range of reading, from a scholarship which is none the less extensive and genuine because it is unobtrusive. His logic is pitiless and inexorable: he gives you proof of his contentions, and he *will* have your consent, unless you show him the unsoundness of the premises on which are based the inferences he wishes you to draw. For he lets you form your own conclusions: he does not categorically state them for you. Whatever may be the reader's subsequent impressions, it will be difficult for any earnest student, who is not an obstinate and bigoted anti-Baconian, to rise up from a careful perusal of this work without feeling that a very honest attempt has been made to prove that the answer to the question which forms the first part of the title must be in the affirmative.

I am all the more free to pay this tribute to Father O'Neill's power of marshalling facts and supplying arguments in support of the views he holds, because, for my own part, I have long ago convinced myself that the author of the plays in question was William Shakespeare, of Stratford-on-Avon, actor, and no other, and therefore, so far as the general controversy is concerned, I am not greatly concerned with what Bacon could or could not have done.

As might be expected by those who know Father O'Neill's judicial temperament, all he has to say is generally put forward calmly and dispassionately, with sweet reasonableness, and with scarcely any of that exuberance of rhetoric or invective with which followers of the Bacon versus Shakespeare controversy are unfortunately but too familiar. Having said so much for Father O'Neill's general fairness in handling his subject, I feel bound, however, to protest as emphatically as I can against his cavalier method of brushing aside the authority of Mr. Sidney Lee. Even after re-reading Mr. Greenwood's book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, which Father O'Neill tells us finally demolishes that authority, I fail to see that Mr. Lee deserves to be accused of "groundless assumptions and air-built dogmatisms." Further, even at the risk of being counted in among "the unenlightened rank and file," I must express the faith that is in me by declaring that, in my opinion, all students of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama are under deep obligations to Mr. Lee for his painstaking

researches in the by-ways as well as the high-ways of that most important tract of literary history.

Father O'Neill, in pursuit of his ultimate conclusion, gives many instances of Bacon's strong taste for poetry and the drama, and at these very few will, I think, be disposed to cavil. The inference of Bacon's possession of the dramatic faculty from the facts that he was a versatile conversationalist and could felicitously speak the language proper to each character which he assumed, and that in the letters which he wrote in the name of others he had a singular knack of catching their style, will not be so readily conceded. Somewhat firmer ground is taken when issue is joined with those who would deny to Bacon any claim to poetic inspiration. The pieces of admitted Baconian verse quoted, though respectable enough, are indeed not by any means conclusive of the possession of high poetic abilities by their author, or of the justice of placing him at all near the writer of the Sonnets or of Venus and Adonis. But the evidences of "the poetic spirit throbbing beneath the prose veil" of others of Bacon's works are extremely well brought out, and Bacon's imaginative power and poetic instinct are supported by apposite quotations from Addison, Pope, Macaulay, Mackintosh, Sir Alex. Grant, Lord Lytton, Taine, and Shelley.

The parallels instituted by Father O'Neill between some images expressed by Shakespeare in blank verse and similar images expressed by Bacon in prose are telling, and to many will be convincing. Thus in *Richard III*, II., III., we find :—

> Before the time of change . . . . men's minds mistrust
> Ensuing danger ; as, by proof, we see
> The waters swell before a violent storm,

and in Bacon's Essay *Of Seditions and Troubles* :—

"As there are certain hollow blasts of wind, and secret swellings of seas, before a tempest, so there are in states."

Still more convincing are the short quotations from Bacon without reference to any other writer. Thus Bacon speaks, poetically enough, of "Remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time ;" and of the "ocean, the solitary handmaid of eternity." And the fairly long passage on "the end of studies" quoted by Father O'Neill is in itself almost enough to convince the sceptic that Bacon had in truth a poetic mind.

Tennyson's declaration that the same man could not have written

the essay *Of Love* and *Romeo and Juliet* gives occasion for a fairly exhaustive examination of Shakespeare's and Bacon's respective attitude towards the grand passion. This examination, based mainly on R. M. Theobald's *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, deals with *Troilus and Cressida; Romeo and Juliet; The Two Gentlemen of Verona; The Merry Wives of Windsor; A Midsummer Night's Dream; A Winter's Tale; Coriolanus; Macbeth; King Lear;* and *Antony and Cleopatra.* It endeavors to prove that the Baconian and the Shakespearean views of love are practically one and the same, and that therefore on this point there is no incongruity between the essay and the plays. But surely there is a flaw in the reasoning here. In the essay Bacon is expressing his own opinions, and they are severe enough on love. According to him love doth much mischief in life; it is the child of folly; if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can be no ways true to their own ends; great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion; whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom; it is impossible to love and to be wise; and so on: altogether a terrible indictment of the tender passion. On the other hand, Shakespeare is not speaking for himself; he puts into the mouths of his characters the expression suitable to the temperament of the speaker or to his mood of the moment, suitable too to place, time, and circumstance. Thus, if any one thinks that in the quotation from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, given by Father O'Neill, it is Shakespeare, and not the character, who speaks he is liable to grievous error. Here is the passage:—

> To be in love, where scorn is bought with groans;
> Coy looks with heart-sore sighs; one fading moment's mirth
> With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
> If haply won, perhaps a hapless gain;
> If lost, why then a grievous labour won;
> However, but a folly bought with wit,
> Or else a wit by folly vanquished . . . .
> Even so by love the young and tender wit
> Is turn'd to folly.

These Baconian sentiments are spoken by one who has not yet felt the smart of love to one who is sorely wounded by it, by Valentine to his friend Proteus. However, as the play proceeds, Valentine himself falls in love with Silvia, and when to him, in this state, comes Proteus, this is some of their dialogue:—

Pro. My tales of love were wont to weary you;
I know you joy not in a love-discourse.

Val. Ay, Proteus, but that life is alter'd now;
I have done penance for contemning Love,
Whose high imperious thoughts have punish'd me
With bitter fasts, with penitential groans . . . .
O, gentle Proteus, Love's a mighty lord,
And hath so humbled me, as I confess
There is no woe to his correction,
Nor, to his service no such joy on earth.
Now no discourse, except it be of love.

I respectfully submit that the dramatist is, in these two contradictory passages put into the mouth of the same character, not voicing his own views, but is simply doing what every playwright has to do, namely, making the *dramatis personae* express the sentiments that are appropriate to the occasion, to their temporary mood, or to their general character. There is no use therefore in trying to make out that, because Friar Lawrence upbraids Romeo's violent passion, Shakespeare is, through him, expressing sentiments akin to those found in Bacon's essay. When the wise and benevolent Friar reproaches Romeo thus :—

Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art:
Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
The unreasonable fury of a beast:
Unseemly woman in a seeming man!
Or ill-beseeming beast in seeming both! . . . .
Fie, fie! thou sham'st thy shape, thy love, thy wit . . . .
Thy wit, that ornament to shape and love,
Mis-shapen in the conduct of them both;

or when he declares that

These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die; like fire and powder
Which as they kiss consume: the sweetest honey
Is loathsome in his own deliciousness,
And in the taste confounds the appetite.
Therefore love moderately!

he is but fulfilling the function which any ordinary spiritual adviser would feel called upon, in soberer and less dramatic language of course, to discharge to any young man affected like Romeo. Similar reasoning applies to other passages; but I think that enough has been said on this head to prove that the analogy attempted to be set up between the essay and the plays cannot be sustained.

The contemporary panegyrics on Bacon's poetic powers expressed on his death are used to show how high he stood in that regard in the opinion of those who knew him and presumably had the opportunity of judging aright. It is remarkable how nearly all those posthumous praises converge on Bacon the poet, to the exclusion of Bacon the scientist, Bacon the philosopher, or Bacon the lawyer. This argument could of course be easily pushed too far: contemporary writers through lack of perspective have been known to err lamentably in judgment, and it is at least possible that the same objection applies in the present case. Wisely, therefore, Father O'Neill does not rely on the testimony as conclusive.

His deductions from Bacon's character, which is shown in a very different light from that in which it is usually viewed, are among the most powerful in the pamphlet.

On the whole, this little work may be fittingly described as a valuable contribution to the literature of one portion of a great question. I have pointed out weakness here, and flaws there ; but the general impression is one of sincerity and of scientifically applied scholarship. Those who, like Sir Edward Sullivan in his article in the August number of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, are irrevocably committed to the attitude of decrying Bacon's poetic gifts, will as a matter of course see nothing in Father O'Neill's booklet to make them change their opinion ; but outside extreme partisans it will carry weight.

One wonders whether Father O'Neill, having seemingly settled to his own satisfaction the point as to whether Bacon *could* have written the Shakespeare plays, will take the next obvious, though not necessarily logical, step, and essay to prove that he *did* write them. Should he do so, he will be a strong accession to the ranks of the Baconians.

P. J. Lennox.

BOOK NOTICES.

One who understands thoroughly the demands which the life of a priest in America makes on the young candidate for orders has given us in the little volume THE YOUNG PRIESTS' KEEPSAKE the result of his own experience as a missionary in the United States. The author is the Reverend Michael J. Phelan, S. J. The chapters on "Culture," "English," "Sermon-writing," "Preparation of Sermons," "Elocution," etc., were written originally for the *Mungret Annual* and have already commended themselves to the readers of that publication as eminently useful. Father Phelan has in mind especially the young Irishman who has chosen America as the scene of his sacerdotal ministry. His book will appeal to others as well, and should find a place in every library of pastoral theology. We are glad to note that the volume is printed and bound in Ireland and bears the Irish national trade-mark. It is sold by Benziger Bros.

A series of Texts and Documents for the study of the history of Christianity has been planned by MM. Hemmer and Lejay and is being published by Alphonse Picard, Paris. The latest volume to appear is a study of Philo and his allegorical interpretation of the Law. It is from the pen of Dr. Émile Bréhier, and is entitled PHILON, COMMENTAIRE ALLEGORIQUE DES SAINTS LOIS. It contains a sketch of Philo's Life, an introductory study of his *Allegories of the Law* and the Greek text of the three books of that treatise, with a French translation. Only those who are acquainted with the exceptional qualities of Philo's style, with his involved method of expression and his frequent insistence on the value of verbal resemblances can realize the difficulty of the task which Dr. Bréhier has undertaken and which, so far as we can judge, he has successfully accomplished. The book will interest the student of philosophy as well as the theologian.

Under the title LE MODERNISME, SA POSITION *vis-à-vis* DE LA SCIENCE, etc., Bloud et Cie, Paris, have published the discourse pronounced by Cardinal Mercier on December 8, 1907, in the Assembly Hall of the University of Louvain. To this the publishers add the Cardinal's Pastoral Letter for the Lent of 1908 on *La condemnation du modernisme.* Both documents are thus brought within easy reach of the student of contemporary theological thought.

A collection of short stories from the pen of François Veuillot, nephew of the great Catholic journalist Louis Veuillot, has just been published by Benziger Brothers under the title HUMBLE VICTIMS. The translator is also a member of a family that has rendered distinguished services to Catholic literature, Miss Susan Gavan Duffy, daughter of the celebrated Young Irlander, Gavan Duffy, editor of the *Nation.* The stories, including five charming Christmas tales, while not of the typical Sunday school sort, are suited for Sunday school use. They are full of human tenderness and human interest, and appeal to all who appreciate the inconspicuous virtues and the uncanonized sanctity so often met with in the lives of the poor, the ignorant and the humble.

It is difficult to characterize or even to describe the simple pathos and the noble

Christian optimism of a collection of poems edited by Father Matthew Russell, S. J., under the title LITTLE ANGELS (Benziger Brothers). The subtitle *A Book of Comfort for Mourning Mothers* gives a clue to the nature of the contents. The poems are about "Children who die early and go back to God soon—we call them little Angels." Running through the book, is a thread of "Reflections" by Father Russell himself. This is by no means the least beautiful part of the book.

The latest volume of the series (published by Beauchesne, Paris) *Etudes sur l'histoire des religions* is LA DOCTRINE DE L'ISLAM by Baron Carron de Vaux. This distinguished Catholic scholar has already rendered signal service to the cause of philosophy by his volumes on *Avicenne* (Alean, 1900), *Gazali* (Alcan, 1902) and the manuals on *Leibniz*, *Newton*, *Gallilée* (Bloud, 1906). Neither is this his first contribution to the History of Religions. His work *Le Mahometisme* (Champion, 1895) is well known to all students of that subject. The work just published, a study of orthodox Islamism, will, we have no doubt, be read with a great deal of interest, now that the Mahometan world commands so much attention, and seems to be bestirring itself intellectually and religiously as well as politically. The author attributes to the simplicity and directness of the Mussulman faith, and to its independence of philosophical reflection, that attractiveness which, in spite of its primitive barbarity, the religion of Islam is still capable of exercising on the mind of a Christian student.

The title A. B. C. OF PHILOSOPHY (Fenno and Co., New York) may induce some perplexed student of philosophical problems to welcome Miss Landsberg's little volume as a key to the difficulties which beset him. He will find there a very elementary disquisition on some current philosophical terms followed by a jejune and too often inaccurate sketch of the succession of systems of philosophy. He may be astonished to learn that, according to Aristotle God is the "Propeller" of the Universe. He will learn other things too, which he shall have to unlearn if he takes the trouble to verify the statements regarding the Scholastics.

Among the "Iona Series" of the publications of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland is a very interesting little volume on Father Marquette, entitled HIAWATHA'S BLACK-ROBE by E. Leahy (Dublin, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 24 Upper O'Connell Street). The sketch of the man and the missionary is clear, forceful and sympathetic. The details regarding the events connected with the Statue in Statuary Hall are narrated fully and impartially, and there is added by way of Appendix a series of quotations from Father Marquette's "Journal" which placed in juxtaposition with certain stanzas of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" show how closely the poet adhered even to the phraseology and vocabulary of the missionary's narrative.

A new text-book on rhetoric entitled WRITING AND SPEAKING, by Dr. Charles S. Baldwin, of Yale University, and published by Longmans bids fair to establish itself as a standard classbook in a department, in which one might imagine there was hardly room for another handbook. Dr. Baldwin's book is practical; it is clear and definite in its precepts and happy, we think, in its choice of examples.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Solemn Opening of the University. On Sunday, October 10, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in the Chapel of Divinity Hall in the presence of the members of the various Faculties and the students of the University. After the solemn profession of faith had been made by professors and instructors, the Rector, Right Reverend Doctor Shahan, addressed the students and spoke of the advantages of a university education.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees. On Wednesday, November 17, the semi-annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in Divinity Hall. There were present His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University and President of the Board; Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia; Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis; Archbishop Moeller, of Cincinnati; Archbishop Messmer, of Milwaukee; Archbishop Blenk, of New Orleans; Archbishop Kern, of St. Louis; Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Bishop Maes, of Covington; Bishop Foley, of Detroit; Bishop Harkins, of Providence; Mgr. Lavelle, of New York; Mgr. Shahan, rector; Messrs. Michael Cudahy, of Chicago; Eugene Philbin, of New York, and Walter George Smith, of Philadelphia.

The transfer of the Library from Caldwell to McMahon Hall was approved and general satisfaction expressed with the results obtained. The Trustees were very much pleased to learn of the additional advantages afforded professors and students by the new arrangement.

The question of establishing a Teacher's Institute was discussed and steps were taken towards the realization of that work.

The recommendation of the Rector that a central power, heating and lighting plant be installed was favorably received and the Rector was instructed to study the available sites and present plans and estimates at the next meeting.

Reverend Doctor Thomas Edward Shields, Associate Professor of Psychology, was promoted to the rank of Professor of Physiological Psychology and Pedagogy.

Reverend Doctor William Turner, Associate Professor of Philosophy, was promoted to the rank of Professor of Logic and History of Philosophy.

Doctor Charles H. McCarthy, Associate Professor of American History, was promoted to the rank of Professor of American History.

Right Reverend Monsignor Shahan. At the Meeting of the Board of Trustees the papal brief formally announcing the elevation of the Rector to the rank of Domestic Prelate was read and recorded. This signal mark of the esteem and approbation of the Holy See, bestowed in the most solemn manner on the Rector of the University, is mentioned with very special pleasure in the pages of the *Bulletin,* which owes so much to Dr. Shahan's untiring and unselfish devotion.

The Knights of Columbus Endowment. The Board of Trustees was very much pleased with the report of the progress made by the Knights of Columbus in their project to collect $500,000. for the purpose of endowing fifty scholarships at the University. Over seventy-five per cent. of the Councils and members of the Order have signified their willingness to contribute.

The A. O. H. Scholarships. The Rector in his annual report writes: " Of the fifty scholarships that the Ancient Order of Hibernians agreed to establish on the occasion of their late National Convention, four have so far been available, from New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Montana. Steps have been taken to induce the Catholic Knights of America to execute their praiseworthy resolution to found a Chair at the University."

Donations. The most notable donations mentioned in the Rector's Report are Mrs. Bellamy Storer's gift of $10,000;

the estate of the late Mrs. Lusby, of Baltimore, about $120,000; the estate of Patrick F. Sullivan, of Boston, $4,750; the estate of Rev. Aloysius Murphy, of Rome, N. Y., $3,000; the estate of Mrs. Ellen Christy, of Cincinnati, $250.

The University has been bequeathed $12,000 by the will of the late Martin F. Kavanagh, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Collections. The annual collection for 1908 amounted to $91,130.30. The "Cardinal's Fund" for the same year reached the total of $7,930.00.

Archbishop Hennessy Scholarships. An additional scholarship has been founded out of the estate of the late Archbishop Hennessy, of Dubuque.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET, SEPT. 30, 1909, and Sept. 30, 1908, AND COMPARISON.

ASSETS.	Sept. 30, 1909.	Sept. 30, 1908.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.
LANDS AND BUILDINGS:				
University Grounds and Farm	$ 39,899.90	$ 39,899.90		
Caldwell Hall	338,242.78	338,242.78		
McMahon Hall	310,969.33	310,969.33		
Albert Hall	50,444.03	50,444.03		
St. Thomas' College	1,000.00	1,000.00		
Observatory	4,654.51	4,654.51		
Cottage	7,876.38	7,876.38		
Tenant House	644.42	644.42		
Farm Buildings	7,235.80	7,235.80		
Long Branch Real Estate	27,000.00	27,000.00		
Total Lands and Buildings	$ 787,967.15	$ 787,967.15		
APPARATUS AND EQUIPMENT:				
Caldwell Hall	17,513.48	19,343.99		$ 1,830.51
McMahon Hall	5,656.04	6,230.53		574.49
Albert Hall	2,170.85	2,412.05		241.20
Chapel	3,280.50	3,645.00		364.50
Divinity Library	19,468.22	19,849.41		381.19
Bouquillon Library	5,000.00	5,000.00		
Educational Departments	34,141.81	35,391.21		1,249.40
Instrument Shop	3,185.27	3,539.19		353.92
Total Apparatus and Equipment	$ 90,416.17	$ 95,411.38		$ 4,995.21
ENDOWMENT PROPERTY:				
Real Estate—Chicago, Ill	$ 13,000.00	13,000.00		
Real Estate—Omaha, Neb		13,271.36		$ 13,271.36
Total Endowment Property	$ 13,000.00	26,271.36		13,271.36
THE REV. THOMAS BREHONY FELLOWSHIP FUND:				
Reading Company and Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company General Mortgage 4% Bonds	$ 10,000.00	$ 10,000.00		
INVESTMENTS:				
Bonds, Certificates of Indebtedness, and Stocks	$ 683,362.55	$ 608,684.55	$ 74,678.00	
Ground Rents—Baltimore, Md	5,442.65	5,442.65		
Mortgage on Cincinnati, Ohio, Property	3,000.00	3,500.00		$ 500.00
Total Investments	$ 691,805.20	$ 617,627.20	$ 74,178.00	
CURRENT ASSETS:				
Cash on Hand and in Banks:				
Rev. George A. Dougherty, Asst. Treasurer	$ 466.57	80.32	386.25	
Rev. Charles B. Schrantz, Procurator	274.83	199.90	74.93	
Mr. Thomas J. Thompson, Proctor	55.34	34.55	20.79	
The National Savings & Trust Company, Washington, D. C.	28,000.00	24,000.00	4,000.00	
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.	4,646.89	1,204.29	3,442.60	
Total	$ 33,443.63	$ 25,519.06	$ 7,924.57	
Notes Receivable	1,000.00	$ 1,000.00		
Deposit for Perpetual Insurance	875.00	875.00		
Total Current Assets	$ 35,318.63	$ 27,394.06	$ 7,924.57	
DEFERRED ASSETS:				
Uncollected Subscriptions—Guaranty Fund for General Expenses	4,346.00	4,446.00		$ 100.00
Uncollected Endowment		10,000.00		10,000.00
Total Deferred Assets	$ 4,346.00	$ 14,446.00		$ 10,100.00
Waggaman Real Estate Loans	$ 794,506.71	$ 799,424.74		$ 4,918.03

LIABILITIES.	Sept. 30, 1909.	Sept. 30, 1908.	Increase.	Decrease.
Capital	$ 767,701.56	$ 713,518.43	$ 54,183.13	
Donations, Endowments and Bequests:				
Lands and Buildings:				
University Grounds and Farm	$ 29,899.90	$ 29,899.90		
Caldwell Hall	220,100.10	220,100.10		
McMahon Hall	221,436.60	221,436.60		
Total Donations—Lands and Buildings	$471,436.60	$ 471,436.60		
Endowments:				
Chairs—Caldwell Hall:				
Fully Endowed	$ 350,000.00	$ 350,000.00		
Partially Endowed	4,750.00	4,750.00		
Chairs—McMahon Hall:				
Fully Endowed	425,000.00	425,000.00		
Partially Endowed	76,729.97	75,229.97	$ 1,500.00	
Archbishop Kenrick's Chair—Partially Endowed	11,783.00	11,783.00		
Archbishop Williams' Chair—Partially Endowed	8,240.00	8,140.00	100.00	
Fellowships—Caldwell Hall	25,000.00	25,000.00		
Fellowships—McMahon Hall	10,000.00	10,000.00		
Scholarships—Caldwell Hall	149,510.79	144,510.79	5,000.00	
Scholarships—McMahon Hall	7,685.39	19,675.55		$ 11,990.16
General Endowments	11,510.00	11,485.00	25.00	
Bouquillon Library Endowment	2,585.00	2,585.00		
Total Endowment	$1,082,794.15	$1,088,159.31		$ 5,365.16
Estate of A. F. Ryan	105,427.55	105,427.55		
Total Donations, Endowments and Bequests	$1,659,658.30	1,665,023.46		$ 5,365.16
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$2,427,359.86	$2,378,541.89	$ 48,817.97	

We have examined the books and records of The Catholic University of America for the fiscal year ended September 30, 1909, have verified all cash and security balances by count or by certificates of Depositories, and

We hereby certify that the above General Balance Sheet agrees with the records of the University and is correct.

(Signed) Haskins & Sells,
Certified Public Accountants.

New York, *October* 18, 1909.

LH 1 .C3B7 v.15 SMC

Catholic University Bulletin
BCZ-0780

CA

15.